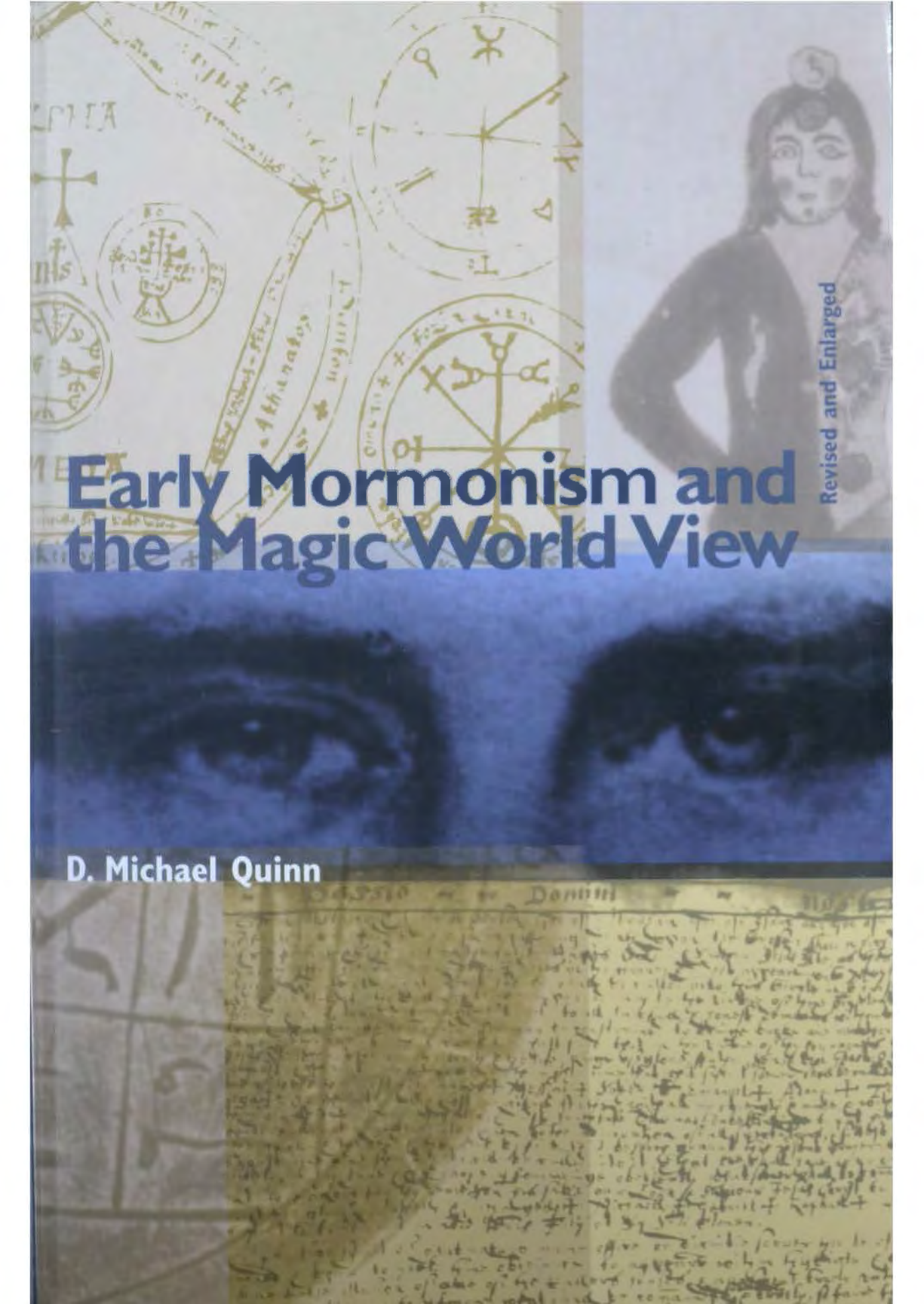


The book cover features a collage of historical and religious imagery. The top left shows a parchment page with a cross and circular diagrams. The top right shows a portrait of a woman with a forehead ornament. The bottom left shows a close-up of a face with large eyes. The bottom right shows a page of handwritten text with a grid on the left.

Early Mormonism and the Magic World View

Revised and Enlarged

D. Michael Quinn

During his apprenticeship to become a prophet (1820-30), Joseph Smith, Jr., learned from village mentors how to use a divining rod, a seer stone, a hat to shield his eyes in order to see hidden treasures, and amulets, incantations, and rituals to summon spirits. In this impressive study of Mormon origins and Christian mysticism, D. Michael Quinn demonstrates how different from current norms early American religious practices could be.

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D. Michael Quinn—Ph.D., Yale University, former Professor of History, Brigham Young University—is the author of *The Mormon Hierarchy* (two volumes), *J. Reuben Clark: The Church Years*, and *Same-Sex Dynamics among Nineteenth-Century Americans: A Mormon Example*, and is the editor of *The New Mormon History: Revisionist Essays on the Past*. His many honors include "Best Book" awards from the American Historical Association and Mormon History Association.

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*The New Mormon History:
Revisionist Essays on the Past* (editor)

The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power

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The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power

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D. Michael Quinn

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In memory of my son Adam, who chose to explore other realms.
In admiration of my son Moshe, a humanist who studies religion.
In appreciation of my daughters Mary and Lisa—
for their professional achievements, their happy marriages,
and their encouragement for me to follow my bliss.

With love always.

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Preface to the Revised Edition

Shortly after the first printing sold out, I was surprised that *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View* had become a boon to rare-book dealers. By the 1990s otherwise-poor college students were paying \$100 for a battered copy, while avid collectors shelled out \$350 for a "mint-condition." Having learned this directly from some of the buyers and sellers, I accept blame for the supply-and-demand problem.¹ Despite brisk sales in 1987-88, I asked the publisher not to reprint until a revised version was ready.

However, I was otherwise preoccupied. There was intensive research/writing of an essay on religion in the American West, a study of current polygamist families, a historical analysis of Mormon women and priesthood, a book on same-sex dynamics in historical and cross-cultural perspective, encyclopedia entries, and two thick volumes describing the hierarchy of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints from the 1830s to 1990s. In the process I worked with editors at Yale University, at Norton, at University of Chicago Press, at University of Illinois Press, at Oxford University Press, and at Signature Books. Overlapping with those activities, I also served as consultant for televised documentaries. After publishing the last volume on the Mormon hierarchy in 1997, I was finally able to revisit the magic world.

Eleven years of escalating publishing costs created another problem. It was impossible to offer even a paperback edition at the 1987 price of the hardback. Therefore, as penance to long-suffering book-buyers, I have reduced my royalties so that this revised edition can be priced as low as possible.

In preparing this eleventh-anniversary revision, my first priority was to include the suggestions of helpful readers. Many disliked the first edition's citation-format, which had allowed space to list all cited sources in a bibliography. This edition switches to endnotes, which required dropping a bibliography that had grown to nearly eighty pages due to added research.² As with my other books that lack a bibliography, the source-notes here are bibliographic.³ As advised, I have also streamlined stodgy prose and simplified the analysis where I could. Still, the complexity of some topics requires detailed analysis.

A second goal was to add new information. This revision includes previously overlooked documents and refers to selected sources published during the past eleven years. But readers should not expect the same comprehensiveness for recent publications as the book originally provided for pre-1987 imprints.

My third aim was to respond to critical reviewers. These responses occur from this Preface to the Afterword, often in endnotes and sometimes in the narrative itself. To demonstrate their point of view, I often quote my critics, and each quote reflects the context of their articles or book reviews.

A fourth purpose was to refine the book's narrative. Helpful readers and critical reviewers have both noted areas needing attention. This edition corrects previous typographical errors, and I can only hope that multiple proof-reading has not overlooked new ones. The first edition had various statements I have revised, clarified, documented, or corrected. From an eleven-year perspective, I have also modified some interpretations.

Before re-reading the original Introduction for the first time in ten years, I had already decided to preserve its content as an intellectual artifact that readers could compare with my approach in the revised edition. However, in response to reviewers and publications since 1987, I have added paragraphs and new citations. I have also refined some phrases for better clarity. Aside from those substantial additions to the Introduction, it maintains the content of the original.

I made those changes in full anticipation that LDS polemicists will attack the slightest variations between the first edition and this revision. A writer in the Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies (FARMS) recently noted that "a detailed review of Quinn's *Early Mormonism* awaits the second edition . . ."⁴ Another polemicist even professed an inability to see any difference between (1) my revising for publication a final version of my own talk, and (2) the unacknowledged changes and "retroactive editing" of LDS manuscripts and already-published works by later editors at church headquarters. These later editors did not write the originals and often were not present for the events described by those documents. Of course, this polemical myopia occurs only when the polemicist disapproves of the speaker-author and approves of the retroactive editors.⁵ Since I've introduced the term, I must distinguish between polemicists and apologists.

Not every believer is an apologist, but apologists take special efforts to defend their cherished point of view—whether in religion, science, history, or some other belief/endeavor. It is not an insult to call someone an "apologist" (which I often do), nor is "apologist" an unconditional badge of honor.⁶ Like drivers on a highway, some apologists are careful, some are careless, some unintentionally injure the innocent, some are Good Samaritans, and a few are sociopaths. Like drivers, even good apologists make errors in judgment and occasionally violate the rules. The same is true for those who don't think they're apologists.

In a tradition as old as debate, polemics is an extreme version of apologetics. Defending a point of view becomes less important than attacking one's opponents. Aside from their verbal viciousness, polemicists often resort to any method to promote their argument. Polemics intentionally destroys the give-and-take of sincerely respectful disagreement. In the resulting polarization, "all are punish'd."⁷ Moving beyond apologist persuasion, LDS polemicists furiously (and often fraudulently) attack any non-traditional view of Mormonism. They don't mince words—they mince the truth.

Unofficially connected for years, Brigham Young University in October 1997 announced that FARMS is an official unit of BYU. Daniel C. Peterson, current chairman of FARMS, expressed his first concern about official BYU affiliation: "FARMS has often had a polemical edge and we are curious to see how or whether that will be accommodated," he said. "The minute I write something offensive, we'll see if I get a call."⁸

Polemical tactics have been fundamental to the self-definition of FARMS. After six years as book review editor for FARMS, Peterson acknowledged that LDS church members "on our side" have asked "on a number of occasions" why "do you have to be so polemical, so argumentative?" He responded: "We did not pick this fight with the Church's critics, but we will not withdraw from it. I can only regret that some may think less of us for that fact." Then as a religious echo of political McCarthyism's innuendos about its critics, Peterson indicated that Mormons "on our side" should be careful about criticizing FARMS: "Certain of our critics have emphasized our alleged 'nastiness,' I am convinced, as a way of distracting attention from our evidence and arguments."⁹ In the previous issue, Peterson had also written a thirty-eight-page defense of the periodical's use of "insults" and "*ad hominem* (i.e., 'against the man')" statements about authors whose books were being reviewed by FARMS.¹⁰ Peterson even boasted that some FARMS writers were born "with the nastiness gene."¹¹

I realize that by criticizing LDS polemicists, I will be accused of engaging in polemics. This circular trap is inevitable because polemicists alternate between attacking their opponents and claiming victimization by their opponents. I have three responses to the above criticism. First, I have allowed my polemical critics to have their decade, not just their day. Second, I believe this eleventh-anniversary edition responds to these LDS polemicists with greater honesty and civility than they have given me. Third, I avoid what FARMS reviewer William J. Hamblin recently described as "whining about" the polemical "tone" of FARMS reviews. He said the real question was "whose arguments are superior?"—a self-description of polemics as personal competition.¹² While I have tried to avoid engaging in polemics, this study does note instances where polemical writings and arguments have been misleading, distorted, or dishonest. "Polemicist" is a dishonorable vocation, and I use the term only where I believe it applies.

On the other hand, many LDS apologists and defenders avoid polemics, and simply limit research/inquiry within the boundaries of officially approved history. As a consequence, church leaders and well-intentioned apologists often avoid acknowledging the existence of evidence that moves even one step beyond the approved boundary. Because of these various cross-currents, most Mormons now find it easier to suppress their curiosity about the unapproved past.

As a historian of the Mormon past, I have never accepted those limits on inquiry or expression. I also decline to conceal uncomfortable evidence directly relevant to topics being discussed. Nor do I feel obligated to accommodate the rational limits of secular humanists. I go wherever the evidence seems to lead and present it in the best way I can. I've tried to be faithful to evidence and faithful to faith. Within those ground rules, I've always seen myself as a Mormon apologist.¹³

In that regard, this revision maintains my original Introduction's view of the forged "White Salamander letter."¹⁴ During the summer of 1986 I wrote a book-draft which excluded that document from my analysis because of serious questions then raised about its authenticity. In 1987 the published Introduction, narrative, and bibliography all described the White Salamander Letter as a definite forgery.¹⁵

However, nine years later apologist Rhett S. James published a claim about

my alleged "acceptance of Mark Hoffman's [sic] fake White Salamander Letter in 1984."¹⁶ In fact, even though the LDS church newspaper noted that "the authenticity of the letter has not yet been established," Rhett James himself publicly endorsed the Salamander Letter in 1984. The *Church News* stated: "James said it was 'highly likely' that Harris would use the kind of language and symbolism purported to be contained in the Harris letter ... that it is the salamander imagery that intrigues him." James added: "by the time of Martin Harris, the word salamander also meant angel."¹⁷ This is only one instance where polemicists have wrongly accused me of something they themselves have done.¹⁸

On the other hand, some reviewers criticized the 1987 Introduction's statement of my beliefs about controversial subjects I analyzed—the metaphysical, the occult, and the particular claims of Christianity and of the LDS church. One reviewer found this "personal testimony" of religion to be "disconcerting," while another regarded my views as "remarkably generous" to the occult.¹⁹

However, I know of no book review that criticizes scholars for indicating their *disbelief* in the occult, as preface to studies about magic beliefs and practices. With exception of *BYU Studies*, the *FARMS Review of Books*, and periodicals of fundamentalist schools like Boh Jones University, I know of no academic review that is critical of authors in religious history for acknowledging their disbelief in various faith claims. As long as authors affirm and demonstrate their effort at dispassionate and balanced analysis, most academics are not offended by an admission of agnosticism or atheism. But many academics feel embarrassed for a scholar who even briefly acknowledges belief in the metaphysical.

Beyond secular bias in the academic community, an author's profession of faith is no protection against polemical attack. In 1987 one LDS polemicist (a New Testament specialist) dismissed my Introduction's paragraph-long statement of belief as a minimal expression of faith. In 1994 another polemicist (a BYU historian of the Middle East) implied that this statement of belief was a pretense.²⁰

Nonetheless, I maintain that when books emphasize people's claims for metaphysical reality, there should be a statement about whether the author believes such a dimension does exist or is even possible. For example, I agree with BYU administrator Noel B. Reynolds about the inherent problem of interpreting a claim of divine visions or angelic ministrations while "making a priori assumptions that exclude any and all supernatural explanations."²¹ On the other hand, I also appreciated the prefatory statement of atheism in historian Louis Halle's remarkable book *Out of Chaos*, which attempted a unified view of the universe and animate history. From my own perspective of belief in a divine overseer of organic evolution, I also admired Halle's frequent statements that his atheism seemed inadequate to explain the statistically impossible coincidences that would be necessary for random origins of the cosmos and of life.²² I see an academic necessity to state one's own frame of reference when writing about the metaphysical. For that, I make no apologies to secular humanists or to religious polemicists.

Following the example of Halle's book, this revised edition occasionally interjects my own perspectives in the main narrative, instead of concealing personal comments in the notes. This includes matters of faith, apologetics,

polemics, historical inquiry, and the occult. However, I also remember the caution of analytical philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein: "I must not make a case for magic nor may I make fun of it. The depth of magic should be preserved."²³

At the publication of *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View*, I was full professor and director of the graduate history program at BYU. I resigned within several months because of administrative pressures against my continuing to work on controversial topics. In 1993 LDS officials formally charged me with "apostasy" (heresy) for my historical writings, and I was excommunicated from the LDS church.²⁴ Nevertheless, as a seventh-generation member of the church I remain a DNA Mormon, and the 1987 Introduction still accurately describes my personal faith.²⁵

In fact, my employment at BYU in 1987 was the reason that the first edition qualified many of my statements of evidence and conclusion. As a result, one LDS polemicist commented at length on what he called the book's "weasel words."²⁶ In the book-manuscript I submitted to the publisher, there were few instances of "possibly," "might," "apparently," and similar qualifiers. However, the editors were deeply concerned that BYU would terminate my employment if the book did not make my statements very tentative. At the strenuous urging of my editors, I reluctantly accepted their multiple addition of subjunctives, qualifiers, and qualified-qualifiers, even though my analysis and views were not so tentative.

Prudence did not preserve my employment, nor did carefully qualified historical scholarship save me from being labeled as an "apostate" (heretic). This revised edition restores to *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View* the kind of emphasis and confidence I feel the evidence warrants. I thank the publisher and editors for giving me the opportunity to do so now.

This study examines beliefs and practices of magic and the occult (which my Introduction defines academically and the chapters illustrate historically). This includes the related disciplines of alchemy, astrology,²⁷ and medicine based on alchemical/astrological principles. In addition, the occult includes using ceremonies or objects to summon or repel otherworldly beings, the belief in witches (humans capable of summoning evil forces) and in remedies against them, the wearing of medallions or other objects for their inherent powers to bring about protection or good luck, the performance of ceremonies to find treasures, and the use of objects such as special stones and sticks to obtain information from an otherworldly source.

The Introduction discusses problems of definition, yet it is useful to emphasize here two statements published after my research for this book's first edition. In the sixteen-volume *Encyclopedia of Religion*, John Middleton wrote: "It is not really feasible to consider 'magic' apart from 'religion,' with which it has often been contrasted ... Magic is usually defined subjectively rather than by any agreed-upon content. But there is wide consensus as to what this content is."²⁸ Biblical scholar John Dominic Crossan also has written: "Magic is used here as a neutral description for an authentic religious phenomenon, and its potential abuse no more destroys its validity than do similar possibilities elsewhere."²⁹

The complete picture of magic and the occult is far older and larger than this study can include. My focus is the Western tradition of the occult, especially

Anglo-European occult writings and practices to the mid-nineteenth century. There is relatively brief discussion of the last 150 years. Despite my emphasis on America, this book excludes Native American shamanism, Mexican-American *curanderismo*, African-American voodoo, and Latin American-African *Santería*.³⁰

The Anglo-European tradition of magic and reactions to it have been an overlay on the religious, intellectual, and cultural heritage of the United States and its people since colonial times. Up to the early national period, various occult beliefs and practices were so widespread that they appeared to be the experience of most Americans. That was certainly the assumption on which many authors and clergymen drew their own battle-lines against magic and the occult (see ch. 1).

Without statistical sampling and opinion polls, it is impossible to know the actual extent of occult beliefs and magic practices among Americans during any time period. Anti-occult rhetoric and media attention could simply be the paranoia of the vast majority against a perceived threat by a numerically insignificant minority. On the other hand, anti-occult rhetoric by early American opinion-makers (clergy, legislators, jurists, newspaper editors, book authors) may have been the embattled effort of an *elite minority* to convert a vastly larger populace that was sympathetic to the occult. I accept the latter view of the situation. At any rate, literary sources and material culture show that occult beliefs and folk magic had widespread manifestations among educated and religious Americans from colonial times to the eve of the twentieth century (see chs. 1-4, 7).

That requires explanation of this book's frequent use of the term "folk" (which I do not limit to a particular social class, residential area, educational level, or time period).³¹ Instead, "folk religion" or "popular religion" is an alternative to the "institutional religion" of clergy, theologians, and churches.³² "Folk medicine" is the alternative to academically approved medicine of the highly schooled, of professional societies and establishments. "Folk magic" is the alternative to "academic magic," which required scholarly knowledge of several languages and careful attention to centuries of written texts about magic. Neither folk magic nor academic magic has ever been monolithic.³³

Some authors contrast folk magic with "intellectual magic," a term I avoid because of its implication that folk magic was ignorant or non-rational (views I reject).³⁴ Bruce J. Malina has observed that this idea of magic's appeal to "the ignorant and immoral" is one of the ancient "stereotypical descriptions" common among both "elites and non-elites."³⁵ To the contrary, as Mormon historian Richard L. Bushman has written: "Not just the poor and ignorant but people at all levels had believed in magic and practiced its rituals, without sensing any contradiction with their Christian belief."³⁶

These non-institutional versus institutional meanings of religion are necessary for early American society. David D. Hall has made the crucial observation that "the people who came to this region in the seventeenth century were not peasants but of 'middling' status." Most important, "there was no literacy issue which divided popular religion from formal religion" among Anglo-Europeans in the American colonies.³⁷ By contrast, when historians write of folk/popular

religion, magic, and medicine in Europe, they almost always refer to the illiterate peasantry.

For example, in his important study of French society, Robert Muchembled described France as if it existed for 250 years in polarity between the illiterate, peasant masses versus a homogeneous Other. "The culture of the popular masses is clearly distinct from the Christianity of the elites and from learned thought," he explained.³⁸ To counter such a comparison, I regard it as unexceptional to find vast social and cultural differences between the illiterate and the literate. In other words, the literacy factor (not peasantry as a social class) may have caused the vast distinctions of thought and culture in French society.

On the other hand, the interplay of religion and the occult in early America occurred among people who were predominantly literate and *bourgeois*.³⁹ That dynamic existed in a society where only 10-20 percent of Americans belonged to any church or religious organization until the 1850s. Thus, non-institutional "folk religion" was the experience for 80-90 percent of early Americans, yet literacy and social class were not the causes.⁴⁰

Europe's middle classes and non-royal elites should be the comparative measure for Anglo-European Americans before the mid-nineteenth century. However, because early American popular religion resembled European peasant culture, many historians have avoided an obvious conclusion: the religion of illiterate European peasants was similar to the folk religion of literate society elsewhere. This undermines the alleged gulf separating the popular religion of European peasantry from the popular religion of European elites—a topic deserving further study by specialists in social history of that continent.⁴¹

In America to the present, folk religion, folk medicine, and folk magic can be found among some (certainly not all) of the illiterate poor, of the economically disadvantaged who are literate, of the college-educated and the social elite, of city dwellers and rural families, of the privileged and the unprivileged, of the unchurched and the members of churches. These American folk traditions have always involved accommodation with institutional religion, with established medicine, with the education establishment, and with academic magic.⁴²

American folk religion, folk medicine, and folk magic have also involved literary sources and oral traditions. Occult texts, occult folklore, and occult practices appealed to Harvard graduates as well as the barely literate of early America, to community leaders as well as the nondescript, to devout Christian believers as well as non-believers, to members of churches as well as unchurched believers in privatized, folk religion (see chs. 1-4, 7).

Along with this diversity, these non-monolithic social groups have manifested trends. Literary sources indicate that institutional religion, established medicine, and academic magic have been more common among the educated, among the economically advantaged, and among urban dwellers. Various studies show that folk religion, folk medicine, and folk magic have been more common among rural dwellers, among the less educated, and among the poor.⁴³ This holds generally true for Europe and America, but church membership in early American cities was even lower than in rural areas traditionally known for non-affiliation with churches.⁴⁴ Therefore, cities were also major locations of folk religion.

In a well-known story, "camp meetings" and ecstatic revivals changed the pattern of religion in America in a slow process from the early 1800s to 1850s. The unchurched became the churchd.⁴⁵

There were ironies in this conversion of folk believers into church members and attenders. First, religious revivals redefined mainstream American Protestantism by incorporating the visionary experiences once rejected as magic (see ch. 1). Second, many of these church members remained crypto-occultists who quietly continued their favored practices of folk magic (see chs. 1-4, 7).

Third, despite all the contemporary and later perceptions that the Second Great Awakening (see ch. 1) transformed U.S. denominational membership, the revivals did not reverse the unchurched-churched proportion. In 1850 only 25-35 percent of Americans were church members, and the majority remained outside churches until the twentieth century. Revivals strengthened the churches, yet did not end the non-institutional character of religious life for the majority of Americans.⁴⁶

Fourth, implied or overt endorsements of the occult appeared in popular and academic media until the 1840s (see chs. 1-2). From the 1840s onward, writers enshrined the occult in fiction.⁴⁷ For example, Edward George Bulwer-Lytton's 1842 novel *Zanoni* "is an encyclopedia of ideas about the occult sciences."⁴⁸ Fifth, in the mid-nineteenth century various intellectuals and church members (particularly in America's social elite) changed occultism into a new form—spiritualism.

Despite denials by its advocates, the spiritualist fad in America from the 1840s until the early twentieth century was the occult transfigured. As early as the 1860s Mormon publications made that observation about spiritualism and about the persons who served as spiritualist "mediums."⁴⁹ In place of the solitary incantations of a *magus* were the whisperings of a medium. In place of a circle drawn on the ground with a dagger inscribed in magic symbols (see ch. 3), there was a circle of joined hands. An expensively crafted crystal ball replaced the common "peep stones" and "seer stones" dug from the earth (see chs. 2, 7). Most spiritualists saw no conflict between participating in seances and worshipping in church or synagogue. A few spiritualists crossed over into direct involvement with the occult.⁵⁰

The views of Jewish scholar Moses Gaster about magic a century ago retain remarkable currency today. "Magic has exercised the deepest influence upon mankind from remote antiquity unto our own days. It either formed part of the religion ... or lived an independent life side by side with the recognized religion." On the eve of the twentieth century Gaster observed: "Wherever we go, however, and especially if we turn to the popular beliefs that rule the so-called civilized nations, we shall always and everywhere find a complete system of magical formulas and incantations."⁵¹ That was the perspective of 1896.

Millions of Americans living today have turned to systems of the occult from the Jewish Cabala,⁵² medieval Christian magic and Asian occultism, or to shamanism, *curanderismo*, voodoo, and *Santeria*. Millions more have used healing stones, "magic crystals," amulets, talismans, or good-luck charms. Still other multitudes have paid hundreds of dollars each to attend "channelling" seminars

led by a celebrity, or have increased their telephone bills by using 900-numbers to hear personal horoscopes. And tens of thousands of Americans today proclaim themselves as latter-day pagans, wiccans, or sorcerers.⁵³ In addition, a large percentage of athletes (teenage and adult) use various folk talismans for success in sports competition.⁵⁴ Much of this reflects the explanation for widespread use of amulets in the American fishing industry: "If it works, use it."⁵⁵ Such pragmatism has always drawn people to the occult, who more often adopt the attitude: "it might work."

The magic world view has tremendous appeal and will always influence Americans, even though its manifestations may be redefined. In his 1987 essay on "Magic in Primitive Societies," Donald R. Hill acknowledged: "Many anthropologists would argue that magic is part of the daily routines of people in modern, complex societies."⁵⁶ Gustav Jahoda explained: "People, be they [African] Azande or Americans, can act under the influence of their magical beliefs in some contexts and in a rational-technical manner in others."⁵⁷ However, even Jahoda's effort to be inclusive was marred by his judgment-filled use of "rational" as the alternative to "magical." In 1997 Ariel Glucklich affirmed: "Magic continues to exist and flourish even in a modern world dominated by technological solutions and scientific reassurances."⁵⁸

"The folk" of American folk magic continue to be rural and urban, churchd and unchurchd, affluent and poor, illiterate and college-educated, native-born and immigrant, WASP and ethnic American. This has been true throughout our society's folklore, recorded history, and material culture. No population (or any segment of it) is seamless, but this book examines the early trends of rationality, religion, and the occult in America.

Concerning that effort, two critics gave me high praise. Stephen D. Ricks and Daniel C. Peterson (at the time, FARMS director and reviewer) wrote: "Despite our manifold reservations, we must say that Quinn's book is important and, in many ways, brilliant. No one interested in Mormon origins can overlook it."⁵⁹

Eleven years ago my Introduction expressed confidence that LDS believers did not need to fear including occult beliefs and magic practices in the history of Mormonism's founders. In 1992 LDS church headquarters affirmed that view in its official *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, which mentioned the influence of treasure-digging folk magic (see ch. 2) in five separate entries concerning Joseph Smith. These articles did not list my book in their source-notes, but one did cite an anti-Mormon minister's article about this topic in a Protestant evangelical magazine.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, I was pleased to see this ripple-effect from the splash⁶¹ of *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View*. As Richard L. Bushman recently wrote in a review for FARMS, "the magical culture of nineteenth-century Yankees no longer seems foreign to the Latter-day Saint image of the Smith family."⁶² In that respect, Bushman is a conservative revisionist in the writing of Mormon history, which is my self-definition as well.

D. Michael Quinn
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Introduction

In 1985 the Salt Lake City-based Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints published two documents portraying early Mormonism and Joseph Smith's family in terms of folk magic and the occult, a perspective foreign to most Mormons today. Leading LDS officials spoke to the media and to church meetings about these documents and their possible significance. The first, an alleged 1825 letter of the founding Mormon prophet, gave instructions for locating treasure with a split hazel rod. The second was an alleged 1830 letter of Mormon convert and benefactor Martin Harris who allegedly attributed to the Smith family various folk magic beliefs about hurried treasure, seer stones, and a treasure-spirit capable of transforming itself from a white salamander into human form.¹

Initially, the letters appeared genuine to a number of respected historians and document experts, and greatly impacted the Mormon historical community. However, using a new technique, forensic investigators denounced the letters as fraudulent in 1986. The following year Mark Hofmann, the document collector responsible for their sale, admitted to forging both.²

I believe that the historical issues these forgeries first raised still require a careful re-examination of other evidence long in existence. In fact, some researchers began examining the significance of this long-existing evidence for a decade before the announcement of Hofmann's documents.³

Despite those publications since 1974, my own research and writing ignored the issues of magic and the treasure-quest in early Mormonism. That inertia continued even after the custodian of the Smith family's magic parchments (see ch. 4) showed me what he described as these "cabalistic" documents in his home in 1977. I took a long look at them, commented on how "unusual" they were, and quickly asked Eldred G. Smith to show me something else. I was interested only in the Hyrum Smith diary and other traditionally historical materials in the possession of Hyrum's descendant. I did not want to take the time or effort to understand the "cabalistic" inscriptions on the Smith family's artifacts.⁴ For a decade after I first learned about the evidence of occult and esoteric influences in early Mormonism, I preferred not to understand them or their context. Instead, I wrote about LDS events and persons from a perspective I already understood. Until I began doing research early in 1985 for this book, I did not realize that those events of early Mormonism functioned within a larger world view.⁵

As noted in an October 1985 memorandum sent from the headquarters of the LDS Church Educational System to regional and local administrators: "Even if the letters were to be unauthentic, such issues as Joseph Smith's involvement

in treasure-seeking and folk magic remain. Ample evidence exists for both of these, even without the letters."⁶ This study explores the kind of evidence the church's educational bulletin described as "ample" regarding early Mormonism and magic.

The following analysis of Mormonism and folk magic includes sources which have been available for more than a century. Their authenticity is beyond question. These sources give evidence of the Smith family's participation in treasure-digging; the possession and use of instruments and emblems of folk magic by Smith, his family members, and other early LDS leaders; the continued use of such implements for religious purposes in the LDS church for many years; and the sincere belief of many Mormons in "the magic world view." This magic world view has as many variations as does "the" scientific world view.⁷

These sources express a perspective of the world different from twentieth-century perceptions. I have tried to approach this earlier world view through the lenses of two groups: those who clearly shared it and those who may have shared it. For readers today, this process resembles Thomas S. Kuhn's description of changes that periodically confront scientists: "It is rather as if the professional community had been suddenly transported to another planet where familiar objects are seen in a different light and are joined by unfamiliar ones as well."⁸

By adopting a different perspective, I present familiar events in unfamiliar ways and introduce evidence previously not recognized as significant. My analysis is by no means conclusive. It originally represented two years' research into connections between early Mormonism and folk magic, topics to which other researchers have devoted many more years of work. (This revised update has taken another eighteen months.) Consistent with Moses Gaster's comment in 1896, sociologist Daniel Lawrence O'Keefe has warned: "A thousand sources are not enough to cover the universe of magic."⁹ Whole volumes have explored subjects that I discuss only briefly in this book.

Nevertheless, I feel it is necessary to attempt a general survey of many dimensions in the magic world view's relationship to Mormon experience. Others certainly can (and do) interpret Mormon origins differently. Still, my re-examination of early Mormonism from this new perspective provides an interpretative tool for weaving together what otherwise appear as loose threads of the Mormon past. Not all these threads are of equal weight, strength, or value.

In that regard, LDS reviewer Benson Whittle noted: "Quinn's intention has been to put down any and all findings that seem relevant to the mindset Joseph Smith took with him into his prophetic calling." Whittle explained: "If much [of Quinn's] evidence is tenuous, it must be countered that much of it is very solid. It convinces when the whole, composed of diverse strands, is woven together into a fabric suddenly greater than the sum of its parts." Yale historian Jon Butler made a similar observation.¹⁰

To continue that metaphor, this study interweaves several theses. First, believing in and practicing various forms of magic have never necessarily been nonrational, uneducated, or irreligious. Second, the magic world view and the

practice of magic rituals rarely substitute for religion. They do manifest a personal religious focus, rather than institutional (church) emphasis.

Third, there is a difference between labeling and separating. It is common to label magic and religion in various ways (desirable vs. undesirable, Judeo-Christian vs. pagan, satanic vs. divine, divine vs. cultural, rational vs. irrational, superstitious vs. actual). It is more difficult to distinguish between external manifestations of magic and of religion.

Fourth, the first generation of Mormons included people with a magic world view that predated Mormonism. This was especially true of Joseph Smith's family, the witnesses to the *Book of Mormon*,¹¹ nearly half of the original Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, and some of the earliest converts from New York and New England. Finally, exploring this world view indicates that some early Mormons perceived their church differently than later generations. That can help us better understand Mormonism, both in the distant past and more recently.

It is often difficult for us in the twentieth century to appreciate the world from the perspective of earlier times. As Danny L. Jorgensen has recently written: "From a modernist standpoint the occult claim to be both science and religion simply is conceptually illegitimate and, thereby, it is incomprehensible."¹² However, in his study of medieval society Richard Kieckhefer has recently written that "magic is a crossing-point where religion converges with science. [and] popular beliefs intersect with those of the educated classes." Likewise, Peter Brown commented that knowledge of magic "techniques could be widespread among the literate people that the historian meets."¹³

All of us have a tendency to assume that our ancestors saw the world as we see it today. Morris Berman, a historian of science, noted a common pattern when "modern" people discover that earlier generations had views different from our own. We dismiss "the thinking of [these] previous ages not simply as other legitimate forms of consciousness, but as misguided world views that we have happily outgrown." He called this approach "misguided," and noted that such an attitude results from our apparent inability to understand the point of view of "premodern man."¹⁴ Historians call this problem "present-mindedness" or "the fallacy of presentism."¹⁵ This presentist bias can obscure our understanding of people only a few generations in the past.

For example, analytical philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein severely criticized that bias in the anthropological writings of James G. Frazer concerning magic. "What a narrow spiritual life on Frazer's part! As a result: how impossible it was for him to conceive of a life different from that of England of his time!"¹⁶ Yet, as Johann J. Bachofen wrote Lewis Henry Morgan, German historians of that era were no better: "German scholars propose to make antiquity intelligible by measuring it according to popular ideas of the present day. They only see *themselves* in the creation of the past" (emphasis in original).¹⁷

By contrast, historian of religion Mircea Eliade has written: "There is, indeed, only one way of understanding a cultural phenomenon which is alien to one's own ideological pattern, and that is to place oneself at its very centre and from there to track down all the values that radiate from it." He concluded:

"Before we proceed to judge [this cultural phenomenon] we must fully understand it and become imbued, as it were, with its ideology, whatever form it may take—myth, symbol, rite, social attitude."¹⁸ As Michael D. Swartz has recently noted, this is a special challenge when we begin to discover that familiar "cultures we study differed from ours in fundamental ways of thinking."¹⁹

An essential starting point is the meaning of two words I have already used frequently: occult and magic. For many, occult means evil and magic refers to fantasy or sleight-of-hand entertainment. However, those popular definitions distort the more descriptive meanings of these words in historical context and scholarly usage.

Webster's Third New International Dictionary gives only these meanings for occult: "deliberately kept hidden, not revealed to others, secret, undisclosed; not to be apprehended or understood, demanding more than ordinary perception or knowledge, abstruse, mysterious, recondite; hidden from view, not able to be seen, concealed; of, relating to, or dealing in matters regarded as involving the action or influence of supernatural agencies or some secret knowledge of them, not manifest or detectable by clinical methods alone." For magic, *Webster's* states: "the use of means (as ceremonies, charms, spells) that are believed to have supernatural power to cause a supernatural being to produce or prevent a particular result (as rain, death, healing) considered not obtainable by natural means and that also include the arts of divination, incantation, sympathetic magic ["magic based on the assumption that a person or thing can be supernaturally affected through its name or an object (as a nail paring, image, or dancer) representing it"], and thaumaturgy ["the performance of miracles"], control of natural forces by the typically direct action of rites, objects, materials, or words considered supernaturally potent; an extraordinary power or influence seemingly from a supernatural source; something that seems to cast a spell or to give an effect of otherworldliness, enchantment; the art of producing unusual illusions by legerdemain."²⁰

Those modern definitions reflect an 1820 essay that magic "may generally be described as supposing the existence & agency of certain excessive & undefinable powers, or extending the range of those powers with which we are acquainted to an height beyond the limits which experience authorizes."²¹ My study incorporates all the above definitions of magic except legerdemain. That old-time word refers to sleight-of-hand trickery as practiced by performance "magician" Houdini of the silent-film era or by "illusionist" David Copperfield of our own time.²² As Robert K. Ritner has written about the oldest-known tradition of magic: "No suggestion of trickery is ever implied in Egyptian terms for magic."²³

Our current society's secular emphasis also affects the adjective "magical." To most readers, that word refers to stage-illusion or fantasy, neither of which describe the world views and activities emphasized here. This book describes people who did not regard their beliefs as fantasy nor their experiences as "purely imaginary and not physically real," as one scholar has written concerning the problem in using the word "magical."²⁴ My quotes acknowledge that other writers often use "magical" or "magical world view," but I regard that as subtle secularism

rather than grammatical necessity. Aside from quotes, I avoid using the word "magical" in this discussion.

There are four additional characteristics of the magic world view. First, "peculiar to the magical or mythical perception of reality is that it does not distinguish, as we do, between lifeless and living things, between organic and inorganic. All have 'power' and 'life' of one kind or another in them. This can also be expressed by saying that all things have a 'soul.'"²⁵ This is sometimes called an "animistic" world view. Second, there are no symbols, as such, in the occult-magic world view. Special words, signs, numbers, and "inanimate" objects are in themselves powerful, even when they also represent something else.²⁶ Third, "for the dweller in the magical world, no event is 'accidental' or 'random,' but each has its chain of causation in which Power, or its lack, was the decisive agency."²⁷ In other words, events do not occur by coincidence, which Joscelyn Godwin has recently described as "the very essence of the occult world view."²⁸ Finally, and perhaps most important, the magic world view is emotionally satisfying and rational for those sharing such perceptions.²⁹ The perceived rationality of magic has not been restricted to premodern or pre-industrial societies,³⁰ yet it has certainly been more pervasive and less self-conscious among such peoples. As one biographer has noted, "the occult striving was in essence an attempt to penetrate beyond the world of experience to the reality which underlay it."³¹

In addition, a world view is fundamentally linked with actions which result from it. As one author has noted: "Debates on magic have occasionally included an unnecessary argument between those who emphasize that magic is a worldview and those who emphasize the pragmatic aims of magic."³²

With a degree of empathy once unusual among academics, Morris Bernan has stated why magic was as appealing to its adherents as science has been for us: "It is not merely the case that men conceived of matter as possessing mind in those days, but rather that in those days matter *did* possess mind, 'actually' did so" (emphasis in original). This historian of science continued: "When the obvious objection is raised that the mechanical world view must be true, because we are in fact able to send a man to the moon or invent technologies that demonstrably work, I can only reply that the animistic world view, which lasted for millennia, was also fully efficacious to its believers: In other words, our ancestors constructed reality in a way that typically produced verifiable results."³³ Edward Harrison (a professor of physics and astronomy) has also observed that "in accordance with its principles, the magic universe was fully logical, completely rational, and abounded with predictable phenomena."³⁴

Many of the above characteristics of the magic world view are also characteristics of the "religious" world view.³⁵ Today's Jews and Christians may recognize some of their own personal beliefs in the preceding paragraphs.

The potentially religious dimension of these definitions raises the problem of clearly separating magic from religion. Influential writers attempted such distinctions from the mid-nineteenth century to the early twentieth century, and these views continue to appear in textbooks and scholarly writings.³⁶ For modern Americans, "the distinction between magic and religion seems ... simple and obvious enough," commented George B. Vetter. "Magic, being by definition false

or wicked, or both, couldn't possibly be confused with 'religion' which was equally by definition true and virtuous."³⁷

While such views have dominated, there have been dissenting voices.³⁸ Ernst Cassirer, a philosopher of culture, summed up both the motivation for and difficulty of separating magic and religion: "It is natural to desire a clear-cut definition that would enable us to trace a sharp line of demarkation between magic and religion. Theoretically speaking, we are convinced that they cannot mean the same thing and we are loath to trace them to a common origin. We think of religion as the symbolic expression of our highest moral ideals; we think of magic as a crude aggregate of superstitions. Religious belief seems to become mere superstitious credulity if we admit any relationship with magic. On the other hand the character of our anthropological and ethnographical material makes it extremely difficult to separate the two fields."³⁹

One traditional distinction is that religion is supplicative and magic coercive in intent. Anthropologist Lucy Mair wrote that "the difference between religion and magic ... might be epitomized as the difference between *communicating* with beings and *manipulating* forces."⁴⁰ Even after affirming this distinction, one historian of early Christianity conceded that "not one man in a thousand fully lives up to this theoretical idea of religion and that there are in ritual and liturgy elements which scarcely differ from magical arts and incantations."⁴¹ For example, it is difficult to ignore the coercive dimension of Acts 16:18, "But Paul, being grieved, turned and said to the spirit, I command thee in the name of Jesus Christ to come out of her."

In addition to the coercive dimensions in religion, British historian Keith Thomas noted the supplicative aspects of magic. "Yet for the magicians themselves the summoning of celestial beings was a religious rite, in which prayer played an essential part, and where piety and purity of life were deemed essential. ... For many, this was no mechanical manipulation of set formulae, but a humble supplication that God should extend to them the privilege of a unique view of his mysteries. ... At this level the practice of magic became a holy quest; the search for knowledge, not by study and research, but by revelation."⁴²

An example of supplication in ancient magic has survived among the Egyptian/Greek magic papyri: "I call upon you, lord. Hear me, holy god who rest among the holy ones, at whose side the Glorious Ones stand continually. I call upon you, [fore]father, and I beseech you, eternal one, eternal ruler of the celestial orb ... You have been exalted to heaven."⁴³ Likewise, humble pleas to Deity were central to spirit conjuration in the *Arbatel of Magic*, published in English for occult practitioners since 1665: "Omnipotent and eternal God, who hath ordained the whole creation for thy praise and glory, and for the salvation of man, I beseech thee that thou wouldst send thy spirit N.N. of the solar order who shall inform and teach me those things which I shall ask of him; or, that he may bring me medicine against the dropsie, &c. Nevertheless, not my will be done, but thine, through thy only begotten Son, our Lord. Amen."⁴⁴

To distinguish religion from magic on the basis of supernatural supplication-coercion requires that one continually acknowledge "exceptional" instances when the "distinctive" feature of magic appears in religion, and vice versa. "The

distinction between beseeching or imploring and coercing or exploiting is surely a valid one," observes New Testament scholar John Dominic Crossan, "but where is the evidence that religious miracle is always the former and magical ritual always the latter?"⁴⁵

Keith Thomas concluded that despite efforts to separate the two, "From this point of view religion and magic were not rivals, but travelling companions along the path to one identical and comprehensive truth."⁴⁶ Both religion and magic involve supernatural supplication, supernatural coercion, intricate rituals, and efforts to understand the otherworldly and ineffable.

A more useful distinction between the two is centered in ethics and personal conduct. Religion prescribes ethics of daily conduct for all its adherents, not simply its officiators. The ethical emphasis of magic tends to be limited to ritual purification necessary for the successful performance of its ceremonies. While religion and magic seek knowledge of (and even contact with) otherworldly powers, religion subordinates ritual to group and individual ethics. However, magic gives little or no attention to group ethics, and emphasizes individual ethics primarily as another instrument to achieve the desired ends of ritual.⁴⁷ In fact, even though Marvin Meyer and Richard Smith stated their preference for abandoning the term "magic" in favor of the "less value-laden term" of "ritual," they saw this group-individual emphasis as a situation "where current theories of ritual do not help, while the old distinction between religion and magic may."⁴⁸

Ritual is the source of a fundamental problem confronting attempts to separate magic and religion. The practices of each are often outwardly similar, sometimes identical.⁴⁹ For example, of "magic and religion," the *New Catholic Encyclopedia* noted long ago: "They have a certain connection, and in a given case it is often difficult to determine whether an action or attitude is magical or religious."⁵⁰ Meyer and Smith recently observed: "the more closely these texts are actually read, the harder it is to maintain any distinction between piety and sorcery."⁵¹

Another problem arises because some distinctions are valid in one culture, while not in others.⁵² For example, twenty years ago Jonathan Z. Smith confidently described "the one universal characteristic of magic—it is illegal," yet that was not true of ancient Egypt. "However magic may be defined, in Egypt the practice was in itself quite legal," Egyptologist Robert K. Ritner has recently observed in a critique of Smith's assertion. "Sorcery against the king, not sorcery *per se*, was illegal."⁵³ Even in a culture with widespread practice of magic, there are varying definitions of magic and differing attitudes toward it.⁵⁴

A further difficulty is that Anglo-European scholars, religious leaders, and lay-persons tend to equate "religion" with "church," or at least with Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. This excludes from religion any beliefs and practices that may be inherently religious but which occur outside the church or outside a religious "mainstream."⁵⁵ In 1829 Eusebe Salverte's study of the occult sciences commented on the bias of defining religion and magic according to one's own beliefs.⁵⁶

In addition, all societies identify some magic practices as forbidden or disapproved.⁵⁷ But religious historian Erwin R. Goodenough observed: "they have

usually tended ... to reserve such words as 'magic' and 'superstition' for the lower levels of *other* religions" (emphasis in original).⁵⁸ Even within a single religious tradition, such a bias can operate: "'Magic' implies any approach to religion, even within our own faith, which appears to us unworthy, that is, which we have rejected for ourselves. ... These are religious beliefs and acts which the person calling them superstition or magic simply does not like."⁵⁹ The polemical use of "occult" and "magic" can apply to previously accepted religious practices that are now discarded: "Whatever smacks a bit too strongly of methods or practices we no longer apply is ... classified as 'magic.'"⁶⁰ Because of those problems in definition, for decades a few scholars in various disciplines have recommended that the category of "'magic' must be discarded."⁶¹

In response to the mid-1980s media attention about folk magic and early Mormonism, in 1987 LDS authors Stephen D. Ricks and Daniel C. Peterson suggested replacing "magic" with "a less value-laden term (e.g. 'popular religion' or 'folk religion') ..."⁶² The first edition of *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View* indexed their preferred term "folk religion," which appeared twelve times—four on a single page. In response Ricks and Peterson (now both serving as editors for publications by the Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, FARMS) suddenly decided that the amorphous term "ritual" was the ideal substitution for "magic" and "occult." Since then, they have been joined by fellow FARMS writer John Gee (an Egyptologist-in-training), who has made this proposal more emphatically. The three FARMS writers advocate that "religion" and "religious rituals" should substitute as terms for "magic" and "magic practices."⁶³

However, in the scholarly book on "Ancient Magic" which published Ricks's proposal, its editors warned about the "slippery" substitution of "ritual power" for the term "magic."⁶⁴ In making such a substitution, authors ignore the fact that "ritual" also applies to such diverse enterprises as college sororities, fraternal organizations, Boy Scouts, and Girl Scouts. "Ritual" is also a standard term to describe obsessive-compulsive disorders.⁶⁵

On the other hand, without making the sophomoric substitution of "ritual power" for magic, Michael Swartz has recently incorporated the phrase in his discussion of the relation between religion and magic. Similar to my discussion of early Mormonism, Swartz observed: "To recognize the extent to which magic was an ingredient in Judaism in the rabbinic milieu is to rethink the nature of ancient Judaism itself." Citing Jonathan Z. Smith, he called this "the process of 'defamiliarization' by which we see a culture in a new way." Swartz continued: "Indeed, to separate or rank magic in opposition to religion not only misstates their relationship, but limits the sphere of religion, which can encompass the use of ritual power for the individual's needs." Thus, in his discussion of "prevailing elements of Jewish magical texts," Swartz included "ritual practices for the needs of specific individuals."⁶⁶

Likewise, "if prayer cannot be distinguished from incantation or rite from enchantment, sorcery or wizardry," wrote respected Jewish scholar Jacob Neusner, "then religion cannot be set apart from magic." He considered the possibility that "magic" was merely a "term of judgment, not of classification." However, Neusner concluded that "they [the Rabbis] may sometimes have distinguished,

as I cannot, between magic and 'Torah,' but the evidence before us leaves little ground to repeat that distinction."⁶⁷

Whether certain scholars like it or not, they share with non-scholars a common understanding of the kinds of activities encompassed by the word "magic." However, "ritual" applies to diverse activities that no one would ever confuse with magic. It is illogical to select a word of vastly generalized application to substitute for a term that has always had more specific application.⁶⁸

Significantly, Ricks, Peterson, and Gee have not suggested substituting "ritual" for the word "religion." Proposing to abandon only the category of "magic" is an admission of their inability to define "religion" exclusively. Various writers want to privilege the category of "religion," but cannot define it in such a way as to exclude all beliefs and practices that they regard as The Other. Defining The Other as "ritual" simply begs the fundamental question. Ariel Glucklich has recently acknowledged this problem by observing that the religion/magic debate actually demonstrates that both "terms [are] empty intellectual containers."⁶⁹ Thus, H. S. Versnel has also claimed: "Magic does not exist, nor does religion. What do exist are our definitions of these concepts."⁷⁰ Ceasing to use both "religion" and "magic" as terms is the logical extension of arguments by Ricks, Peterson, Gee, and others, yet I do not regard either term as "empty" or meaningless.

Nevertheless, these FARMS authors have a more specific concern than their fields of biblical studies and ancient Egypt. Defending Joseph Smith from any association with magic is the primary motivation for their definitional nihilism. In 1987 Ricks and Peterson introduced their rejection of the term "magic" by acknowledging that there were "uncomfortable questions about the influence on the young Joseph Smith of the 'magical' elements in his environment." Equally important was Gee's comment: "Since they have given no grounds for what constitutes 'magic,' their accusations that Joseph Smith practiced it are groundless, and their evidence consists mostly of hearsay, ambiguous or dubious objects, innuendo, or blatant forgeries."⁷¹

However, the fundamental problem with this tactic of LDS apologists is that denying the legitimacy of the word "magic" or "occult sciences" also denies the self-definition of people before and during Joseph Smith's time. From the sixteenth century to Smith's generation, dozens of authors wrote books enthusiastically promoting *Magic*, the *Occult*, and *Occult Sciences*,⁷² yet Ricks and Gee want current Mormons to believe that the titles really meant "religion" and "religious rituals." For LDS apologists, this substitution has become necessary because published research since the mid-1970s has demonstrated that two branches of the Joseph Smith family preserved as "sacred relics" certain artifacts whose inscriptions were copied directly from published handbooks with *Magus* and *Occult Sciences* in the titles (see chs. 3-4). To free early Mormon history from association with magic and the occult, Ricks, Peterson, and Gee insist on eliminating the words "magic" and "the occult" from the lives of everyone who embraced those terms.

For example, John Gee implies that respected Egyptologist Robert K. Ritner agrees with Gee's graduate-student views,⁷³ yet the opposite is true. Ritner actually

rejects arguments for abandoning the term “magic” and emphatically affirms the need “for maintaining the concept of ‘magic’ in Egyptology.” Why?—“because the Egyptians themselves gave a name to a practice which they—not others—identified with the Western concept of magic.” That term was not one of disapproval: “Both deity [*Heka*] (‘Magic/Magician’) and concept (‘magic’) are attested from the Old Kingdom through the Roman period.” Ritner concludes: “The undisputed prominence of *Heka/heka* within orthodox Egyptian theology necessarily provokes skepticism about the supposed incompatibility of ‘religion’ and ‘magic.’” Moreover, in contradiction to Gee’s insistence that “religion” is the only appropriate way to describe Egyptian ritual, Ritner observes that in ancient Egypt “a recognized category of ‘religion’ did not even exist.”⁷⁴ Nevertheless, in an astonishing misrepresentation of Ritner’s repeated statements in the articles that Gee himself cited, this FARMS polemicist has claimed that Ritner allegedly recommends “that the term *magic* be dropped” (emphasis in original).⁷⁵

For centuries “magic” and “occult” have described generally recognized beliefs, practices, and writings. Even though people disagree over how far to extend those terms, there are no better words in English to describe the beliefs and practices discussed in this book. Even when a scholar like John G. Gager professes to abandon the term magic, it remains as the unspoken context of his book title and analysis.⁷⁶ With reference to the same curse-tablets that Gager analyzed, Versnel commented on this scholarly approach of avoiding “both the use of the term magic and any query which entails the application of this term even in books which have magic as their very subject.” In fact, Versnel observed that “in the context of (magical) curse-tablets and—related but clearly distinct—(religious) prayers for justice or vengeance, the ancient authors were clearly aware of the very same distinctions modern people normally associate with the notions of magic and religion” (parentheses in original).⁷⁷

Likewise, William J. Hamblin has not followed his fellow FARMS writers in abandoning the category of magic. This is evident in two books published jointly by FARMS and the official LDS publishing company. For a non-polemical article in 1990 Hamblin wrote: “Thus the inclusion of various types of talismanic markings on armor to secure divine or magical protection is almost a universal phenomenon.” In a non-polemical article of 1994 Hamblin also referred to “the occult sciences such as astrology and magic,” to “various magical incantations and practices” in ancient Jewish mysticism (redacted as early Christian pseudepigrapha), to “medieval magicians,” and to “Renaissance magical Christian worldviews.”⁷⁸ However, as a polemical reviewer, Hamblin follows the FARMS format of polemics by claiming that magic is “a highly problematical concept” and saying the term “should be abandoned in academic discourse.”⁷⁹ He also published this in 1994.

Hamblin’s inconsistencies are typical of the polemical “double standard” that FARMS editor Daniel C. Peterson condemns only in those he regards as anti-Mormons. In fact, ten years after Peterson rejected any use of the term “magic” regarding Joseph Smith and early Mormons, this FARMS polemicist used “magicians” and “magical” to describe Jesus and early Christians. “Early Christians, and even Jesus Christ himself, were routinely described as magi-

cians by those around them. Furthermore, at least a few modern scholars see little reason to disagree. And ancient Christians beyond the formative period were quite frequently involved with what might plausibly be termed 'magical practices.' Peterson published this without any dissent on the page of his text and without qualification in his source-citations for this statement. In fact, one of his footnotes recommended a book which "offers various prespectives on one important Christian magical tradition," and he noted that "arguably Christian magical texts" can be found in published collections by Hans Dieter Betz and John G. Gager. Also, when not writing polemically, in 1996 Ricks matter-of-factly referred (without qualification) to "Egyptian magical papyri."⁸⁰

Contrary to the example of FARMS polemicists, I consistently accept the "wide consensus" of many scholars about religion and magic.⁸¹ In the words of anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss: "There is no religion without magic any more than there is magic without at least a trace of religion."⁸² In his exhaustive survey of the various theories of magic, sociologist O'Keefe explained: "It is because the interactions of magic and religion are so complicated and paradoxical (overlap, hostility, expropriation, rejection, synthesis, etc.) that there has been such confusion as to which preceded which, magic or religion—and even as to which is which: 1. First, there has been outright disagreement as to whether particular phenomena can be classified as magic or religion. ... 2. And even when investigators agree on which is which, magic and religion overlap so conspicuously and beg, borrow and steal from each other so outrageously that there is disagreement about priority."⁸³ Morton Smith called this "the intimate, almost incestuous, relations of magic and religion."⁸⁴

This overlapping of magic and religion applies equally to biblical Hebrews, Jewish rabbis from the Hellenistic period to the Middle Ages, early Christians and medieval Catholics, and to various believers during the Renaissance and the Age of Reason (see ch. 1).⁸⁵ According to Julio Caro Baroja's study of witchcraft and witchcraft persecutions: "Magic and religion cannot, I repeat, be separated as simply as people used to think. The only real distinction that can be made is between White and Black Magic."⁸⁶ Applying such distinctions to the Hebrew Bible (Christianity's Old Testament), the recent *Anchor Bible Dictionary* observes that magic is "the more neutral term," when compared with "the negative and antisocial term 'sorcery.'"⁸⁷ Likewise, James H. Charlesworth has referred to the "white magic" of "the Aramaic Incantation Bowls" that were in common use among ancient Jews.⁸⁸

In its entry for *magic*, the 1986 *Encyclopedia of the Jewish Religion* observed that the Talmud also "seems to differentiate between what might be called 'black m[agic]...' and 'white m[agic]...', depending on the source of the occult powers." Its Jewish editors added that in certain instances the Talmud also "refers to sorcery which is entirely permitted." Even today, the encyclopedia also observed, "the use of amulets is still prevalent among Oriental Jews."⁸⁹ Likewise, the two-volume *Dictionary of Judaism in the Biblical Period* also affirmed in 1996 that "the use of magic within the general culture of the talmudic period had significant impact upon Jewish society, which largely accepted such practices." Like the earlier work, this 1996 dictionary referred to "Jewish magical amulets, often with inscriptions

naming the deity and names of the angels." Both Jewish reference books agreed that the "universal Jewish phrase of congratulations *Mazzal Tov* ('Good Luck') ... is a relic of the belief in astrology." The encyclopedia translated the phrase as "a good constellation," while the dictionary rendered it as "under a propitious star."⁹⁰

Following Baroja's recommendation, it is easier to distinguish between kinds of magic than between magic and religion. Renaissance writer Gabriel Naude identified four separate categories of magic: that produced "[1] by the particular grace of the Almighty God, or [2] by the assistance of an Angel, or [3] by that of a Daemon; or lastly, by his own industry and ability. From these four different wayes, we infer four kinds of Magick: *Divine*, relating to the first; *Theurgick*, to the second; *Goetick*, to the third; and *Natural*, to the last."⁹¹ The Age of Reason reduced the types of magic to divine, diabolic, and natural,⁹² but the original distinctions hold up remarkably well after hundreds of years.

Beyond academic occultism, people with limited education also demonstrate Baroja's definition of magic as a duality. For example, concerning "the mountain Whites of the Alleghanies," a nineteenth-century researcher commented: "In these parts the distinction between Black and White Magic is well established."⁹³

Like sociologist O'Keefe,⁹⁴ I regard magic and religion neither as identical entities nor as polar opposites. Nor are they dual foci that overlap only peripherally. The position each occupies on the spectrum of beliefs and practices depends, of course, upon one's vantage point. But there is such a pronounced interrelationship among the various manifestations of magic and religion that the inextricable blending of the two at some point or points is difficult to overlook. Scholars have noted that this was true of Joseph Smith's America⁹⁵ and of Mormonism's early history.⁹⁶

In attempting to make connections between magic and Mormonism, I use several kinds of evidence. Because Mormonism was controversial among many of its neighbors, primary emphasis must be given to *direct evidence from friendly sources*. Nevertheless, it is misleading to ignore or reject out-of-hand *direct evidence from unfriendly sources*, particularly when Mormon sources corroborate information from unfriendly sources.

LDS historian Richard L. Bushman has written concerning non-Mormon "evidence which Mormons dismissed as hopelessly biased. But when I got into the sources, I found evidence from friendly contemporaries as well, Martin Harris, Joseph Knight, Oliver Cowdery, and Lucy Mack Smith. All of these witnesses persuaded me that treasure-seeking and vernacular magic were part of the Smith family tradition, and that the hostile witnesses, including the 1826 trial record, had to be taken seriously."⁹⁷ Non-Mormon sources (even anti-Mormon eye-witnesses) can improve understanding about events that are only sketchily recorded in Mormon sources.

This study also relies heavily upon certain artifacts of material culture. The Smiths and other early Mormons possessed magic artifacts that were handed down reverentially to descendants or other relatives. Possession of a verified magic artifact is not proof that the possessors used the object at all or in the manner dictated by a magic world view. Nonetheless, historical inquiry requires

that one examine the purposes of such possessions and determine to what extent those purposes were consistent with the known actions and statements of the apparent possessor(s). The probability that an artifact was actually used in traditional ways increases to the degree that its purpose is consistent with the activities and statements of the possessor. Consistency also is not proof, but the discipline of history depends upon context and consistency in the effort to reconstruct the probable past.

Between the past's indisputable facts and its unknowable gaps in evidence, there is a vast terrain of the possible and probable. Establishing possibilities and probabilities is more mundane and incomplete than the kind of absolute proof that a polemicist demands only of interpretations he dislikes.⁹⁸ Surviving documents and artifacts allow researchers to assess significant possibilities, which is a more legitimate process than the nihilistic dodge that "anything is possible." As researchers accumulate evidence about a topic, they may conclude that a significant possibility has increased to a probability. If this sounds like detective work, that is what most historians do.⁹⁹ Like detective work, the conclusions of historical research are similar to the legal requirement known as "preponderance of the evidence," rather than "proof beyond the shadow of a doubt."¹⁰⁰

My analysis also uses the indirect approach of *parallel evidence*. Parallelism has been a standard interpretative method in many disciplines. It has been the nearly exclusive approach of Mormon scholar Hugh W. Nibley and others in discussing the cultural context and historicity of the *Book of Mormon*.¹⁰¹ FARMS historian William J. Hamblin has insisted: "Parallels, whether ancient or modern, should certainly not be seen as *proof* of the origin of the Book of Mormon, but they cannot be ignored or dismissed as *evidence*" (emphasis in original).¹⁰²

Environmental parallels assume that persons and activities are influenced by and respond to contemporary events and circumstances. An awareness of the contemporary environment is a standard method of identifying persons, things, activities, or developments as typical or atypical of a time and place.¹⁰³ *Literary parallels* often lead to causal explanation when a person expresses certain words, phrases, or ideas also used in a written source that is potentially available to the individual. The degree of similarity indicates that the person's ideas, speech, writing, or actions were directly influenced by the pre-existing text or indirectly influenced by the popularity of the text in common vernacular. *Historical parallels* assume that a person's world view and sometimes his or her activities reflect in part an influence from the past. This can be personal, familial, cultural, or societal.¹⁰⁴ These are common uses of parallel evidence, even though each has its limitations and no use of parallel evidence constitutes absolute proof.

The most difficult challenge in using parallel evidence is the situation where there are parallels without any known connection between individuals and the relevant evidence. Some have argued that without a demonstrable link, the analogies are insignificant, to which one scholar objected: "Are we to refuse to recognize them as parallels?" In such cases, Herbert J. Rose argued that it is important to acknowledge close parallels as significant because "what is done by one group of human beings may have been done for the same or similar reasons,

by another group, without supposing any other bond between them than their common humanity."¹⁰⁵

Likewise, I believe it is necessary to consider parallels, because their existence is a form of evidence which should at least be acknowledged. Paul M. Edwards (a direct descendant of Joseph Smith) has advised current believers in the LDS prophet: "it would be foolish for us to ignore the presence of parallels and interrelations between Mormonism and the magic world view held by nineteenth-century Americans."¹⁰⁶ As Hamblin stated unconditionally, parallels "cannot be ignored or dismissed as *evidence*."

Psychologist Carl G. Jung proposed one means to interpret parallels that lack causative links. He wrote that "the connection of events may in certain circumstances be other than causal, and requires another principle of explanation." The explanation Jung proposed was "archetype," a pattern of thought (and its resulting act) within the "collective unconscious."¹⁰⁷

Archetypal parallels do not require environmental, literary, historical, or causal connection. Rather, seemingly unconnected developments of thought and action may appear strikingly similar, leading to the almost metaphysical conclusion that they are replicating patterns or archetypes. Scholars in various fields have adopted a Jungian view of such parallels.¹⁰⁸

The LDS church's youth magazine, the LDS publishing company, and FARMS have even printed Hugh Nibley's endorsement of using ancient "myths" as "a useful means of checking up on the revelations of Joseph Smith."¹⁰⁹ Several LDS authors have also adopted this approach to examine how Joseph Smith's life matched the archetypal patterns for mythic heroes/prophets.¹¹⁰ Intriguing and possibly significant in themselves, archetypal parallels do not necessarily represent dependence between events or conscious borrowing of ideas.

Concerning parallels widely separated in time and place, there have been some important observations in the official journals of FARMS. Todd Compton has described two groups of writers who usually talk past each other, except to engage in polemics about *Book of Mormon* origins. On one side are *nonhistoricists*, who seek nineteenth-century "parallels to show that the book is not an ancient historical document." On the other side are *historicists*, "who believe the Book of Mormon is an inspired translation of an ancient text," and seek "ancient parallels to show that the book is ancient. The natural tendency, for both sides, is to disallow the other side's parallels as negligible." Hamblin uses the terms *secular naturalists* and *historical traditionalists* to describe those groups, and (as previously quoted) regards each side's use of parallels as a legitimate endeavor.¹¹¹

However, Compton and Hamblin did not specify the unequal requirements of this scholarship, which resulted in huge differences in reaching the reading public. With English as the only skill necessary to locate nineteenth-century environmental parallels for the *Book of Mormon*, secular naturalists had the publishing field largely to themselves for a hundred years. In the mid-1920s a few LDS scholars obtained graduate training in ancient Near Eastern languages and literatures, initially at the University of Chicago Divinity School. This allowed historically traditionalist scholarship among Mormons for the first time, and it became centered in Brigham Young University from the 1930s to the present.¹¹²

Still, the secular naturalists maintained an absolute advantage because even watered-down scholarship by historical traditionalists requires its readers to make unusual commitments of time, attention, and (often) additional study in order to comprehend the faith-promoting scholarship. The scholarly "war of words and tumult of opinions"¹¹³ has continued to the present.

I share Compton's dismay at the take-no-prisoners approach of writers on both sides of this debate. "I believe that every critic, in all fairness, should consider the others' parallels by the same standards one applies to one's own," he insists. "Strong parallels, from whatever period, will enrich our understanding of the Book of Mormon. We should all have enough breadth to welcome work from other fields."¹¹⁴ I regard Compton's advice as academically wise, personally charitable, and encouraging for religious and intellectual growth.

In this present study of popular religion, folk magic, institutional religion, and academic occultism, my analysis uses parallel evidence from the written text and oral tradition. In the Western tradition of the occult, the relationship between the printed word and folklore is especially interdependent. As Katharine M. Briggs observed: "Many of the occult writings never came into general circulation, but were handed down jealously from magician to magician. ... From the fifteenth century onward, however, there were many manuscript books of magic for the less learned through which scraps of occult knowledge were distributed among the people, and returned again to the folklore from which they had been borrowed. For occult learning was originally founded upon folklore. It borrowed from magic and lent to it, and used symbols rooted in folk consciousness."¹¹⁵

To extend her comments, the occult sciences preceded the invention of writing in all cultures. In fact, magic is still pre-literate in some cultures. In the absence of writing, certain men and women were more "adept" in occult knowledge and practice than others. These adepts were magic's first elite and perpetuated themselves through mentoring and oral tradition. With the development of writing, academically trained occultists became magic's second elite, which was capable of training disciples without personal contact. The two elites coexisted, but competed for followers in the general population (the folk) only when literacy became widespread. This was the preface to the process Briggs described for western European society.

After the establishment of literate religion and instructional institutions, academic magic had a circular relationship to folk magic. Magicians, academics, priests, and monks formalized the occult's oral tradition into manuscripts and books of occult philosophy and formula magic. In turn, this academic occult tradition filtered down to the common people, who incorporated it into their own folklore and folk religion.¹¹⁶ To complete the circle, these academically influenced vernacular traditions reached later academics, observers, writers, and practitioners of the occult.¹¹⁷ In other words, magic folklore has a symbiotic relationship with academic occultism in literate cultures. Each depends on the other, and each contributes to the other's survival.

Common people have an intellectual life. The fallacy of "intellectual history" among traditional historians of Europe and America has been to limit the concept of intellectual history to privileged elites. In cultures that are primarily literate,

such as Anglo-European America, common people's intellectual history responds to, imitates, and departs from the intellectual life and published works of the elites. The intellectual history of common people is more diverse—and sometimes more interesting—than the intellectual history of elites.

In attempting to portray the magic world view of Joseph Smith's culture, I have emphasized works published prior to the 1830s. This demonstrates how persons may have incorporated the pre-existing view into their particular understanding of Mormonism. In addition, because of the relationship between the oral and written occult traditions, I have drawn upon insights from manuscript books and oral folklore available in Smith's time, but not published until afterward.¹¹⁸

By citing books written hundreds of years before Joseph Smith's birth, I do not assert that he actually read those books. Nonetheless, he certainly had opportunity to read many out-of-print occult books that continued to circulate in New York state (see chs. 1, 4, 6).

During Smith's youth, recently published occult handbooks were even available in his neighborhood (see ch. 4). In one case he later acknowledged familiarity with esoteric literature advertised and sold in Palmyra and nearby Canandaigua during his youth. In another case the Mormon prophet definitely owned a rare non-occult book that had been out-of-print as long as some of the occult handbooks I cite. Moreover, of the books Smith donated to a library shortly before his death, 75 percent of the pre-1830 titles were available in his neighborhood as young man (see ch. 6). Artifacts handed down within his family also show direct dependence on the text and illustrations of previously published handbooks for ceremonial magic (see chs. 3-4). In fact, during the last years of his life Joseph Smith used one of those out-of-print occult books as the basis for instructions to a prominent member of the LDS church (see ch. 7).

At the least, literary citations show the extent of the written tradition which eventually diffused widely within oral traditions. That includes publication-history, book notices, advertisements, and library holdings for various kinds of works. In a few cases, I argue for a causal relationship between available texts of magic and Joseph Smith's specific acts or statements.

Likelihood of acquaintance with previously written texts will increase when two factors intersect. First, when there is near correspondence or exact match between occult texts on the one hand, and certain activities/statements on the other. Second, when there was easy access by the Smiths and other early Mormons to writings about the occult and magic world view. But, for the most part, I present parallels to indicate how persons sharing a magic world view may have understood developments in Mormonism which I personally regard as divine in origin.

Readers and writers of any work using parallels as evidence would do well to remember the observation of New Testament scholar Samuel Sandmel: "It would seem to me to follow that, in dealing with similarities we can sometimes discover exact parallels, some with and some devoid of significance; seeming parallels which are so only imperfectly; and statements which can be called parallels which are so only by taking them out of context."¹¹⁹ With such cautions in mind, I have tried to proceed vigorously and carefully.

Despite my best efforts, some critics have dismissed much of this book's evidence as mere coincidence. In this regard, careful readers will profit from two perspectives.

First, for those who perceived reality from the magic world view, there was no coincidence. To grasp how those persons understood or may have understood certain circumstances, one should try to reconstruct their "distinctive pattern of thought or logic," even though ultimately they were "thinking thoughts that we cannot recapture ... because they conformed to a totally alien logic."¹²⁰

Second, there is a methodological question when one moves beyond recapturing a world view, to asserting that there are significant correlations of parallel evidence. When do seeming coincidences of evidence exceed the probability of coincidence and move toward circumstantial proof? Each reader may answer this question differently. This study presents evidence that seems, in my judgment, significantly connected and not haphazardly unrelated.¹²¹

Furthermore, as should be obvious to most readers, diversity is always the rule in human conduct and belief. Even though I have emphasized Judeo-Christian traditions of religion and magic, both were diverse and fragmented. Just as there have always been differences within Judaism and Christianity, there was great diversity among those who believed in magic. Occult traditions had no hierarchy of authorities, no formal institutions, no canonized texts.¹²² For instance, astrologers often criticized each other and disagreed about other dimensions in the occult. Some occult scholars and common people accepted "natural magic" such as divining rods, yet rejected ceremonial magic with its spirit invocations through formulas and rites. Others used various instruments and rites for treasure-seeking, but for very different motivations. As a term and interpretive tool, the magic world view defines a certain unity of perspective but does not regiment either the beliefs or practices of those associated with such a view.

Nevertheless, there has been an identifiable occult tradition in Western civilization. Scholars and common people alike relied on various authorities and texts in transmitting occult traditions, formulas, and rites. Magic texts date to the earliest periods of written records.¹²³ Medieval writers on the occult cited ancient authors and copied their texts. Renaissance occultists cited both ancient and medieval authors/texts, while nineteenth-century occult works cited authors and texts extending back two millennia.¹²⁴ Jonathan Z. Smith called this "an occult chain of tradition."¹²⁵

Of early Americans, historian David D. Hall wrote: "People in the seventeenth century inherited a lore that stretched back to the Greeks and Romans. ... Whenever the colonists spoke or wrote of wonders, they drew freely on this lore; theirs was a borrowed language. ... High or low, learned or unlearned, these people had absorbed a host of older beliefs."¹²⁶

The best example in the early nineteenth century was Robert C. Smith's *Astrologer of the Nineteenth Century ... a Complete System of Occult Philosophy*. In one footnote this 1825 occult handbook cited Francis Barrett's "Magus, Ceremonial Magic [part of Barrett's subtitle], and Agrippa's *Occult Philo*, lib. 4; also *Pope Honorius on Magical Rites*, and *Solomon's Key to Magic*." Barrett's book had been out-of-print for twenty-four years, Agrippa's for 174 years, and the last two were

unpublished manuscripts of medieval magic. Robert Smith later advised his readers to consult eight ancient authors, six authors of the 1600s, and eight authors from the 1700s to early 1800s.¹²⁷

Because each century's occult works and traditions explicitly recirculated the philosophy and ceremonies of previous ages, there was an intentional timelessness unifying occult manifestations in different circumstances. One historian has noted that "the range of magicians' actions ... seems to change very little ... [and they] retained their currency from antiquity through early modern times ... With some variations, such procedures remained current in magical literature through the Renaissance and beyond."¹²⁸

This extended beyond the academic magic of occult elites. A study of a Pennsylvania German's handbook of folk remedies (composed in 1819) noted: "Thus charms which were in use among the Anglo-Saxons more than a thousand years ago are essentially similar to the material in [Johann Georg] Hohman's book."¹²⁹ A recent history of English astrology likewise observed that "popular astrology persisted [among common people], almost unchanged in its content, from about the late Middle Ages until at least the mid-nineteenth-century, probably throughout the British Isles."¹³⁰ Concerning the cheaply bound chapbooks of occult instruction that common people could purchase for a penny or so, "various editions of Mother Bunch's soothsayings were current for at least two, and possibly three, centuries."¹³¹ Before his death in 1860, one village astrologer compiled "a scrapbook of astrological data ranging from the mid-seventeenth century to the mid-nineteenth century."¹³² Even though occult authorities and philosophies have varied at different times and places, the occult maintains its timeless aura in European-Anglo-American culture. As Nachman Ben-Yehuda wrote about the "occult revival" in America from the 1960s to 1980s: "Modern occultists have added practically nothing to occult practices, theories, or notions, which have existed for hundreds of years."¹³³

This timelessness transcends the Western tradition of the occult. For example, Mircea Eliade has written: "In every culture where alchemy has flourished, it has always been intimately related to an esoteric or 'mystical' tradition: in China to Taoism, in India to Yoga and Tantrism, in Hellenistic Egypt to *gnosis*, in Islamic countries to Hermetic and esoteric mystical schools, in the Western Middle Ages and Renaissance to Hermeticism, Christian and sectarian mysticism, and Qabalah" (emphasis in original). Eliade noted that in these disparate cultures, alchemists all emphasized secrecy and similar approaches to the esoteric.¹³⁴

Eliade's comment also serves as a useful introduction to the fallacy involved in the substitution of terms by another FARMS polemicist. "It is unfortunate that [Lance S.] Owens uses the misleading term *occult* to describe the esoteric tradition," William J. Hamblin has recently written. "For a late twentieth-century audience kabbalism and hermeticism are much better described as esoteric rather than occult" (emphasis in original).¹³⁵ Hamblin creates a false dichotomy between the occult and the esoteric, as Edward A. Tiryakian indicated in his 1972 essay on "esoteric culture." The occult is a group of "practices, techniques or procedures," and the esoteric is "those religiophilosophic belief systems which underlie

occult techniques and practices." That has become an internationally accepted view among reputable scholars.¹³⁶

Because I hope to explore sympathetically a world view different in some respects from my own and in many ways alien to twentieth-century assumptions about the nature of reality, I feel it necessary to state my biases at the outset. I believe in Gods, angels, spirits, and devils, and that they have communicated with humankind. In Mormon terms, I have a personal "testimony" of Jesus as my Savior, of Joseph Smith, Jr., as a prophet, of the *Book of Mormon* as the word of God, and of the LDS church as a divinely established organization through which men and women can obtain essential priesthood ordinances of eternal consequence. I also believe that no historical documents presently available, or locked away, or still unknown will alter these truths. I believe that persons of faith have no reason to avoid historical inquiry into their religion or to discourage others from such investigations.

This book does not pretend to portray a full understanding of Western civilization, the Judeo-Christian tradition, early America, the founding Mormon prophet, the Smith family, Mormon origins, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, or Latter-day Saints generally. In order to understand the magic world view as it relates to the above, I have emphasized the magic perspective. Likewise, other historians may focus on the military activities of George Washington or the politics of America. Such a focus is necessary to understand the topic at hand, but inevitably omits many dimensions of a civilization, a culture, a nation, a religion, a group, or an individual. In a classic comment about Mormon complexity, religious historian Sydney E. Ahlstrom expressed his uncertainty whether Mormonism "is a sect, a mystery cult, a new religion, a church, a people, a nation, or an American subculture; indeed, at different times and places it is all of these."¹³⁷

In what follows most Mormons will not find a story with which they are familiar. Instead, they will discover that the LDS prophet certainly participated extensively in some pursuits of folk magic and apparently in others. Joseph Smith and his family shared with others of their time a magic view of the world.

For myself, I have found that the "official version" of early Mormon history is sometimes incomplete in its presentation and evaluation of evidence. Therefore, official LDS history is inaccurate in certain respects. Thus, I am a revisionist historian. Mormon apologists—scholars writing to defend the faith and to sustain an official version of Mormon history in a conscientious manner—have occasionally focused narrowly on the inherent prejudice of early non-Mormon sources.¹³⁸ LDS apologists often do not inform their readers that pro-Mormon sources corroborate the statements by anti-Mormons. As Hugh Nibley once wrote: "Now anyone who takes it upon himself to withhold evidence is actually determining what the reader's idea of church history is going to be—he is controlling the past."¹³⁹ Exploring evidences previously ignored or regarded as insignificant has only enhanced my understanding of Mormonism's founding prophet.

For non-Mormon readers, my purpose is not to demean Joseph Smith as a prophet or to proselytize. I seek to appreciate in greater depth (and with greater fidelity to the evidence) a man who, I believe, was remarkable.

The sources I present and analyze may appear unusual to many readers, yet I do not believe that my analysis disparages the Mormon founder's integrity or prophetic claims.¹⁴⁰ If my interpretations have validity, this requires that Mormons and non-Mormons try to understand Joseph Smith and early Mormonism in a different light.¹⁴¹ Whatever else, this process should deepen our understanding of an often neglected early American subculture larger than Mormonism.

When complex developments extend across time to intersect with each other, either a wholly topical or strictly chronological analysis will create some problems for the reader. A certain amount of overlap in topic and chronology seems necessary in order to avoid fragmenting the analysis. I have chosen to divide the discussion that follows into three time periods, with topically oriented analysis in each.

The first chapter briefly sketches the Judeo-Christian tradition of religion and magic from biblical times to the contemporary environment of the Smith family in the early 1800s. Chapters 2, 3, 4, and 5 emphasize the period from Joseph Smith's first vision of 1820 through the translation of the *Book of Mormon* as new scripture in 1829. Analysis within these chapters tends to be topical rather than chronological.

Chapter 6 discusses certain dimensions of Mormon scripture and theology, with emphasis on the years 1830 to 1844. Chapter 7 focuses on the Latter-day Saint church and its people from 1830 to the present.

In addition, this study's detailed analysis and extensive citations have seemed necessary in view of pre-publication review. Readers unfamiliar with some dimensions of the subject have indicated a need for more careful explanation and multiple citations than readers who were acquainted with these areas. Therefore, the book assumes a general readership and attempts to carefully explain and substantiate topics that might be obvious to readers with more specialized background.

I.

Early America's Heritage of Religion and Magic

Historians typically include religion as part of America's environment. Only in recent decades have they studied the role of the occult in early America.¹ In 1995 David D. Hall asked: "Why is it that, not so long ago, the best of our historians were able to ignore these ways of thinking, this world of wonders, in reconstructing the culture of the people in early America?" His answer was that the secular rationalism of their training predisposed these historians to overlook evidence of this world view, or (if they did recognize this evidence) they dismissed it as insignificant.² The same question and answer also apply to Mormon historians concerning early Mormon culture, which was simply a sub-set of American culture. This study is as much about historians and their interpretations of evidence as it is about the past.

The Bible and Magic

Since biblical times, the belief in magic and reactions to it have overlaid the religious, intellectual, and cultural heritage of many civilizations and societies. This was also true of America since colonial times.

One need not be a linguist or biblical scholar to recognize that something of great mystery and power is in passages of the Psalms, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, the shorter prophetic works, John, and Revelation. Scholars refer to this sense of the ineffable as mysticism, and Jewish scholar Gershom Scholem has commented on its Hebrew context: "The fact is, however, that the idea of Jewish mysticism from the start combined the conception of a knowledge which by its very nature is difficult to impart and therefore secret, with that of a knowledge which is the secret tradition of chosen spirits or adepts." More relevant to the study of magic and religion, Scholem noted: "There are certain points at which the belief of the mystic easily becomes that of the magician."³ Before the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem, Jewish tradition also held that King Solomon's "wisdom included his vast knowledge of magic and medicine."⁴

In fact, by employing parallel methods, one can find many samples of magic practice in the Bible. The Hebrew Bible ("Old Testament" to Christians) "prohibits the practice of magic or presents it negatively in a number of places," the recent

Anchor Bible Dictionary observes. However, the Hebrew Bible also has "neutral or positive references to a wide range of magical and divinatory practices."⁵

For example, Exodus 3:13-14 showed the need to know the divine name of power. Kurt Seligmann, a German historian of magic, has observed: "Innumerable people have believed and still believe in the magical power of a name. This belief was especially powerful among the Egyptians. ... In the light of this belief, the priests of Egypt sought to discover the names of the gods, and thereby the ability to wield a supernatural power. At the sound of the true name, the powers of the gods stood ready to perform the invoker's bidding."⁶ In discussing "names and magic," Brigham Young University religion professor Truman G. Madsen has also observed that "Jewish and Christian lore contains many references to occult incantations, to amulets, charms, spells, exorcisms, all related to speculative angelologies and demonologies."⁷

Until the late nineteenth century, conventional scholarship transliterated God's name in the Hebrew Bible as "this Tetragrammaton, or four-lettered name, (Heb. JHWH)."⁸ The King James Version of the Bible (KJV) rendered this as "LORD." However, twentieth-century scholars regard "Jehovah" as "the hybrid name" for God's Tetragrammaton that actually read YHWH (or "Yahweh" in modern scholarship).⁹

Because God's name was unutterable among the Hebrews, they invested the Tetragrammaton with enormous power. In his study of prophecy and divination among biblical Hebrews, Alfred Guillaume wrote that "magic by means of the use of the Holy Name was actually sanctioned, [and] the results that were sought by it differed little if at all from the objects of heathen magic."¹⁰ D. S. Russell also noted that some of the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha "have something in common with certain Jewish magical texts and refer to the secret name of God."¹¹

The Bible indicates that the patriarch Jacob was interested in names of power and in magic rods. In Genesis 32:24-30, he wrestled all night with "a man" (Hos. 12:4 says "the angel"). Jacob, who already knew God's ineffable name ("LORD" in Gen. 28:16), asked the angel to reveal his name. Of this incident, Joshua Trachtenberg noted: "But the angel parried the question and his name remained his secret, lest Jacob invoke him in a magical incantation and he be obliged to obey."¹² In Genesis 30:37-39, Jacob used rods made of hazel wood, poplar, and chestnut to cause Laban's flocks to produce spotted offspring after merely looking at the rods. The scriptures do not indicate whether Jacob received divine instruction or authorization to use this method of folk magic that was widespread throughout the ancient Middle East as one way to produce desired offspring.¹³ Still, a Renaissance advocate of magic found Jacob's practice "an effect so purely magical that our most obstinate adversaries dare not question it."¹⁴

According to Genesis 44:2, 5, the patriarch Joseph had a special silver cup in Egypt with which "he divineth." In the 1811 New York edition of his oft-published Bible commentary, Adam Clarke made the following note about that passage: "Divination by cups, has been from time immemorial prevalent among the Asiatics." He criticized other biblical commentators for their strained efforts to "save Joseph from the impeachment of *sorcery* and *divination*." Nevertheless, Clarke himself waffled: "it is not at all likely that Joseph practised any kind of

divination, yet probably, according to the superstition of those times ... supernatural influence might be attributed to his cup" (emphasis in original). A similar statement appeared in Thomas Hartwell Horne's 1825 *Introduction To the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures*, which was on sale in Joseph Smith's neighborhood.¹⁵ A more recent scholar has written: "Instances of the use of cups of water, and variants, can be found in magical traditions from all over the world—ancient Egypt, Assyria, Persia, primitive Tahiti and primitive southern Africa, as well as from the Greco-Roman world and among later European peoples."¹⁶

Other scholars have pointed to striking environmental parallels to Joseph's silver cup of divination: "On the walls of the Hall of Divination in one of the buildings at Nineveh, soothsayers are shown looking into cups. ... And Pliny has it that the people of Egypt stained their silver vessels to enable them to see reflected in them their god Anubis."¹⁷ So without any biblical evidence of divine instruction or reproof, Joseph of Egypt, the diviner of dreams, resorted to a tool of magic divination (hydromancy) that was in regular use among surrounding pagans. This continues to be the consensus of biblical scholars, both Christian and Jewish.¹⁸

Some more conservative Protestant commentators have acknowledged the environmental magic parallels to Joseph's cup, yet insist that he did not use it for divination.¹⁹ However, in his seven-volume *Legends of the Jews*, Louis Ginzberg during the early 1900s simply referred to "the magic cup of Joseph." He also listed Joseph among "the names of persons versed in magic," along with Abraham, "Abraham's sons," David, Joshua, Methuselah, and Solomon.²⁰ The recent *Dictionary of Judaism in the Biblical Period* observes that "Joseph was said to have used his cup for divination purposes." In its essay on divination, this dictionary adds that "David consulted the ephod, which also seems to have given a 'yes' or 'no' answer to questions."²¹

However, even commentators critical of the occult have acknowledged the magic dimensions of biblical sortilege, the casting of lots.²² The God of Israel commanded his people to cast lots (Lev. 16:8-10), and the Hebrews chose priests and other temple workers by casting lots (1 Chron. 24:5, 25:8, 26:13). The apostles of the New Covenant also cast lots to select a replacement for Judas as an apostle (Acts 2:24-26). Not a vote by ballot, the biblical casting of lots was outwardly identical to sortilege practiced throughout the ancient world by pagans who sought to know the will of their various gods.²³ The Bible affirmed a difference between outward similarity and metaphysical dynamics: "The lot is cast into the lap; but the whole disposing thereof is of the LORD" (Prov. 16:33). Hebrews and Christians practiced the one true sortilege of the only true God.²⁴

Concerning that view, the sixteen-volume *Encyclopaedia Judaica* observed: "While repudiating the power of sorcery, biblical religion at times utilizes means and methods which were borrowed from magical practice, but were subordinated to the new faith and hence not regarded as acts of sorcery."²⁵ However, Jewish scholar Jacob Neusner has noted: "Indeed, 'Judaizing' magic made it no less magical."²⁶

Bible commentators have also generally acknowledged the magic context of

instances where objects had power to heal. In Numbers 21:9, Moses constructed a brass serpent, and any Israelite bitten by deadly serpents was healed by looking upon this image. The *Abingdon Bible Commentary* noted that this "is but one illustration of a practice well known outside the Bible as well as within it, namely, making an image of a pest or affliction and presenting the image to the deity who, in turn, would banish the pest."²⁷ The *Interpreter's Bible* added: "This seems to imply the notion of sympathetic magic, though the editor [of Numbers] is most clear in insisting that the cure comes from Yahweh."²⁸ In 2 Kings 13:21, a corpse revived to mortal life when it came into contact with the bones of the prophet Elisha. The *Interpreter's Bible* commented that such belief was "common among primitive people." It added that "the story recounted in vs. 21 is without parallel in Scripture. Nowhere else do we find even a hint of magic power in the bones of the dead."²⁹ The Hebrew Bible also has less obvious texts which are "identical" or very similar to Egyptian magic.³⁰

The best example in the New Testament of using an object to heal occurred in Acts 19:12, when the apostle Paul sent special handkerchiefs among the people to heal them. The *Interpreter's Bible* noted that "is very near the border line of magic." A more conservative commentary concluded that Paul used this magic technique "among a people famed for their addictedness to 'curious arts,' i.e. magical skills, etc., [so that it] would serve to convince them of the truth of the Gospel by a mode well suited to interest their minds." In other words, these Protestant commentators have affirmed that the apostle Paul used a technique of contemporary magic to teach in terms the common people understood.³¹

In an issue more central to the New Testament, the early church Fathers strongly disagreed with the pagan Celsus and Jewish rabbis that Jesus was a magician.³² Porphyry, another pagan writer, dismissed Jesus "as not even an extraordinary magician," and called the apostle Peter "a dabbler in the black arts."³³ This was so well-known that medieval Passion plays emphasized the accusation against "Christ the Sorcerer."³⁴ An early LDS periodical alluded to the ancient claim of Celsus that Jesus practiced magic he had learned in Egypt. However, *Times and Seasons* quoted from an ecclesiastical history which softened the pagan's accusation to "he got acquainted with miraculous arts there." Although Mormon publications occasionally referred to Celsus and sometimes specified his other accusations, the claim of early Christian magic was either absent or muted.³⁵

In a restrained analysis of such claims, John M. Hull's study of the synoptic Gospels stated: "The belief, accusation, or tradition that Jesus was a magician and that he passed magical power to his apostles and to the church as a whole is thus found in Judaism, gnosticism, Christian orthodoxy and heterodoxy, paganism, Islam and in Mandeism."³⁶ Not until the nineteenth century did authors devote a few lines or pages to the central reason for these accusations.

In many of the miracles of Jesus, the techniques paralleled closely the magic practices of the ancient world. For example, Jesus used spittle to heal (John 9:6) and Mark 5:41 used Aramaic words in an otherwise Greek text of healing words. Like Jesus, pagan magicians used spittle to heal the blind, put their fingers in the ears to heal the deaf, employed the same series of separate

acts involved in some of the more detailed Gospel healings, and used foreign words as part of magic spells and incantations.³⁷ For example, Egyptologist Robert K. Ritner has observed that "saliva magic" in Egypt was "given new justification by the miracles of Jesus."³⁸

Religious historian Stephen Benko observed that the accusation of magic against the early Christians was not polemical distortion. The non-Christians did not "see a difference between genuine Christian glossolalia [speaking in tongues] and the fraudulent gibberish of lower-class magicians and exorcists. ... [And also] the Christians used objects, rites, words, and formulas charged with divine potency to force demons to yield, all in accordance with well-known, contemporary rules of magic. ... [The Christians] may have claimed that this was not magic, but it certainly looked like magic to others."³⁹ To outside observers many of the teachings and ceremonies of early Christianity had the sound and appearance of conventional magic practiced by pagans. As Christopher Rowland observed: "It is impossible to relegate all this material to the untutored minds of the ancients."⁴⁰ Martin Hengel has recently noted: "For opponents of Christianity, the Cana narrative [of turning water into wine] could very well be regarded as proof of the magical art of Jesus." This New Testament scholar cited similar transformations by the pagan magician Parhedros and by the eighty witches of Ashkelon in the Talmud.⁴¹

In 1708 an American referred to Jesus in a manuscript about "Divine Magia." Caleb Gilman (resident of New Hampshire or New York) affirmed: "the Greatest Magus that ever was, or will be, viz our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; whose working of Miracles ... were all done by, & was nothing else than attaining to this Glorious Magia in its full perfection, thro' the Irresistable & Mighty Power of the Deity."⁴² In his enthusiastic *New Testament Occultism*, a practicing American occultist in 1895 claimed Jesus as his ideological mentor.⁴³ German sociologist Max Weber also mentioned Jesus in a context of magic practice.⁴⁴

Some scholars of the New Testament and ancient history have acknowledged that Jesus performed acts which were closely paralleled by magic practices among the pagans. These Christian scholars have insisted that these ceremonies in the Gospels were not magic, no matter how closely they mirrored contemporary magic practices, because it was Jesus who performed them.⁴⁵ That seems an assertion of faith rather than a conclusion based on existing documents.⁴⁶

Some of these conservative biblical scholars, such as Howard Clark Kee, have overstated the alleged differences between pagan magic and Christ's miracles. Liberal reviewer William R. Schoedel observed that "some [of Kee's] distinctions appear to have been overdrawn largely with a view to emphasizing the distance between Jesus and any magical conception of his activity as a wonder-worker." Schoedel also commented on "the questionableness of Kee's analysis" of pagan magic and Gospel miracles, as "uncritical (and sociologically crude)." Likewise, conservative biblical scholar Bruce J. Malina observed: "From the viewpoint of the social sciences Kee's work reads like a tissue of gratuitous assertions."⁴⁷

Using another tactic, Alan F. Segal has argued that it is impossible to prove or disprove the accusation of magic against Jesus. "There can be no possible demonstration or disproof of a charge which is a matter of interpretation in the

Hellenistic world."⁴⁸ This was more than a denial that there can be objective criteria for evaluating similarities between Gospel miracles and the self-proclaimed magic of pagan ceremonies. According to Segal's definitional nihilism, it would also be impossible to prove or disprove the claim that Jesus was a holy man or that he was a righteous man.

As a historian of Christianity, David E. Aune responded that many authors, "most of whom consider themselves biblical theologians, write as if they were involved in a conspiracy to ignore or minimize the role of magic in the New Testament and early Christian literature." He concluded that "it does not seem appropriate to regard Jesus as a magician," yet Aune affirmed: "Jesus did in fact make use of magical techniques which must be regarded as magical."⁴⁹ Even though William L. Lane and Howard Clark Kee denied that the Gospel miracles used techniques of magic, they acknowledged that some New Testament healings "bordered on magic."⁵⁰ Likewise, John J. Rousseau and Rami Arav recently affirmed that Jesus "was not a magician *stricto sensu* [in the strict sense, or literally]," yet they prefaced their discussion by writing: "Was Jesus a magician? This question is difficult to answer."⁵¹ The most detailed presentation of this topic in English was Gerd Theissen's 1983 textual comparison and analysis of the Gospel miracles and the ancient "Egyptian manuscripts known to scholars as the Greek Magical Papyri."⁵²

In addition to evidences of magic practices in early Christianity, occult beliefs and practices also occurred in Judaism of the same period, which "held that, unlike animals, every human being is born under the influence of a particular planer."⁵³ The recent *Dictionary of Judaism in the Biblical Period, 450 B.C.E. to 600 C.E.* observes that the astrological Zodiac was even embedded in the mosaic floor of synagogues, "but none appear in Christian buildings." By contrast, in its Jewish manifestations (fig. 14) "the zodiac panel is most often combined with a representation of a Torah shrine flanked by menorahs and other objects used in Jewish liturgy."⁵⁴

Debates about the existence of biblical magic reflect Erwin R. Goodenough's observation that it is easier for people to classify a religious practice as magic when it occurs outside their own religion. John Dominic Crossan notes: "More simply: 'we' practice religion, 'they' practice magic." He dismisses the religion/magic divide as "a political validation of the approved and the official against the unapproved and the unofficial."⁵⁵

Theologically, however, even exact parallels do not necessarily mean that magic was used. Jesuit theologian Bernard Lonergan observed that "the loss of reference to the transcendent will rob symbol, ritual, [and] recital of their proper meaning to leave them merely idol and magic and myth."⁵⁶ Certainly to understand any symbol or ceremony, one must explore its dynamics and higher meaning to those who use it. The *New Catholic Encyclopedia* explained that "it is the given attitude of man at a given time that determined whether there is a question of religion or magic."⁵⁷

However, there are two problems with that approach. First, without an individual's explicit statement of "attitude," others must engage in mind-reading in order to interpret a specific act. Second, this Catholic encyclopedia had already

acknowledged that "it is often difficult to determine whether an action or attitude is magical or religious."⁵⁸ Therefore, even an explicit statement of attitude may not distinguish a religious rite from a magic ceremony (see Intro.).

Moreover, any attempt at dispassionate understanding is hamstrung when practitioners define both the dynamics and meaning of rituals as otherworldly. Therefore, it is an assertion of faith when people declare that a rite of "religion" is not fundamentally "magic," despite outward similarities to a magic-defined ceremony.⁵⁹ Likewise for the assertion that a "magic" ceremony is not fundamentally "religious," despite its outward similarities to a religiously defined rite. For example, in his essay on "formative Judaism," Jacob Neusner has written: "The difference is not intrinsic; we do not appeal to traits of wonder-working that tell us that, in its character, that wonder-working differs from its gentile counterpart [of magic]. The stories we have examined insist on the opposite. The difference lies in God's differentiation between miracle and gentile magic ..."⁶⁰ In religious history, this becomes a problem when historians try to read the mind of God.

European Religion and Magic: Medieval to Renaissance

Medieval Europe is a case study for the problem of distinguishing external manifestations of ceremonies as magic or religious. The sixteen-volume *Encyclopedia of Religion* has observed: "Liturgy and sacramental theology developed special kinds of magic thought to be compatible with the doctrines of the Church. By the end of antiquity, the Church had become the home of many forms of magic that coexisted in an uneasy and tenuous symbiosis. Some magic was banned, some was tolerated, some was approved, but none achieved domination."⁶¹ Magic and religion were demonstrably linked even as the official church sponsored periodic campaigns against various forms of magic. "Church magic" of medieval Catholicism included the holy water, the talismanic use of the crucifix to ward off evil, sortilege by randomly opening the Bible and randomly pointing to a verse on the page (bibliomancy), the adoration of bones from the saints, appeals for healing to these bones and other sacred relics, elaborate ceremonies to exorcise evil spirits, and elements of the Mass itself.⁶² A twelfth-century Psalter of English Catholicism also contained the earliest-known Latin text of palmistry.⁶³

In addition, the medieval clergy participated in traditional forms of magic. "The Dominican monk Albertus Magnus [d. 1280] was truly well versed in popular magic," while Franciscan monk Roger Bacon (c. 1220-92), "like Albertus, was a supporter of natural magic," Ioan Petru Culianu has observed. "Bacon cultivated a form of astrological magic and was also a practitioner of alchemy."⁶⁴ Biblical scholar Adam Clarke informed readers in the early 1800s that Albertus Magnus "has been accused of magic by those who were no conjurors."⁶⁵ In fact, Catholic priests and monks also engaged in necromancy and other forms of ritual magic in medieval Europe.⁶⁶

Religious occultism persisted during the transition from the late medieval period to the Renaissance. The Medici family's resident philosopher and astrologer, Marsilio Ficino (1433-99), "foretold the pontificate of Giovanni (who became Leo X)." After his appointment as cardinal, Pierre d'Ailly (1350-1420) studied astrology and "besides being a pillar of orthodoxy also drew up a nativity

horoscope of Christ." Pope Sixtus IV (1471-84) was noted as an astrologer, while a practicing astrologer was elevated to bishop and then cardinal. In the early 1500s the court of Pope Paul IV "became a centre of astrological learning."⁶⁷

In 1494 and 1517 Johannes Reuchlin published two major works on the Cabala,⁶⁸ the ancient Jewish system of magic. Joseph L. Blau has observed that English publications of Christian cabalism became so frequent that "many who knew little of the Jews knew much of the Cabala."⁶⁹ However, as a Christian cabalist, "Reuchlin's interest in the text's accuracy was for a purely mystical-magical purpose," and his purpose was "to perform acts of magic."⁷⁰

In Catholic church liturgy of sixteenth-century England, the Book of Hours for prayers to the Virgin Mary included a woodcut of the Man of Signs, with an explanation of the Zodiac and its influence on the human body. This synthesis of astrology and prayer was also in the Book of Hours owned by Sir Thomas More, the eminent Christian humanist of the English Renaissance, royal chancellor, and Catholic martyr of the English Reformation (fig. 15).⁷¹

Magic in the Age of Reason: England and America

After more than a thousand years, the official mingling of magic and religion disintegrated under the influence of the Protestant Reformation and the Age of Reason. Of this period, historian John L. Brooke has noted that "four distinctly different spiritual authorities [were] competing for popular allegiance in this struggle: church reformers, utopian prophets, cunning folk, and Christian-hermetic *magi*."⁷² In addition, rationalists encouraged devotion to reason above any religious authority or popular belief.

Colonial America was heir to two centuries of this double-edged effort to separate religion from magic. Historian Keith Thomas explained: "For those Protestants who believed that the age of Christian miracles was over, all supernatural effects necessarily sprang from either fraudulent illusion or the workings of the Devil ... the Protestants now attacked not only folk magic, but also large parts of the old ecclesiastical magic as well."⁷³ As a result, some of the most prominent anti-witchcraft writers condemned as diabolical anything that replicated biblical miracles.

In the sixteenth century, Reginald Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (five editions, 1584-1665) derided modern appearances of angels, visions of Deity, miracles, and even healing as the work of "witchmongers." In *A Discourse of the Damned Art of Witchcraft* (five editions, 1608-31), William Perkins argued that healings or any other activity imitating New Testament gifts of the Spirit (whether claimed by Catholics or Protestants) were "the effectual working of Satan ... [because] this gift of the holy Ghost, whereof the Question is made, ceased long before [the formation of the Roman Catholic church]."⁷⁴ In 1657 John Gaule published *A Collection Out of the Best Approved Authors, Containing Histories of Visions, Apparitions, Prophecies, Spirits, Divinations, and other wonderful Illusions of the Devil Wrought by Magick or otherwise*.⁷⁵ In the eighteenth century, Daniel Defoe's *System of Magic; or, a History of the Black Art* (four editions, 1727-30) concluded that if anyone claimed a "secret Inspiration from Heaven ... we should presently give him up for a *Magician* in the grossest Acceptation of the Word, and

say in short that he deals with the Devil."⁷⁶ That view persisted in books published from the 1770s to early 1800s.⁷⁷ All of these authors equated modern visions with magic and the occult.

For many clergymen of mainline Protestantism (Lutheran, Anglican, Reformed, Calvinist, and Presbyterian)⁷⁸ from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries, any post-biblical claim of seeing angels or Deity was an admission of witchcraft and magic. This was an outgrowth of the Protestant repudiation of Catholic visions of the Virgin and the saints. Mainline Protestant writers on witchcraft expressed contempt for Catholic writers like Jean Bodin who condemned the spirit invocations of sorcery but "holdeth that dreames and visions continue till this daie, in as miraculous manner as ever they did."⁷⁹

For Thomas Jefferson and other rationalists, visions or miracles were irrational and magical fantasies whether contemporary or biblical. Jefferson called the concept of the Trinity "mere Abracadabra" and derided orthodoxy's "hocus-pocus phantasm of a god." As one of the supreme American exponents of the Age of Reason, Jefferson further wrote that the Gospels were filled with "much untruth, charlatanism, and imposture." He prepared his own edition of the Gospels which eliminated all miracles and deleted any reference to the divinity of Jesus.⁸⁰

Nevertheless, many American rationalists were unwilling to reject biblical instances of magic beliefs. Still, America's first locally published multi-volumed encyclopedia made this comment about divination: "it must be owned, to the honour of the 18th century, that the pure doctrines of Christianity, and the spirit of philosophy, which become every day more diffused, equally concur in banishing these visionary opinions."⁸¹

Despite such efforts to make religion rational and to banish the miraculous, there remained throughout the early modern period a strong current of belief in such things. This was especially true of rural dwellers who were 90 percent of the pre-industrial population. In 1628 one writer noted: "Sorcerers are too common; cunning men, wizards, and white-witches as they call them, in every village, which if they be sought unto, will help almost all infirmities of body and mind."⁸² For Puritans, "there were significant affinities between reformed Christianity and magic that enabled layfolk to switch from one to the other without any sense of wrongdoing."⁸³ For example, from the 1630s to 1650s English religious seeker Lawrence Clarkson practiced astrology, studied occult handbooks, "aspired to the art of Magick," became a treasure-seer and folk magic healer as he moved through various Puritan groups, Presbyterianism, and several "radical sects."⁸⁴

Despite their reputation for witchcraft trials, Puritan divines did not reject the occult indiscriminately. "No war broke out between magic and religion," David D. Hall noted: "because the clergy also were attracted to occult ideas."⁸⁵ For example, in Cotton Mather's publication which condemned astrology he also produced a "spiritual horoscope" for a deceased Puritan divine. A modern analyst discovered that this "shows a surprising depth of acquaintance [with astrology] for a divine with a professed abhorrence of the subject."⁸⁶ Nonetheless, the Puritan clergy and political elite were quick to investigate and suppress what they understood as the malevolent side of the occult. Thus, there were

witchcraft accusations and trials where the common people were eager allies of the Puritan elite.⁸⁷

The Academic Occult

Among the educated elite—in the countryside and in cities—occult belief also persisted. An English author wrote in 1651: “And (as *Plato* affirmeth) that the Art of *Magick* is an Art of worshipping of God” (emphasis in original).⁸⁸ The Earl of Marlborough in 1671 used a silver signet which embossed on the wax seals of his documents a complex magic “sigil” (sign), with names of angels and the term “Tetragrammaton” encircling an astrological chart.⁸⁹ Well into the seventeenth century, Oxford University officially sponsored presentations on the occult at convocations and even housed a magician and several astrologers. Universities tolerated seances, and most of the occult practitioners of England were graduates of Oxford or Cambridge universities.⁹⁰ Dr. Hempe, a physician to George II (r. 1727-60), was an alchemist. From 1790 to 1808 Dr. Sigismund Bacstrom, fluent in seven languages, lived in London where he practiced alchemy and “gathered around himself a circle of adepts and assistants.”⁹¹ In 1794 Bacstrom was initiated as a member of the occult Rosicrucian fraternity (Brothers of the Rosy Cross).⁹²

Across the Atlantic, John Winthrop, Jr., was a practicing alchemist as governor of Connecticut from 1659 to 1676. His library contained 275 books on alchemy and the occult. Winthrop also corresponded with fellow-American physician Robert Childe about Rosicrucianism’s occult philosophy and “ye *Fratres R C* [brothers of the Rosy Cross].”⁹³

As part of the occult’s influence on the educated elite, Harvard University taught its students to use astrology in medicine and the school held debates on astrology for B.A. and M.A. graduations until 1717. During the early 1700s “mundane astrology” (planetary influence on world events) was in the physics curriculum at Yale University, where a master’s thesis affirmed alchemy in 1718. One Harvard master’s thesis of 1762 upheld mundane astrology, and another endorsed alchemy in 1771. Yale’s president from 1778 to 1795, Ezra Stiles also privately recorded his explorations into alchemy and the Cabala. One of his alchemy associates was a Harvard graduate, probate judge, and president of the Massachusetts council.⁹⁴

In the 1700s Virginia’s aristocratic elite also read widely in occult works, particularly how-to books on astrology and alchemical medicine. An ordained minister had the largest such library, “but it was [Reverend] Teackle’s collection of Rosicrucian books that demonstrated how closely a Virginian could follow the most obscure of Europe’s occult-Christian movements.”⁹⁵

Many of New England’s practicing alchemists were Yale and Harvard graduates who continued their experiments into the 1820s. These alchemists served as chief justice of Massachusetts, president of the Massachusetts Medical Society, president of Yale College, and president of the Connecticut Medical Society.⁹⁶

Not long afterward, Herman Melville introduced into his novel *Moby Dick* overt references to alchemy and the Cabala. He also created a hidden sub-text of complex occult meaning throughout the narrative. When unravelled, Melville’s

narrative has the appearance of an adept gesturing to the "wise men" and "wise women" who read his novel.⁹⁷

From Governor Winthrop to Herman Melville, the academic occult persisted in early America. These were lesser reflections of the embrace of various occult sciences by some of those most prominently identified with the European Renaissance of Learning and the Age of Reason.

Pre-eminent in the Italian Renaissance, Pico della Mirandola publicly announced: "There is no science which makes us more certain of the divinity of Christ than magic and the cabala."⁹⁸ For such defenses of magic, both he and his compatriot Giordano Bruno (a Dominican friar) ran afoul of the Inquisition.⁹⁹

Henry Cornelius Agrippa originally published the most famous academic handbook of magic, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, in Latin. Intended for all European intellectuals, it defined magic as eminently rational and intensely religious: "It is necessary therefore that every Magitian [sic] know that very God, which is the first cause, and Creator of all things; And also the other gods, or divine powers (which we call the second causes) and not be ignorant, [regarding the] adoration, reverence, [and] holy rites conformable to the condition of every one, [with which] they are to be worshipped."¹⁰⁰ The *Encyclopedia of Religion* has referred to Agrippa's "spiritual' magic," also advocated by Giordano Bruno.¹⁰¹ Similar to his comment about Albertus Magnus, biblical scholar Adam Clarke informed readers in the early 1800s that Agrippa "passed for a conjurer among many who were certainly no conjurers themselves" (emphasis in original).¹⁰²

This religious occultism in the Age of Reason also manifested itself in the English publications (1665-1783) of the *Arbatel of Magic*: "In all things, call upon the Name of the Lord: and without prayer unto God through his only begotten Son, do not thou undertake to do or think any thing. And use the Spirits given and attributed unto thee, as Ministers, without rashness and presumption, as the messengers of God; having due reverence towards the Lord of Spirits." This appeared in *The Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy*, which was falsely attributed to Agrippa. It is customary to identify its author as pseudo-Agrippa.¹⁰³

Frenchman Jean Bodin affirmed in his *Republic* that astrology could be a useful instrument of statecraft. This was the sixteenth-century's best-known book of political science, and Bodin was the era's most famous Catholic writer on witchcraft.¹⁰⁴ Father of the scientific method, Englishman Francis Bacon dabbled in astrology, alchemy, and Rosicrucianism.¹⁰⁵ German mathematician Johannes Kepler questioned the value of certain aspects of astrology, yet used it to closely monitor his own life. He prepared eight hundred horoscopes for himself and others, while expecting European events to reflect astrological movements.¹⁰⁶ In the seventeenth century, the Catholic church encouraged Jesuits to publish alchemical studies.¹⁰⁷

The Enlightenment's foremost English political philosopher, John Locke, had a personal library with sixty-four works on alchemy, eleven on astrology, four on the Cabala, four on magic, three on the occult, with one each on magic talismans and witchcraft.¹⁰⁸ Locke's interest in the occult was not merely academic. He entered into a secret correspondence with chemist Robert Boyle and Sir Isaac Newton, and the three brilliant Englishmen "exchanged alchemical

secrets and pledged each other to silence."¹⁰⁹ John Aubrey, then a Fellow of the Royal Society, also recorded "numerous" formulas for magic amulets, such as: "Write these characters + Zada + Zdash + Zadathan + Abira + in virgin paper, I believe parchment, carry it always with you, and no gun-shot can hurt you."¹¹⁰ In fact, England's scientific Royal Society was "a front for an 'Invisible College' of Hermeticists and alchemists in the seventeenth century."¹¹¹

Of these scholars, Isaac Newton was the most involved in the occult.¹¹² In addition to his participation in "the largely clandestine society of English alchemists," Newton conducted extensive experiments in alchemy. He wrote more than a million words on the subject, including: "I understood that the morning star is Venus and that she is the daughter of Saturn and one of the doves. May 14 I understood [the trident] May 15 I understood [that] There are indeed certain sublimations of Mercury."¹¹³ This from a co-inventor of calculus and the father of modern physics!

The other co-inventor of calculus, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibnitz, "had already joined a secret Rosicrucian society in Nuremberg in 1667." He "confided his own plans for a learned society that would combine Cabala and calculus, mysticism and mechanics ..."¹¹⁴ The occult collaborated with the Age of Reason.

One historian of science has complained that Newton's occult ideas and activities remained "until recently a well-kept secret, known only, as it were, to the initiates."¹¹⁵ Other historians have argued that it was wrong for earlier scholars to ignore or downplay the "simultaneous presence of occult and nonoccult—or even antioccult—tendencies" in exemplars of the Age of Reason. These historians have recommended that people should instead adopt "a pragmatic acceptance of the coexistence of the two traditions" in men who were gifted, intelligent, and honorable.¹¹⁶ As one scholar has noted, Newton regarded the occult as only one part of his unified plan for obtaining truth. It was no less important to him than physics or calculus.¹¹⁷

Despite intellectual supporters and widespread popularity, occult philosophy and magic practice continued against strenuous opposition during the early modern period. Their emphasis on Christian occultism did not spare prominent academic occultists like Pico della Mirandola, H. C. Agrippa, John Dee, and William Lilly from accusations of sorcery and pressures to recant.¹¹⁸ Witchcraft trials prosecuted folk healers, as well as those who used occult methods of locating lost goods. Authorities were also suspicious of persons who devised remedies against witchcraft ("counter-charms"). This occurred in both Britain and New England.¹¹⁹

Still, a writer on English healing practices has observed that magic beliefs and practices endured in Europe "because they were an essential aspect of the mental world of ordinary people. Indeed, the distinctions between magic, religion, and science, which were increasingly important to the educated elite, had little meaning for the majority of English villagers."¹²⁰ Likewise, social anthropologist Stanley J. Tambiah has observed: "In plotting the history of the demarcation between magic, science and religion in Western thought we ought to remind ourselves all the time of the necessary gaps between the elite conceptions of the intelligentsia—scientists, theologians, dogmatists—and the masses at large

...¹²¹ This was a distinction between the academic and the folk, not between intelligent and unintelligent.

Across the Atlantic in America, four factors resisted the efforts of mainline Protestantism and Rationalism to separate magic from religion: Protestant sectarianism, the general lack of church membership, an indifference to the priorities of the educated elite, and the fact that members of this elite did not agree among themselves about the occult.

"Indeed many of those who turned to magic did not realize that their behavior was heterodox," Richard Godbeer has observed concerning New England's Puritans. "Other layfolk chose to ignore clerical injunctions when convenient."¹²²

Visions, Spiritual Gifts, and the Category of Magic

Since the sixteenth century, mainline Protestants had insisted that any modern claim for gifts of the spirit was the greatest heresy of magic. They particularly denounced claims of direct communication with God, and for good reason. Garth Fowden has described the ancient tradition that "magicians frequently used the vocabulary of the mystery religions in formulating their incantations; and they might even claim to effect some sort of personal union with the gods they invoked."¹²³

A dramatic example occurred in 1738 at the Ephrata commune (near Lancaster, Pennsylvania). To prepare for such an epiphany, Conrad Beissel ("the Magus on the Cocalico") led twelve other men in ritual purification. On the thirty-third day of this preparation, "the seven archangels" appeared to the men as they assembled in an upper room of the sanctuary. "This visible communication lasted until the end of the fortieth day."¹²⁴

Rationalists soon began arguing that such claims were intellectual heresy. One typical early nineteenth-century rationalist warned that expecting that "the spirit of the wise and good should return to proffer instructions to the vile and ignorant, must be deemed unphilosophical."¹²⁵

Nonetheless, during the American revivals of the mid-1700s ("The Great Awakening") and early 1800s ("Second Great Awakening"),¹²⁶ vision-claims were frequent among deeply religious persons. These visionaries were willing to be condemned as magicians by hardline Protestants or as "unphilosophical" by some intellectuals. American revivalism resisted the tradition of mainline Protestantism to dismiss modern claims for visions and other spiritual "gifts" as the domain of magic.

Reflecting the traditional repudiation of modern manifestations of spiritual gifts, some Protestant ministers denounced American revivalistic gifts as a "work of the devil." These ministers concluded that revivalists who claimed spiritual gifts "were bewitched."¹²⁷ As late as 1810 the president of the Lutheran clergy of New York state wrote *A Treatise on Magic* that condemned as magic "all belief in communications between spirits and men, and in supernatural operations performed by spiritual assistance." This New York clergyman affirmed that "the last and absolute end of magic, is to enter into a close communion with God himself."¹²⁸

Nevertheless, by the mid-1700s most European sectarians and American

evangelicals redefined the Protestant view of magic to exclude charismatic gifts and the modern appearance of angels and Deity. This was consistent with Protestant evangelical emphasis on a religion of feeling and ecstatic conversion, yet Presbyterian clergymen were clearly uncomfortable with the visions of their parishioners. In preparing such testimonials for publication in Scotland, the Presbyterian clergy in the 1740s often deleted references to explicit visions of Jesus while the person was fully awake. If Scottish clergymen did publish a parishioner's theophany (vision of Deity), they made the vision less real by changing the testimonial's wording to state that the person saw Jesus only through "the Eye of faith" rather than original affirmations that the person had seen the Savior with "bodily eyes."¹²⁹

However, in the late 1790s and early 1800s nearly all American conversion narratives mention angelic ministration and many of these publications claimed visions of Deity. By contrast with the Scottish clergy, American clergymen wrote many of these visionary narratives.

For example, Richard Brothers published his visions, prophecies, and revealed expansions of biblical texts in multiple editions during the 1790s in Pennsylvania, New York, and Massachusetts. He claimed that in 1791 "I was in a vision, and being carried up to heaven, the Lord God spoke to me from the middle of a large white cloud." His publications reached such hinterland towns as Hanover, New Hampshire, where early Mormon leader Hyrum Smith attended school near the home of his father Joseph Smith, Sr.¹³⁰ Brothers was an English sectarian, yet such testimonies of theophany were even more common among early American evangelicals.

David Brainerd's conversion narrative, published in twenty-five editions from 1748 to 1835, reported his vision: "My soul rejoiced with joy unspeakable to see such a God, such a glorious divine Being."¹³¹ In 1816 Elias Smith published in New Hampshire an account of his morning vision in the woods: "While in this situation, a light appeared to shine from heaven. ... My mind seemed to rise in that light to the throne of God and the Lamb. ... The Lamb once slain appeared to my understanding, and while viewing him, I felt such love to him as I never felt to any thing earthly."¹³² In Vermont five years later Benjamin Putnam wrote of the experience in his fourteenth year: "I instantly had a view as I thought, of the Lord Jesus Christ with his arms extended in an inviting posture."¹³³ A Universalist minister published his theophany: "Before I left England [in 1822], I dreamed Christ descended from the firmament, in a glare of brightness, exceeding ten fold the brilliancy of the meridian Sun, and that he came to me, saying: 'I commission you to go and tell mankind that I am come; and bid every man to shout victory.'" From January to March 1825 he preached at Palmyra, New York, home of equally visionary Joseph Smith, Jr.¹³⁴ Less than two years before this Universalist visionary arrived, Palmyra's newspaper headlined the "Remarkable VISION and REVELATION, as seen and received by Asa Wild, of Amsterdam, (N.Y.)."¹³⁵

The adjacent village of Manchester had a library that housed a popular reference work on religion (six editions, 1784-1817). This book described Emanuel Swedenborg's personal theophany: "On a certain night, a man appeared

to him in the midst of a strong shining light, and said, 'I am God the Lord, the Creator, and Redeemer[']'." After this vision Swedenborg "conversed with angels and spirits in the same manner as with men."¹³⁶ In 1808 Swedenborg's testimony of his theophany was on the front page of the newspaper at Canandaigua, thirteen miles from Palmyra and nine miles from Joseph Smith's home in Manchester.¹³⁷

Nevertheless, the complex religious environment of the early 1800s was host to both denials and affirmations of such modern theophanies. This duality was symbolically expressed by the English language publication in 1819 of the pseudepigraphic *Ascent of Isaiah*, which stated: "Moses asserted, No man can see God and live, but Isaiah says, 'I have seen God, yet behold I live.'"¹³⁸

During America's revivals, some even saw visions of both God the Father and Jesus Christ. Devout claims of seeing God were quite common, particularly by adolescents.¹³⁹ In its chronicle (published in 1786), the Ephrata commune celebrated Catharine Hummer who had several visions, including one of "the Savior and the Father ... These two, the Father and the Son, stood together."¹⁴⁰ This occurred in a group which believed and practiced various forms of the occult (see below).

Billy Hibbard wrote about an ecstatic vision at age eleven. "When I came to the place of prayer, had kneeled down, and closed my eyes, with my hands uplifted toward the heavens, I saw Jesus Christ at the right hand of God, looking down upon me, and God the Father looking upon him." Hibbard added that as a young married man in the 1790s, "as I looked up I saw heaven open, and Jesus at the right hand of God, and the Heavenly hosts surrounding the throne, adoring the Father and Son in the most sublime strains." This second vision occurred at Norway, New York (120 miles east of Palmyra), and Hibbard's conversion narrative went through two editions at its initial 1825 publication.¹⁴¹

Far better known and more frequently published in the early 1800s was Benjamin Abbott's narrative of a theophany in which both the Father and Son spoke to him. Concerning a 1772 vision just before dawn, Abbott remembered: "and at that instant I awoke, and saw, by faith, the Lord Jesus Christ standing by me, with his arms extended wide, saying to me, 'I died for you.' I then looked up, and by faith I saw the Ancient of Days, and he said to me, 'I freely forgive thee for what Christ has done'" (emphasis in original). Abbott's narrative went through thirteen printings from 1801 to 1844, with New York editions in 1805, 1813, 1830, 1832, 1833, and 1836.¹⁴² In the early nineteenth century, New Yorkers obviously liked reading about youthful visions of the Father and Son.

In 1815 Norris Stearns published his vision in which "there appeared a small gleam of light in the room, above the brightness of the sun ..." The young man then saw two beings: "One was God, my Maker, almost in bodily shape like a man. His face was, as it were a flame of fire ... Below him stood Jesus Christ my Redeemer, in perfect shape like a man—His face was not ablaze, but had the countenance of fire, being bright and shining."¹⁴³

Lorenzo Dow's narrative of his theophany had an even closer connection with those who later became leaders of Mormonism. "When past the age of thirteen," this evangelist dreamed he "was taken up by a whirlwind" into heaven. Dow's journal said he saw "a throne of ivory overlaid with gold, and God sitting upon

it, and Jesus Christ at his right hand ..."¹⁴⁴ Brigham Young's brother Lorenzo Dow was named after this preacher who had seen the Father and the Son, and in 1820 Dow's published journal was on sale nine miles from Joseph Smith's home.¹⁴⁵

Even before revivals brought theophanies to the countryside, the common folk believer's do-it-yourself, anti-authoritarian religion mingled Bible teachings with occult beliefs. These Americans were predominantly literate. However, they were slower to abandon the occult than the classically educated elite who also retained elements of "the lore of wonders."¹⁴⁶

Occult Mentors in Early America

Protestant sectarians also did more than preserve prophecy, visions, dreams, healing, and other religious manifestations the mainline clergy condemned as magic. Into the colonies, these British and German immigrants brought the occult, including folk magic beliefs, practices of magic, and books of ceremonial magic.¹⁴⁷ Historian J. Gordon Melton has observed that seventeenth-century German immigrants to Pennsylvania "brought with them their magical faith which was seen as compatible with and supplemental to their Christian beliefs."¹⁴⁸

Near cosmopolitan Philadelphia, two groups combined intensely personal religion with the occult. Johannes Kelpius established a group of Christian cahalists and Rosicrucians "on Wissahickon Creek in what is today the Germantown section of Philadelphia." There he and his followers put "into practical operation the mystic and occult dogmas studied in secret for many previous ages."¹⁴⁹ This group's founder had been expelled from the Lutheran clergy for "introducing his theories of astrology, magic and cahalism into his teachings."¹⁵⁰ Beginning in 1728, Pennsylvania Germans at the Ephrata commune also combined Christian mysticism with Rosicrucianism, alchemy, astrology, treasure-divining, and the ceremonial magic of spirit incantation (see chs. 4, 7).¹⁵¹

The magic practices of German sectarians entered New York, New Jersey, and New England through residents, travelers, and apprentices of Pennsylvania's occult practitioners. For example, from 1769 to 1773 a German fortune-teller advertised his services in Rhode Island's English-language newspapers.¹⁵² A German sectarian clergyman wrote an alchemical treatise in New York during the 1780s.¹⁵³ From then to the early 1800s people from adjacent New Jersey traveled to Pennsylvania for occult instruction from "Doctor Fraley, a witch doctor in *Germantown*" and from his mentor Christopher Witt. A local historian wrote that Witt "was a skilful physician, and a learned religious man. He was reputed a magus or diviner, or in grosser terms, a conjurer."¹⁵⁴ For example, Witt even gave his occult students a "diploma," a copy of which exists for "a Disciple" from New Jersey. Witt's disciple Fraley lived to age eighty and continued tutoring occult disciples who traveled to Germantown from various states.¹⁵⁵

There were also trans-Atlantic efforts to convert Americans to occultism. In 1782 English general Charles R. Rainsford (initiated as a Rosicrucian in French Algeria) began "soliciting for members in the United States." He also copied "hundreds of texts in five languages treating in the order of prevalence, alchemy, Kabbalah, magic, religion (especially the Druses), science, the Tarot,

Rosicrucianism, medicine, and astrology, taken from manuscripts and rare published works." Until his death in 1809, Rainsford was a proselytizing occultist. Joscelyn Godwin, a specialist on English and European Rosicrucianism, has also observed that into the early 1800s there were "roaming 'Fellows of the Rosy Cross' who have each met only their own initiators and hence cannot be said to belong to a society in any normal sense."¹⁵⁶

Nineteenth-century witchcraft belief also cut across ethnic, social, and religious boundaries in America. Pennsylvanians reported that in the early 1800s "the belief in witchcraft was equally prevalent among the pioneers of British origins, namely, Quakers, Ulster Scots and Welsh, as with those of Continental origins."¹⁵⁷ In 1894 a folklorist noted that among the rural folk, "predominantly of English extraction," along the Alleghenies, "the material of faith in its Christian aspect stands side by side" with magic, sorcery, witchcraft, and shamanism.¹⁵⁸ The "folk" who were interested in witchcraft also included literate urban-dwellers who supported ten new editions from 1746 to 1871 of George Sinclair's 1685 work, *Satan's Invisible World Discovered*.¹⁵⁹

Books and the Transmission of Magic and the Occult

Influential in early American folk belief were the thousands of occult books that had circulated in Europe since the invention of the printing press. By 1843 this list of titles was large enough to fill 175 printed pages.¹⁶⁰ On the basis of published book catalogs printed in America from 1693 to 1800, Robert B. Winans noted that it is a misconception "to judge what Americans read largely by what American printers printed, whereas the majority of books read in America were printed in and imported from England or Europe."¹⁶¹

After witchcraft trials fell into disrepute, the public sale of occult books occurred with a surprising degree of openness. In 1784 a Philadelphia booksale had twelve titles in its "Occult Philosophy" category. These occult offerings included the *Aurora* by Paracelsus, a Latin version of John Baptista Porta's *Natural Magic*, and both English and French sets of Agrippa's *Occult Philosophy*.¹⁶² Beyond occasional occult listings in English language book advertisements, one scholar of the American book trade has written that "books on alchemy, magic, and occultism were regularly advertised by German booksellers" in America.¹⁶³

In 1789, the year the U.S. Constitution was ratified, the Library Company of Philadelphia published its catalog. The most prestigious library in Benjamin Franklin's urbane environment housed several how-to books on the occult: "Parker's astrology made easy. Tenth edition. London, 1704," "Glauber's works; containing a variety of secrets in medicine and alchemy ... London, 1689," "Three books of occult philosophy. Written by Henry Cornelius Agrippa ... London, 1651," "A complete history of witches and apparitions. London, 1759," "Paracelsus his Aurora, and treasure of the philosophers ... 1659," plus foreign language editions of several other occult works.¹⁶⁴ In 1807 a Baltimore newspaper advertised for sale *The Oracle of Fate, or Universal Fortune-teller, Containing the Art of Telling Fortunes by the Cards; the Evil and Perilous Days in the Year; Charms and Ceremonies for Sweethearts, and Interpretations of Dreams and Visions*.¹⁶⁵

Book-sale figures for this early period are only sporadically available, but the

number of imprints and editions gives evidence of the reading-public's demand for occult works. Early America's most popular work containing occult material was falsely attributed to Aristotle under such titles as *Works of Aristotle*, *Aristotle's Masterpiece Completed*, *Last Legacy*, or *Complete Master-piece*. Its major emphasis (undoubtedly its major appeal) was detailed description of human sexual organs and reproduction. It also had sections on divination by physiognomy, on palmistry, and on the "power of the celestial bodies over Men and Women." Under its various titles, the earliest-known American edition was in 1738, with the thirtieth American edition of *Aristotle's Complete Master-piece* in 1796. Until 1831 there were at least nineteen more printings of pseudo-Aristotle's occult work in the United States.¹⁶⁶

The more specifically occult bestseller of the period was Erra Pater's *Book of Knowledge*, which went through thirteen British editions in the eighteenth century, and thirteen American editions from 1791 to 1809.¹⁶⁷ Thomas Lupton's *Thousand Notable Things* presented folk magic medicine recipes and astrological information. It had eighteen English editions from 1579 to 1815 and was advertised for sale in Philadelphia in 1818.¹⁶⁸ From 1797 to 1830 Americans also supported five U.S. editions of *The Complete Fortune Teller; or An Infallible Guide to the Hidden Decrees of Fate; Being a New and Regular System for Fore-telling Future Events, by Astrology, Physiognomy, Palmistry, Moles, Cards, Dreams*.¹⁶⁹

In addition, a university-trained M.D. began the public revival of the occult in England during the 1780s. "A physician who was well read in the scientific and medical literature of his own day," Ebenezer Sibly "believed that the harmonies of the great and small worlds taught by earlier Paracelsians and the Hermeticists were literally true and that scholars should re-examine the long-neglected sciences of astrology, alchemy, and natural magic." He was "deeply versed in traditional alchemical literature" and translated a fifteenth-century treatise on alchemy.¹⁷⁰ More important, Sibly published a 1,126-page hook on astrology and the occult that was so popular it had imprints under three different titles at its publication in 1784. Of Sibly's total of thirteen English editions to 1826, eight carried the title *New and Complete Illustration of the Occult Sciences*. Since the alternate title was "astrology," this shows that the identical text had better sales among people who wanted details of the occult sciences. For example, Sibly reprinted Reginald Scot's illustrations of amulet-symbols against witches and evil spirits, which had been out-of-print since the seventeenth century.¹⁷¹

Because the Atlantic book trade was the primary source of American book sales, there is significance to the extent of occult publications in Britain. Publications on astrology were the most prevalent from the 1640s to the 1720s, with 338 astrological treatises.¹⁷² William Lilly's *Christian Astrology* went through two editions in the 1600s, and his detailed occult autobiography had English imprints of 1715, 1721, 1774, 1822, 1826, and 1829. Continued public demand in the nineteenth century for his *Christian Astrology* resulted in its republication under a variant title ten times from 1835 onward. To 1833 Herman Kirchenhoffer's *Book of Fate* had twenty-three English editions.¹⁷³

Beyond a host of single-edition astrological works in the 1700s and early

1800s, there were multiple editions of the most popular. Richard Ball's *Astrological Compendium* appeared in 1697, 1794, and 1796. John Heydon's *Astrology* in 1786 (twice with variant titles) and again in 1792. John Worsdale's *Genethliacal Astrology* in 1798 and again in 1828. James Wilson's *Complete Dictionary of Astrology* twice from 1819 to the 1820s. Furthermore, book sale notices show that Americans were circulating seventeenth-century books of European occultism a hundred or more years after their publication.¹⁷⁴

Multiple printings in England demonstrated reader interest in other dimensions of the occult. More than two hundred years after the death of Dominican monk Albertus Magnus, the *Book of Secrets* (by his alleged authorship) went through at least ten English editions between 1525 and 1690. It had circulated in manuscript since the 1300s.¹⁷⁵ Pseudo-Agrippa's *Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy* gave detailed instructions for ritual magic and went through four editions the first year of its publication in 1655, with expanded editions in 1665 and 1783. John Aubrey's *Miscellanies* ("A Collection of Hermetick Philosophy") had imprints in 1696, 1721, and 1784. Reginald Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft* appeared first in 1584, with four revised editions through 1665. The latter expanded even further the detailed formulas of ceremonial magic in the work.¹⁷⁶

Another evidence of continued interest in magic during the Age of Reason was the popularity of works condemning the occult while also affirming its reality in the present. Seven years after publishing his bestseller *Robinson Crusoe*, Daniel Defoe wrote *History of the Devil, Ancient and Modern*. Despite his rationalist objections to many witchcraft accusations, Defoe affirmed the reality of the satanic pact and the possibility that there was actual magic practice currently. He also gave modern examples of witchcraft and satanic pacts. *History of the Devil* had twenty-three British imprints between 1726 and 1840, and seven American imprints between 1802 and 1850. From 1727 to 1840 Defoe's *System of Magic* also went through five editions.¹⁷⁷

Because it affirmed the reality of the occult, one book was more popular in early America than in England. Malcolm Macleod's *History of Witches* recounted visits of ghosts and other apparitions to persons living in the Age of Reason, some of whom he described as witches. There was only one printing of this book in England in 1793, yet Americans bought six U.S. editions from 1802 through 1817.¹⁷⁸

By contrast, Americans were not very interested in books that condemned the occult strictly as a delusion. William F. Pinchbeck's *Witchcraft: or the Art of Fortune-Telling Unveiled* was not reprinted after its original 1805 publication in Boston.¹⁷⁹

In fact, to the end of the nineteenth century, many Americans read about witchcraft because they feared witches. Accusations of witchcraft continued in Massachusetts, elsewhere in New England, in New York state, in the southern states, and western territories well into the nineteenth century.¹⁸⁰

In addition, beginning in the 1700s English folklorists and antiquarians published popular collections of folk beliefs and practices that quoted from earlier occult works (including manuscripts). These books provided detailed catalogues of magic beliefs, ceremonies, and charms. Francis Grose's *Provincial Glossary with*

a *Collection of Local Proverbs, and Popular Superstitions* went through three editions from 1787 to 1811. John Brand's *Observations on the Popular Antiquities of Great Britain* had eighteen editions from 1777 to 1900.¹⁸¹

In 1729 Benjamin Franklin indicated how extensively Americans were reading out-of-print works on the occult. His newspaper satirized the practice of folk magic in the colonies, and the story's occult enthusiast said: "I have read over Scot, Alhertus Magnus, and Cornelius Agrippa above 300 Times."¹⁸² The *Book of Secrets* (attributed to Albertus Magnus) had been out of print for thirty-nine years, Scot's *Discovery of Witchcraft* for sixty-four years, pseudo-Agrippa's *Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy* for sixty-four years, and Agrippa's *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* for seventy-eight years. As a book-seller himself, Franklin's satire showed that Americans were circulating English occult books that had not been published for nearly eighty years.¹⁸³

By the mid-nineteenth century Agrippa's occult works had been out of print for 225 years, yet still served as the common people's guide for folk magic. "His three books of Occult Philosophy ... are the foundation of every old witch's stock-in-trade," the *Reliquary* noted in 1876. Its British author then groused that even "the vulgar fortune-teller ... follows, as nearly as circumstances will permit, the scheme of that grand old Pythagorean philosophy, relative to the celestial power of numbers, which Cornelius Agrippa loved to dally with."¹⁸⁴

Even with only one printing, occult works exercised enormous influence. In 1801 Francis Barrett published in England *The Magus* as a systematic presentation of occult knowledge and ceremonial magic. Barrett's book was not reprinted until 1875. Nonetheless, Francis King's study of the Western tradition of magic noted that the first edition of *The Magus* "played an important part in the English revival of magic." Antoine Faivre has also emphasized Barrett's book in the general European revival of magic during the first decades of the 1800s.¹⁸⁵ Starting in 1784, Ebenezer Sibly had already begun this occult revival with the thirteen editions of his handbook which devoted its last sixty-eight pages to ritual magic. However, ceremonial magic was the primary emphasis of Barrett's 1801 book.

Peter Buchan intensified this magic revival in 1823 by preparing an occult handbook for the mass market. Unlike Sibly's 1,126-page tome or even Barrett's thick volume, Buchan's 112-page book was priced for the common people. Buchan's paper-bound chapbook had a main title which circumspectly proposed to detect and prevent witchcraft. Its subtitle showed that his real purpose was to revitalize magic rituals in the general populace: *or, the School of Black Art Newly Opened ... particularly from Scott's [sic] DISCOVERY OF WITCH-CRAFT ... It will also contain a variety of the most approved CHARMS in MAGIC; RECEIPTS in MEDICINE, NATURAL PHILOSOPHY, and CHEMISTRY, &c. BY A MEMBER OF THE SCHOOL OF BLACK ART, ITALY.* Buchan's occult handbook had three editions in four years.¹⁸⁶

In addition to thirteen editions (1784-1826) of Sibly's 1,126-page *Occult Sciences*, the books by Barrett and Buchan provided cheaper access to detailed information about magic charms, talismans, invocations, and ceremonies. By the early 1800s these authors had made the details of academic occultism and ritual magic available to common people in both England and America.

Even by the early eighteenth century, at least one English clergyman complained that common people had widespread access to books promoting magic. Worse, he said, well-intentioned books condemning witchcraft and the occult actually provided enough details for readers to perform the forbidden rites: "These Books and Narratives are in Tradesmen's Shops, and Farmer's Houses, and are read with great Eagerness, and are continually leavening the Minds of the Youth, who delight in such Subjects."¹⁸⁷ In nineteenth-century France, magic handbooks "abounded in the countryside" and judicial trials for sorcery often found that peasants owned occult books that had been out-of-print for two or three hundred years.¹⁸⁸ This refutes the assumption that common people were indifferent to academic magic, and also challenges the claim that poor farmers had no access to published works and rare books (see below and ch. 6).

In America, public notices of book sales reflected only a portion of book distribution, particularly of occult books that often circulated privately. Seventeenth-century American witchcraft trials included accusations that the defendants possessed such European occult books as Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, Agrippa's *Occult Philosophy*, and John Heydon's *Theomagia, or the Temple of Wisdome*.¹⁸⁹ In the eighteenth century, many immigrants continued to bring European occult books, which Americans often hand-copied for wider distribution.¹⁹⁰ In 1828 a New York magazine noted: "We find text books of Cabala, necromancy, astrology, magic, fortunetelling, and various proofs of witchcraft ..."¹⁹¹

Less recognized as a source of occult books in early America, itinerant book peddlers had enormous influence in rural areas. For example, the 1809-10 accounts of one peddler showed that he "sold \$24,000 worth of books" door-to-door in the rural areas of the South.¹⁹² That equalled an astonishing number of books. Twelve years later rural bookstores in western New York were selling new books for 44 cents each and a "fine edition, with engravings" for 75 cents.¹⁹³ Those were leather-bound volumes. Since cheaply-bound chapbooks sold for only a few pennies (even if the chapbook was more than a hundred pages long), it is reasonable to estimate that this one peddler was selling about 25,000 books to farmers each year. Realistically that number was even higher, because this estimate does not factor in the twelve-year difference in pricing. In the northeastern states alone, "by the early 1800's there were thousands of peddlers."¹⁹⁴

In his study of book peddlers in the northern states to 1840, another author observed that "some peddlers also stocked clandestine works."¹⁹⁵ If local stores would not supply occult publications to American farmers, book peddlers were there to fill the need. And there is clear evidence of widespread demand for occult works in rural and urban areas.

Astrology in Early America

Early Americans most openly demonstrated their enthusiasm for astrology,¹⁹⁶ one of the most complex of occult sciences. This complexity put detailed astrological calculations beyond the ability of most men and women and into the domain of academic occultists, the astrologers. Folk astrology was based on the maxim that people should "do nothing without the assistance of the Moon."¹⁹⁷

Well into the nineteenth century, American almanacs listed the daily progression of the moon through the signs of the Zodiac. Astrological guides specified which activities should be conducted or avoided with reference to the moon's phases and its daily position within the signs of the Zodiac. Armed with a common almanac, anyone could determine the most astrologically advantageous days for various kinds of activities. Almanacs gave the most widespread access to occult knowledge.¹⁹⁸

There was a huge circulation of almanacs in England from 1500 to 1800. Bernard Capp's research concluded: "The popularity of astrological practitioners, and later printed guides, supports the suggestion that they were seen as supplying a need apparently ignored by the English Church after the Reformation: the harnessing of supernatural powers to help men avert danger and overcome obstacles in their daily lives." Openly astrological almanacs were in such demand during the 1660s, that sales averaged 400,000 copies annually, enough for one out of every three English families each year. All the principal writers on astrology also published almanacs, yet astrologer William Lilly was so popular that the first edition of one of his almanacs sold out in a week. The result of Lilly's engraved portrait in thousands of circulating almanacs for forty years was that the astrologer's face was "probably the best known of anyone in England after the king."¹⁹⁹

American publishers soon learned the extent of the public's demand for astrological information in almanacs. Proclaiming himself as a defender of the Age of Reason, John Holt refused to include astrological material in his New York almanac of 1767. The public refused to buy it, so Holt resumed publishing astrological almanacs.²⁰⁰ Some colonial almanac-makers included astrology, but complained about the readers who demanded it. Other American almanac-publishers were occult practitioners themselves.²⁰¹ In her study of early American almanacs, Marion Stowell observed: "Astrology intrigued the common man. The almanac-maker to survive in the new world of free competition could not ignore it [and] the emphasis inevitably switched to giving readers what they wanted."²⁰²

Early Americans regarded astrological knowledge as a serious need, not a frivolous hobby. To the end of the 1700s Newport, Rhode Island's shipowners "consulted judicial [horary] astrologers to learn a propitious day and hour for ordering their vessels to sail." Not surprisingly, Newport's newspaper also published a glowing obituary in 1773 for "Joseph Stafford, Esq., a very celebrated astrologer."²⁰³ His relatives would later move to Palmyra, New York (see ch. 2).

Until 1840 even Protestant evangelicals demonstrated the demand for astrological almanacs. From 1809 to 1822 Boston published a *Clergyman's Almanac* that included signs of the Zodiac. The American Tract Society published its immediate successor, *The Christian Almanac* in several states each year, and "for twenty years probably no almanac in America had so large a circulation."²⁰⁴ Typical of the editions in other states, Boston's 1827 *Methodist Almanac* and New York's 1828 *Christian Almanac* both listed the signs of the Zodiac, identified planetary aspects, and showed the daily location of the sun and moon in the twelve zodiacal signs. From 1809 to the 1830s these almanacs helped evangelical Protestants to make astrological calculations governing personal conduct and decision-making.²⁰⁵

In fact, demand for astrologically oriented almanacs led to renewed publication of English handbooks of astrology in the 1790s. From the 1720s to the 1790s the publication of astrological works was negligible, an effect of sensitivity by publishers to rationalist attacks on astrology.²⁰⁶ As previously discussed, Ebenezer Sibly's popular handbook in 1784 was a prominent exception. Even though most publishers were not releasing new astrological books, the demand for astrological information accelerated—particularly in America.

A few years into this moratorium on astrology books, Benjamin Franklin complained in 1729 about "the Astrologers, with whom the Country swarms at this Time." However, he also fulfilled the overwhelming demand of Americans for astrological information. His own *Poor Richard's Almanac* continued to give the daily progression of the moon through the Zodiac and featured "The anatomy of Man's Body as govern'd by the Twelve Constellations."²⁰⁷ During the 1770s New Englanders were purchasing 60,000 copies of a single astrological almanac each year, plus lesser numbers of several other almanacs.²⁰⁸

In England, Moore's *Vox Stellarum* combined astrological predictions and information with science and current affairs. Sales of this single astrological almanac were 107,000 in 1768, 365,000 in 1802, and more than half a million in 1839. In view of this demand, it is not surprising that there was a marked renewal in the British publication of astrological handbooks from the 1790s onward.²⁰⁹

In the 1800s rationalists opposed the use of astrology in decision-making, yet these critics admitted that planets and stars directly influenced humanity. In 1830 Boston's *American Almanac* denounced astrology as "a system of fraud, which the selfish and designing are always ready to practise upon the credulous and unthinking part of society." Nevertheless, this anti-astrological almanac also affirmed: "It is admitted on all hands, that the heavenly bodies determine our physical condition."²¹⁰ With such enemies, did astrology really lack educated friends in early nineteenth-century America?

Even the extensive printing of individual almanacs understated the circulation of astrological almanacs among early Americans, particularly in large urban centers. City directories also contained astrological almanacs as a sales-incentive for urbanites. To 1840 the New York City directory printed as one of its first pages, "THE ANATOMY OF MAN'S BODY: As Governed By the Twelve Constellations, According to Ancient Astronomy." This astrological table had been in every New York City directory for decades.²¹¹ The wording was identical to almanacs published in small towns (fig. 17a). After 1840 a new publisher dropped the Man of Signs from New York City's directory and stopped the almanac's inclusion of the moon's passage through the signs of the Zodiac.²¹²

Nevertheless, astrology's Man of Signs continued in 1840s almanacs (fig. 17b).²¹³ Published in New York City, *The United States Farmers' Almanac, For the Year of Our Lord and Saviour, 1843* even explained in the headline for the Man of Signs that this illustration was "according to ancient astrology."²¹⁴ LDS historian David J. Whittaker has correctly noted that astrological almanacs help us to understand "the mental world of the common man" in earlier times.²¹⁵ But the "common" people who believed in astrology included wealthy shipowners,

ordained clergy, urban dwellers, farmers, and college graduates (see also chs. 3, 7).

This is one of the reasons I disagree with Jon Butler's summation in his magisterial *Awash in a Sea of Faith*: "As in England, colonial magic and occultism did not so much disappear everywhere as they disappeared among certain social classes and became confined to poorer, more marginal segments of early American society."²¹⁶ To the contrary, the occult did not disappear among the privileged classes in the new nation. Occult beliefs and magic practices simply survived to a lesser extent in America's middle class and elite, as compared with poorer classes. That is very different from "disappeared" and "confined to."

The New York City directories demonstrate several things about American astrological almanacs through the 1830s. First, almanac-circulation was higher than even the highest estimates of previous studies, which included only separately printed almanacs. Second, city dwellers of that era were far more interested in astrology than twentieth-century writers have assumed. Third, the New York City directory showed a transition in world views that was occurring from the late eighteenth century onward. Whether directory publisher Thomas Longworth believed in astrology or was simply providing what his customers wanted, since 1797 he had tried to secularize this occult science by referring to the Zodiac and Man of Signs as "astronomical."²¹⁷

Occult Healing and Magic Treasure-Digging in Early America

While a majority of early Americans gave some attention to astrology in their daily lives, magic also influenced the folk medicine that was almost universal to the mid-nineteenth century. Nicholas Culpeper wrote an enormously popular text of herbal and astrological medicine. The British bought eighty-two editions under variant titles from 1652 to 1843, and Americans purchased four editions from 1708 to 1826. Culpeper's academic text of folk magic medicine was being printed in cities like London, Boston, and Exeter, New Hampshire.²¹⁸ At the same time, people in rural areas were practicing folk medicine "hedged about with magic and taboo."²¹⁹

One surviving example of America's folk magic medicine is Joshua Gordon's 1784 manuscript. Intending his writings for circulation in South Carolina, Gordon instructed plantation owners about recipes for human afflictions such as rheumatism or for the health problems of livestock. The magic world view was evident in several of his recipes for folk medicine. One was a remedy for a cow that stops giving milk "through an evil eye." He also described "cures" for inanimate objects such as a gun that someone has cast a spell on so that it won't fire accurately.

Since Gordon regarded illness and mishaps as caused by malevolent persons, his medicinal "Witchcraft Book" also provided counter-charms. There was a charm to "shut up the blatter [bladder] of the Person" who has caused livestock to "die through witchcraft." He outlined a secret ritual against an enemy by writing the person's full name on a piece of paper and sticking a pin into the paper daily. To punish the enemy who "speld" the gun, put a pin in a piece of wood.²²⁰

Beyond the widespread practice of folk magic medicine in rural areas and

cities, thousands of early Americans also participated in occult practices of treasure-digging. Of its context W. R. Jones has written: "Divination and spirit-raising to locate buried treasure and to compel its surrender by supernatural guardians has a history extending from antiquity to the modern age and from Europe to the Americas."²²¹ Since the 1600s occult handbooks instructed their readers about the best "times and seasons" for various folk magic activities, including treasure-digging.²²²

Keith Thomas has noted that in Britain the common "assumption that the country was riddled with caches of treasures" had a non-occult basis because many people buried their valuables.²²³ Intertwined with such pragmatic considerations were beliefs that seem foreign to twentieth-century minds: "when Treasure hath been hid, or any secret thing hath been committed by the party; there is a magical cause of something attracting the starry spirit back again, to the manifestation of that thing."²²⁴

Therefore, George Kittridge's study of the occult in England and early New England observed that "spells and incantations, then, are needful in the quest for buried riches. Indeed, they are doubly necessary: first to call up a spirit who shall disclose the right spot; and second, to control the demon who keeps the hoard."²²⁵ Such activities in England during its enlightened age were not simply the domain of the lower classes. From 1675 to 1704 a member of Parliament and Lord of the Admiralty was "almost continuously engaged in a treasure-quest, for which he enlisted spirits, fairies and the latest resources of contemporary technology." On one occasion an "expedition, equipped with Mosaical [divining] rods" (see ch. 2) searched "for treasure in the [Westminster] Abbey," by permission of its Anglican dean.²²⁶ Some of society's elite merged their magic world view with both science and religion.

English traditions and practices of treasure-digging crossed the Atlantic and by the late 1700s were thriving in America.²²⁷ During the period Joseph Smith's family lived in Vermont, the state was something of a treasure-digging mecca.²²⁸ In Pennsylvania, "the belief in ghosts, or spooks, as they were often called, was general; and wherever any treasure or ill-gotten gain was concealed, it was believed that the spirit of the perpetrator would guard it ever after."²²⁹

A Palmyra newspaper is one of the best sources for describing the treasure-digging environment in western New York during the 1820s. "Men and women without distinction of age or sex became marvellous wise in the occult sciences, many dreamed, and others saw visions disclosing to them, deep in the bowels of the earth, rich and shining treasures, and to facilitate those *mighty* mining operations, (money was usually if not always sought after in the night time,) divers devices and implements were invented," the newspaper proclaimed. "Mineral rods [i.e., divining rods] and balls, (as they were called by the imposters who made use of them,) were supposed to be infallible guides to these sources of wealth—'peep stones' or pebbles, taken promiscuously from the brook or field, were placed in a hat or other situation excluded from the light, when some wizzard or witch (for these performances were not confined to either sex) applied their eyes, and nearly starting their [eye]balls from their sockets, declared they saw all the wonders of nature, including of course, ample stores of silver and gold"

(emphasis in original).²³⁰ Decades later, a woman reminisced about Palmyra during this time: "There was considerable digging for money in our neighborhood by men, women, and children."²³¹

Some of the respectable media actually encouraged treasure-digging in early America. In a three-volume survey of North America, Edward Augustus Kendall observed in 1809: "The settlers of Maine, like all the other settlers in New England indulge an unconquerable expectation of finding money buried in the earth." He added to the enthusiasm by commenting that money-chests "have been dug for in all parts of the United States; and, as the history further goes, they have not unfrequently been found."²³²

Poor families were attracted by stories of buried wealth,²³³ yet even prominent and wealthy Americans participated in such treasure-quests. A history of Groton, Massachusetts, noted that the treasure-digging of that community involved "the most devout, pious and godly Christians, with the Bible, Prayer-book, and Pilgrim's Progress lying near them, to keep off infernal spirits."²³⁴ In New York's Onondaga County treasure-seekers dug "hundreds of holes" near a village "where their mysterious mineral rods pointed out the identical spot where the precious metals were hid. Their work was always conducted in the night."²³⁵

From the 1770s to nearly 1816 Vermonters also engaged in such practices at Whittingham. Silas Hamilton had held all the highest civil offices of the town and owned more than four thousand acres in seven towns of the county. In 1786 he began recording meetings where scores of people told of their dreams of buried treasure and organized digging parties. His notebook reveals the beliefs of magic which undergirded those efforts: "A method to Tak up hid Treasure (viz.) Tak Nine Steel Rods about ten or twelve Inches in Length Sharp or Piked to Perce in to the Erth, and let them be Besmeared with fresh blood from a hen mixed with hogdung. Then mak two Surkels [circles] Round the hid Treasure one of S[ai]d Surkels a Little Larger in surcumference than the hid Treasure lays in the Erth the other Surkel [circle] Sum [some] Larger still, and as the hid treasure is wont to move to North or South East or west Place your Rods as is Discribed on the other side of this leaf" (fig. 7).²³⁶ Before the 1840s digging for treasure in America was fundamentally different from the California gold rush (see chs. 2, 7).

Contemporary diaries, newspaper reports, and later town histories indicate that thousands of early Americans participated in treasure-digging nationwide. A smaller number actually took the lead in practicing various forms of divination and magic. These were the kind of adepts referred to in an American medical journal of 1812: "There are men, now and then to be met with in New-England, who profess a familiarity with magic. By the aid of this, they pretend to perform wonders; as raising and laying infernal spirits; disclosing the future events of a person's life; discovering of thieves, robbers, runaways, and lost property, with many others of a like nature."²³⁷

Weakness of Organized Religion and Strength of Folk Magic

Folk magic practitioners were also the targets of various statutes, to which the medical journal referred approvingly. New York state's law provided punishment for "Disorderly Persons," whose definition included "all jugglers [con-

jurors], and all persons pretending to have skill in physiognomy, palmistry, or like crafty science, or pretending to tell fortunes, or to discover lost goods."²³⁸ Such laws were passed and implemented in early America by civil authorities who accepted the clergy's denunciation of the magic world view and the rationalist ridicule of it.

Nevertheless, the influence of the mainline clergy in combatting folk magic was tenuous at best. Only about 15 percent of white Americans belonged to any church during the colonial period. Church membership declined to one adult in ten during the first two decades of the new republic.²³⁹ These Americans were predominantly literate but lacked the classical education necessary to make them responsive to elite rationalists.²⁴⁰

The majority of early Americans were "unchurched" and participated in folk religion. This combined Christian beliefs with "a collection of magical practices, folk cures, and 'superstition.'"²⁴¹ Well into the 1800s America's environment was consistent with James Obelkevich's observation about the English country people of the time: "Their religious realm extended beyond the churches, indeed beyond Christianity, to encompass an abundance of pagan magic and superstition."²⁴² Of course, "superstition" to these historians was rational and sacred belief to the people they described. Peter Rushton more accurately described this as "popular Christian magic" rather than "pagan magic."²⁴³

Bernard A. Weisberger's study of American revivalism also noted that this mix of folk magic and religion influenced the untrained preachers who were commonplace after the Revolution. "Dreams had meaning [for them], and the activities of beasts were oracles to the knowing. Birth, love and death were assisted or held back by incantations. When a boy raised in this way became a preacher, it was not hard to reconcile his folk inheritance and his Christianity."²⁴⁴

In 1825 a Massachusetts magazine noted with approval that a local clergyman used a forked divining rod.²⁴⁵ Likewise, a Methodist minister wrote twenty-three years later that a fellow-clergyman in New Jersey used a divining rod up to the 1830s to locate buried treasure and the "spirits [that] keep guard over buried coin."²⁴⁶ In the mid-1820s a New Hampshire clergyman accompanied treasure-diggers seeking to confront a spirit treasure-guardian because the "minister [was] well qualified to lay the evil spirit ..."²⁴⁷ Without censure, these lay ministers in Massachusetts, New Jersey, and New Hampshire functioned as divining rodsman and treasure-seekers.

However, in the early 1800s the first Universalist minister in western New York was ecclesiastically "disowned and dismissed for his experimentation with 'rodomancy.'"²⁴⁸ Universalists and Methodists were both outside early America's ecclesiastical mainstream, yet these ecclesiastical dissenters both approved and condemned folk magic.

Even so, Reverend Joseph Avery (1751-1824) demonstrated that practitioners of folk magic also functioned within the rationalist and ecclesiastical mainstream. Avery graduated with honors from Harvard in 1771 and served from 1774 to 1822 as the ordained minister of the Congregational church at Holden, Massachusetts. He conducted evangelical revivals there in 1809, 1810, and 1817.²⁴⁹ In 1821 a student at Williams College in Massachusetts wrote to Avery

as an expert on divining rods. The young man acknowledged that "many literary men" opposed divining rods, but he countered that "facts are facts—prejudices notwithstanding." Avery responded with instructions on how to construct a divining rod, who could use it, and how to use it. This Congregationalist minister was apparently also a rodsman.²⁵⁰

In his mixture of institutional religion and folk magic, Reverend Avery of Massachusetts was not far removed from a parish clerk in the Church of England. This Yorkshire Anglican practiced astrology and magic from 1714 to 1760, and wrote a manuscript book of 350 pages containing "the charms and incantations which the magician made use of."²⁵¹

By 1727 Benjamin Franklin gave the rationalist's response by poking fun at American treasure-hunting and other manifestations of the occult.²⁵² Forty years later, one of America's first comic operas announced its intent "to put a stop (if possible) to the foolish and pernicious practice of searching after supposed hidden treasure." The opera satirized American practitioners of astrology, ritual magic, and treasure-digging by giving such folk believers names as Quadrant, Parchment, Rattletrap, and Hum[bug].²⁵³ The first encyclopedia published in the new nation also observed that "we still find existing among us the remains of this pagan superstition."²⁵⁴

Mainline Protestant clergymen were unable to enjoy the satire or condescension of the rationalists in view of such widespread belief in magic. In 1755 Ebenezer Parkman warned his parishioners in Massachusetts "against the foolish and wicked practice of going to Cunning Men to enquire for lost things."²⁵⁵ From the 1790s to early 1800s two women in Shoreham, Vermont, "were professed fortune-tellers, to whom multitudes at one time resorted to have the future of their lives revealed to them." The town's history noted that because this involved faithful church-goers, "the Congregational church passed a resolution making it a disciplinable offense in any member who should consult a fortune-teller."²⁵⁶ Even if strictly enforced in every congregation of early America, this threat would have involved only the 15 percent of white Americans who belonged to any church.

In 1810 the president of New York's Lutheran clergy indicated the extent of folk magic throughout the state. Reverend Frederick Quitman lamented that "great numbers ... even to many professed Christians ... love darkness more than light ... believing in absurd traditions and fables of old women. ... What must we think, when we see, that many thousands suffer themselves to be led away and bewildered by visionary and extravagant notions, contrary to the dictates of sound reason and revealed truth? What must we say to the accounts industriously circulated of transports, visions and apparitions of good and evil spirits? What must we feel, when we are informed that in other accounts respectable people, resort to the closet of a fortune-teller to have a secret discovered or their fortune told? ... Even magic of the coarsest kind has not entirely discontinued among us."²⁵⁷

In New York state of 1810 this was the condition of folk religion, with its overlay of magic and the occult. The clergy and rationalist elite seemed to be losing a battle, "since, in part, folk magic represented a reaction against clerical

elites and the established order."²⁵⁸ At this time Joseph Smith was less than five years old and living in Vermont's treasure-digging region. Six years later his family moved to Palmyra, New York.

2.

Divining Rods, Treasure-Digging, and Seer Stones

Despite the fact that folk magic had widespread manifestations in early America, the biases of the Protestant Reformation and Age of Reason dominated the society's responses to folk magic. The most obvious effect was that every American colony (and later U.S. state) had laws against various forms of divination. In particular, many early Americans regarded participation in the folk magic of treasure-seeking as disreputable. To the present, this evangelical and rationalist view has dominated any discussion about whether or not members of the Smith family in general (and Joseph Jr. in particular) engaged in the treasure-quest. In this sense, early anti-Mormon authors and modern LDS apologists shared the assumption that if Mormonism's founding prophet engaged in "money-digging," then his religious claims could be discredited. However, the substantial evidence of their participation in treasure-seeking in no way discredits Joseph Smith or his family. This was even the view of some of their neighbors who had no interest in the family's religious claims. Magic and treasure-seeking were an integral part of the Smith family's religious quest.

Joseph Smith's family was typical of many early Americans who practiced various forms of Christian folk magic. As a New York medical journal reported in 1812: "These irrational and preposterous opinions are still found to predominate over the minds of a numerous class of honest, but credulous and unlettered citizens. Indeed, they are sometimes cherished by those who have just pretensions to information above mediocrity."¹ The latter phrase was the academic publication's condescending acknowledgement that even well-educated Americans shared many of the beliefs of the "credulous and unlettered citizens." Folk magic's folk included all social and educational classes.

Jon Butler has commented that early Americans were "indeed religious, but many resorted to occult and magical practices unacceptable to most Christian clergymen and lawmakers." This historian noted that "for many Americans, it must be emphasized, the occult has not always seemed a counterculture, a mutually exclusive alternative to accepted religious, social, or scientific values."²

In light of the efforts of ordained clergy to suppress folk magic, Joseph Jr.'s 1820 theophany ("first vision") is important (see ch. 5). By the early 1820s the

Smith family had already participated in a wide range of magic practices, and Smith's first vision occurred within the context of his family's treasure-quest. His first emphasis was God's forgiveness, yet some of Smith narratives state that God told him the clergymen of any organized church were wrong.³ At this time the revivals of western New York's so-called "Burned-over District"⁴ were bringing thousands out of private folk religion and into organized churches, whose clergy opposed folk magic. Nonetheless, Smith's vision of the divine gave him every reason to ignore the clergy's instructions, including denunciations of the occult.

Several generations of the Smith family were influenced by the magic world view before the 1800s. During the Salem witchcraft trials of 1692 the "deposition of Samuell Smith of Boxford about 25 ye[a]rs [of age]" accused Mary Easty of committing acts of witchcraft at Topsfield five years earlier. The deposition of "John Gould aged about 56 yeares or theire about" accused Sarah Wilds of acts of witchcraft fifteen years before the trial. These accusers were Joseph Sr.'s great-grandfather Samuel (who was actually twenty-six years old at the time) and Samuel's father-in-law John Gould (actually fifty-seven years old at the time). The two women were hanged as witches at Salem on the basis of the accusations by Smith's ancestors.⁵ After the Salem trials, other generations of his ancestors resided in areas noted for beliefs and practices of folk magic and alchemy.⁶

In 1930 an official historian of the LDS church wrote: "It may be admitted that some of [Smith's ancestors] believed in fortune telling, in warlocks and witches." B. H. Roberts added: "Indeed it is scarcely conceivable how one could live in New England in those years and not have shared in such beliefs. To be credulous in such things was to be normal people."⁷ The family's neighbors in Palmyra and adjacent Manchester⁸ did not know about the role of Smith's ancestors in the Salem witchcraft trials, yet reported that his family retained witchcraft beliefs in the 1820s.

For example, Richard L. Anderson, a professor of religion at Brigham Young University, has described Orlando Saunders as a Palmyra neighbor who was "the most favorable to the Smith reputation," even "totally positive on the reliability of the Smiths, and particularly Joseph."⁹ In one interview Orlando Saunders also said that Joseph Sr. and Jr. "believed in witchcraft." Anderson endorsed the accuracy of this "independent interview" by "Frederic G. Mather, a non-Mormon professional writer."¹⁰ A resident of adjacent Monroe County, Fayette Lapham traveled to Manchester in 1830 to learn about Mormon claims directly from the Smiths. He spoke at length with the prophet's father and later wrote: "This Joseph Smith, Senior, we soon learned, from his own lips, was a firm believer in witchcraft and other supernatural things; and had brought up his family in the same belief."¹¹ In fact, Joseph Jr. continued to express his belief in witches as LDS church president (see ch. 7).

In three separate interviews, Orlando's brother Lorenzo Saunders said he observed a folk magic activity of Joseph Smith, Sr. At "turky shoots" [sic], Joseph Sr. "pretend[ed] to enchant their guns so that they could not kill a turky." Asked "How would he do that?" Lorenzo replied: "He would blow in the gun and feel around the lock [and] then tell them it was charmed and they could not kill the turky."¹² This was a widespread belief in Joseph Sr.'s generation. In 1784 a South

Carolina manuscript (unpublished for nearly two hundred years) provided a counter-charm for guns that were "speld."¹³

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, one of Joseph Sr.'s siblings rejected the magic world view. Jesse Smith had embraced mainline Protestantism.¹⁴ In a caustic 1829 letter to his nephew "Hiram" (later spelled Hyrum), Jesse described belief in magic as "a golden calf," which Joseph Sr. allegedly claimed "brought me out of the land of Vermont." A *Book of Mormon* convert had told Jesse's brother Samuel about the Palmyra family's beliefs and activities. Because of his own affinity for folk magic, *Book of Mormon* witness Martin Harris may have been the informant.¹⁵ Jesse condemned the report that his brother "has a wand or rod like Jannes & Jambres who withstood Moses in Egypt—that he can tell the distance from India to Ethiopia &c another fool story, many other things alike ridiculous."¹⁶ By referring to the magicians of Pharaoh's court, Jesse tried to impose the most negative meaning on Joseph Sr.'s "rod." A popular book of the previous generation had declared: "Natural Magicians Work all things by the Natural Spirits of the Elements, but Witches and Daemoniacal Magicians, as Jannes and Jambres, in Aegypt, Work their Magical Performances by the Spirit of *Daemons*" (emphasis in original).¹⁷

However, Jesse's letter did not embarrass his relatives at Palmyra, and six years later Joseph Jr. had it copied into his official letterbook. One reason for the Mormon prophet's apparent pride in his uncle's condemnation was the irony of Jesse Smith's 1829 emphasis on Jannes and Jambres. In American editions of 1823 and 1827, *Jahn's Biblical Archaeology* had already stated that these two magicians were among "those, [who were] skilled in the interpretation of hieroglyphical characters" (emphasis in original).¹⁸ Interpreting hieroglyphics was what Joseph Smith did in his 1829 translation of "reformed Egyptian" (Morm. 9:32),¹⁹ and he apparently regarded his uncle's letter as an unintended compliment. At some point, Joseph Jr. read Jahn's book, because he quoted from it as editor of a church publication (see ch. 6).²⁰

The only other biblical passages for the use of a "rod" were references to the staffs of Aaron and others which were used to control nature in the Old Testament narratives.²¹ The 1811 New York edition of Clarke's commentary on Exodus 7:9 noted: "This rod ... is indifferently called the rod of God, the rod of Moses, and the rod of Aaron."²²

The word "rod" had a more specific meaning in American folk magic: the divining rod or dowsing rod. Agricola's Renaissance book on the subject noted that "a divining rod [is] shaped like a fork; but its shape makes no difference in the matter,—it might be straight or of some other form." In English editions a century later, Basilius Valentinus described the mineral rod as "a stick or staff, of the length of half an ell, of hard wood, as of oak," and later described the forked divining rods of pliant hazel wood.²³

Vallemont's seventeenth-century book on the divining rod illustrated and described four types of divining rods: Y-forked, a staff with cleft top, a straight stick, and two sticks joined through a hollowed-out end (figs. 3-6).²⁴ In 1818 a Philadelphia bookseller advertised an eighteenth-century edition of Vallemont.²⁵

Jesse Smith's letter provides independent support for the neighborhood

claims that Joseph Sr. in the 1820s used "a mineral rod" made from "witch hazel" for treasure-hunting.²⁶ These Palmyra reports in turn verify Jesse's condemnation of his brother for using a divining rod.

Four eye-witnesses reported that the Smiths used divining rods in the Palmyra area, and BYU's Anderson described one of these neighbors as "most favorable to the Smith reputation." According to Orlando Saunders, both Joseph Sr. and Jr. "frequently 'divined' the presence of water by a forked stick or hazel rod." Typical of his positive memories of the Smiths, in his interview Saunders added that "the Smith family worked for his father and for himself. He [Orlando] gives them the credit of being good workers."²⁷ Joseph's older sister Sophronia had a school friend who referred to this rod simply as "a forked witch hazel."²⁸ Christopher M. Stafford (b. 1808) attended school with the Smith children and had "meals at the Smith's." He said: "Joe claimed he could tell where money was buried, with a witch hazel consisting of a forked stick of hazel. He held it [—] one fork in each hand [—] and claimed the upper end was attracted by the money."²⁹ Just one year younger than Joseph Jr., Isaac Butts said: "Young Jo had a forked witch-hazel rod with which he claimed he could locate buried money or hidden things. Later he had a peep stone which he put into his hat and looked into it. I have seen both."³⁰ Butts did not specify the time-period of Smith's "later" use of a stone, but the highway tax lists show that the Butts family remained in Palmyra during the Smith family's entire residence there.³¹ Other sources specify that Joseph Jr. obtained his first seer stone in September 1819 (see below).

Although neighbors did not indicate the younger Joseph's age when he began using a divining rod, they indicated that this occurred during the first stages of his father's treasure-digging in the Palmyra area. They stated that "his father emigrated to this country (Ontario county, N.Y.) about the year 1815, and ... soon after his arrival here he evinced a firm belief in the existence of hidden treasures, and that this section of the country abounded in them."³² Consistent with this neighborhood account, Joseph Jr.'s earliest autobiography said he was "at the age of about ten years" (ca. 1815-16) when his father moved to Palmyra,³³ and even those who dispute traditional chronology have concluded that the elder Joseph was in Palmyra by "the latter part of 1816."³⁴ More often the neighbors specified that Joseph Sr. and Joseph Jr. began this treasure-digging in 1819-20.³⁵ However, according to friendly witness Orlando Saunders, young Joseph first used the divining rod to locate "the presence of water," thus pre-dating his 1819 seer stone and treasure-quest. Therefore, sometime between age eleven and thirteen (1817-19), Joseph Jr. began following his father's example in using a divining rod.

In his 1830 interview with Fayette Lapham, Joseph Sr. referred to those past activities with a divining rod. "He also believed that there was a vast amount of money buried somewhere in the country; that it would some day be found: that he himself had spent both time and money searching for it, with divining rods, but had not succeeded in finding any, though sure that he eventually would."³⁶ Undeterred by his brother Jesse's condemnation in 1829, the elder Joseph Smith planned to continue using his divining rod.

One might wonder why Joseph Sr. maintained this faith in the treasure-quest, despite his lack of success for at least a decade. The fact is that respect-

able publications in Palmyra and nearby Canandaigua (only nine miles south from the Smith home) had given the Smiths good reason not to give up. In an 1822 article titled "MONEY DIGGERS," Palmyra's newspaper reported that "Much, however, depends on the skillful use of the genuine mineral rod." The newspaper gave the example of one Vermont man who, "after digging with unyielding confidence and unabating diligence for ten or twelve years, found a sufficient quantity of money to build him a commodious home for his own convenience, and to fill it with comforts for weary travellers." The newspaper also described another Vermonter who dug up a treasure worth "the enormous sum of fifty thousand dollars!" Canandaigua's almanac for 1823 reprinted this article in full. With such reports of success, Joseph Sr. and Jr. continued to use their skills in folk magic with similar "unyielding confidence" that they, too, would one day find a treasure to make their poverty-stricken lives comfortable. In his conversation with Lapham, Joseph Sr. simply restated the view expressed in a book sold locally throughout the 1820s. One of Jonathan Swift's works described "a certain Magick Rod,/ That, bending down its Top, divines/ When e'er the Soil has Golden Mines" (emphasis in original).³⁷

Historian Jon Butler has noted: "The divining rod was an occult tool ... found in all regions of the new nation by the 1790s."³⁸ Just as Jesse Smith referred to the "wand or rod," a Massachusetts magazine in 1825 used "wand" in an article about divining rods of forked hazel wood: "Men of reputation and character, whose intelligence would prevent a deception upon their own minds, and whose known honesty forbids the suspicion of any attempt to lead others into error, have used the ... art of discovering streams of water or veins of minerals beneath the surface of the earth by the mysterious properties of the hazel wand."³⁹ The *American Journal of Science and Art* in 1826 described the situation nationally: "From north to south, from east to west, the divining rod has its advocates. Men in various callings, men above the reach of mean arts, men of the soundest judgment, of large information, and of the most exemplary lives, do not disown the art, and when a friend demands their aid, rarely if ever, is it made the means of extortion [i.e., financial gain]."⁴⁰ In the mid-1820s the divining rod was in use by Americans who were highly educated, highly religious, highly respected, and in the social elite.

Richard L. Anderson observed that Jesse Smith's objection to his brother's rod was "not because it leads to treasure, but because it leads to information."⁴¹ Fundamental to the magic world view was the concept that successful use of the divining rod was a godly gift, whether exercised to locate underground water or buried treasure, to identify criminals, or to reveal answers to specific questions.⁴² It was this view against which rationalists reacted in their efforts to explain "scientifically" the movement of the forked rod and its success in locating sources of water and minerals.⁴³

On the other hand, divining rods were instruments of revelation, according to the magic world view. This is clear in a prayer from traditional Jewish magic: "I conjure you, hazel rods, by the Creator, and by the Patriarchs ... that you reveal to me my request concerning my friend. If he has done it, then go upward; if he has not done it, then remain still."⁴⁴ Of these medieval Jewish divining rods, the

sixteen-volume *Encyclopaedia Judaica* has noted: "Not only buried treasure but also sought-after information could be revealed by this method."⁴⁵

An 1850 publication is the best description of the way early Americans obtained revelation from forked hazel rods in response to specific questions. For sixteen years an "Old Rodsman" used his divining rod for treasure in Maine and moved to Palmyra in 1813. He left shortly before the arrival of Joseph Smith, Sr. This rodsman's "course of procedure was to swear the rod ... and[,] looking reverently upwards, [he] administered in a solemn tone the usual form of an oath; directing it to tell him the truth to such questions as he should ask, in relation to these [ancient] monuments. He then inquired whether the French, the Spaniards, the English, the Dutch, the Romans, and several other nations, had erected them; to all which the rod remained immovable. Finally he asked if it was the Welsh, or the same people who had built the mounds. To this it gave a gentle nod, which the rodsman knew, from former trials, meant yes."⁴⁶ In folk magic, a lack of movement by the forked rod was the answer "no," while movement of the rod was the answer "yes."

Such practices were common among individuals, yet a religious group began using forked divining rods for revelatory purposes in Vermont about 1800. This was not far from the Smiths or from William Cowdery (father of future *Book of Mormon* scribe Oliver Cowdery). At Middletown, Vermont, Nathaniel Wood was instructing his followers that "they were descendants of the ancient Jews, and lawful inheritors of the whole country." They believed in alchemy and used a "cleft stick, or rod," to discover "the hidden treasures of the earth" and to receive instructions by "a nod of assent ... from the rods" (emphasis in original).⁴⁷ This included a revelation "that they must build a temple."⁴⁸ The Cowdery family lived in Wells, which was "bounded on the North by a part of Middletown," although the technical distance between them was 6.4 miles.⁴⁹ Middletown was fifty miles from Joseph Sr.'s residence. Aside from their militancy, the leaders of Wood's group had previously served as grand jurors, town selectman, constable, town clerk, justice of the peace, and even as state legislator. A Vermont newspaper called them a "*Fraternity of Rodsmen*" (emphasis in original).⁵⁰

The Wood group's civil prominence, fervor, and open conflict with non-believers led to the so-called "Wood Scrape," a sensational event known far beyond the Cowdery family's residence six miles away. The Wood group's "Fraternity of Rodsmen" boldly prophesied they would inherit that region of the country in an apocalyptic event on 14 January 1802. Tensions built during the weeks before the expected doomsday. "As the 14th of January approached, excitement increased throughout the town, and the militia were required to be in order for service at a moment's warning." So intense were emotions that the militia even fired upon members of the Wood group that evening and again at midnight.⁵¹ This was happening six miles from the Cowdery's home. By comparison, six miles was the distance between the town of Palmyra and Manchester village, later the home of Joseph Smith, Sr.⁵² No LDS historian argues that the Smith family in Manchester was unaware of significant events in Palmyra, and it is likewise absurd to claim that the Cowdery family in Wells was unaware of the sensational Wood Scrape in Middletown. Even if Joseph Sr. never traveled there from Tunbridge at

this time, fifty miles was not a sufficient distance to isolate the Smiths from news of such events.

In fact, a history of Vermont reported that Joseph Sr. and William Cowdery had more than a casual awareness of the Wood group. Based on interviews "with more than thirty old men and women who were living here in 1800," Barnes Frisbie wrote in 1867: "I have been told that Joe Smith's father resided in Poultney at the time of the Wood movement here, and that he was in it, and one of the leading rods-men. Of this I cannot speak positively, for the want of satisfactory evidence. ... I have before said that Oliver Cowdery's father was in the 'Wood scrape.' He then lived in Wells." Frisbie's accuracy was enhanced by the fact that his father (b. 1775) was a witness to these events: "On the Frisbie farm, the farm on which I was born and raised, there are seven or eight places which still bear the marks of their digging."⁵³

This rumored association of the Smiths and the Cowderys with the "Fraternity of Rodsmen" in Rutland County has been disputed.⁵⁴ Frisbie could have based some of his statements on the well-known 1833-34 affidavits that Eber D. Howe published in *Mormonism Unveiled* about Joseph Sr.'s use of a divining rod in Palmyra. Still, Frisbie was unaware of LDS evidence that Oliver Cowdery was a rodsman (see below). Coincidence alone cannot explain Frisbie's accuracy in identifying the Cowderys with a divining rod.⁵⁵

In addition, two subsequent historians of Wells sought independent verification of Frisbie's account, and received a letter from a woman who was eleven at the time of this "Fraternity of Rodsmen." Nancy F. Glass wrote: "One Sunday they came into our house; I saw their rods all made of witch hazel so they would turn in their hands and point where the money lay." As a schoolfriend of Oliver Cowdery's oldest brother Warren, she wrote that "I rather think" their father was one of Rutland County's rodsmen. After quoting her letter, the two historians added: "as to Mr. Cowdry [sic] being connected with the Rodsmen, as stated by Judge Frisbie, we had it verified by Joseph Parks and Mrs. Charles Garner of Middletown." Parks died in 1868 at the age of eighty-four, and was therefore seventeen years old when he observed the local rodsmen.⁵⁶ Joseph Parks may have had a family interest in the matter. Orilla Parks had married David Wood, one of the participants in the Wood Scrape.⁵⁷ However, Anderson dismissed Glass's eye-witness experience "as recollections of late childhood" which amounted to "lack of evidence," and dismissed the Parks testimony because the authors did not provide "direct quotes" from their now-deceased source.⁵⁸

From 1800 to 1802 Nathaniel Wood's "use of the rod was mostly as a medium of revelation."⁵⁹ A connection between William Cowdery and the Wood Scrape would help explain why his son Oliver had a rod through which he received revelations.

Oliver's brother Lyman Cowdery was visiting Palmyra since 1825, but on 5 April 1829 Oliver first met Joseph Smith. Two days later he began serving as scribe for the *Book of Mormon* translation (see ch. 5). At the time, Smith dictated a revelation to Oliver in which God said: "Behold thou hast a gift, and blessed art thou because of thy gift. Remember it is sacred and cometh from above. And if thou wilt inquire, thou shalt know mysteries which are great and marvelous;

therefore thou shalt exercise thy gift, that thou mayest find out mysteries ... Make not thy gift known unto any save it be those who are of thy faith. Trifle not with sacred things."⁶⁰ Within a day or so, Smith dictated another revelation to Cowdery, which instructed him in the meaning of revelation, explaining that God was now giving him the gift of "the spirit of revelation" wherein "I will tell you in your mind and in your heart, by the Holy Ghost, which shall come upon you and which shall dwell in your heart" (D&C 8:3-4). The balance of the revelation concerned the gift Cowdery had already possessed, a different method of revelation which did not operate in the mind and heart. Cowdery's first gift manifested itself visibly through mechanical means.

In the manuscript and first published versions of what is now *Doctrine and Covenants* 8:8, the identity of Cowdery's first gift (D&C 6) is clarified: "Now this is not all, for you have another gift, which is the gift of working with the rod: behold it has told you things: behold there is no other power save God, that can cause this rod of nature, to work in your hands, for it is the work of God; and therefore whatsoever you shall ask me to tell you by that means, that will I grant unto you, that you shall know." The 1835 *Doctrine and Covenants* substituted the phrase "the gift of Aaron" in place of "working with the rod" and "rod of nature" in the 1833 *Book of Commandments*.⁶¹ Without exaggeration, Charles A. Shook wrote: "The 'rod' was almost as much of an essential part of paraphernalia of early Mormonism as the seer-stone."⁶² (See upcoming discussion of the brown stone by which Smith received this revelation.)

Some LDS historians have tried to disassociate Cowdery's gift from the traditional divining rod. "This forked branch is not the type suggested by Cowdery's revelation on the 'gift of working with the rod,'" the argument goes. Instead Richard L. Anderson claimed that the object was a straight rod or staff that was merely "a sign of a delegated representative" (like biblical Aaron). In this apologist view, revelations came to Cowdery's mind and spirit as he merely held an inert rod.⁶³

However, the only reference in the Bible to the use of a staff (straight rod) for revelation is a divine condemnation of the practice (Hos. 4:12). This was noted in Charles Buck's *Theological Dictionary* (twenty-four U.S. editions between 1807 and 1844 and on sale in Palmyra in the mid-1820s).⁶⁴ Joseph Smith had his own copy of Buck's dictionary, from which he later quoted.⁶⁵

On sale in young Joseph's neighborhood since 1825, Thomas Hartwell Horne's biblical commentary also commented on Hosea's condemnation of "R[h]abdomancy, or divination by the staff." Horne explained: "The person consulting [it] measured his staff by spans, or by the length of his finger, saying, as he measured, 'I will go, or, I will not go; I will do such a thing, or, I will not do it;' and as the last span fell out, so he determined [it]." As an alternate method, persons "murmured forth a certain charm, and then, according as the sticks fell, backwards or forwards, towards the right or left, they gave advice in any affair."⁶⁶ In 1826 Palmyra's newspaper described such "divination by the staff" by one of Vermont's minor prophets, Isaac Bullard: "The prophet's staff, which by the direction of its fall had hitherto pointed out the way, now stood still; and he declared that here he was commanded to settle and build a church."⁶⁷

When LDS apologists argue that the early Mormon "rod" of revelation was a straight rod or staff, that was also consistent with contemporary American publications about divining rods. The 1830 *Encyclopaedia Americana* stated: "DIVINING ROD (*virgula mercurialis*) is a rod made with certain superstitious ceremonies, either single and curved, or with two branches, like a fork, of wood, brass or other metal."⁶⁸ In 1784 and 1792 Philadelphia publishers released the popular *A Discovery of Subterranean Treasure* by Gabriel Plattes. After six printings in London from 1639 to 1740, the U.S. edition specified: "The operation with the *Virgula divina* [divining rod] is thus to be performed ... I cut up a rod of Hazle, all of the same springs growth, almost a yard long; then I tied it to my staff, in the middle with a strong thread, so that it did hang even, like the Beam of a Balance ... the signs that it sheweth is to bow down the root end towards the earth as through it would grow there, unto the Orifice of a Mine, when you see it do so, you must carry it round the place, to see that it turneth in the string still to the place, on which side soever you stand."⁶⁹ European magic and American folk belief allowed for both straight and forked divining rods, yet contemporary reports identified divining rods in early America as forked. Aside from Bullard's example, a straight rod of divination was apparently unknown in Joseph Smith's America.⁷⁰

Early America's widespread use of forked divining rods is a more plausible context for Cowdery's "gift." The Bible never referred to any revelation through Aaron's rod, but this biblical object was a common reference in occult writings about the forked divining rod. Long before Joseph Smith's time the phrases "Rod of Aaron" and "Mosaical rod" were treasure-trove designations for the forked divining rod.⁷¹ In 1793 the *Conjuror's Magazine* in England gave instructions for "the Mosaic Wand to find out hidden Treasure ... cut a hazel wand forked at the upper end like a Y." An American article about the divining rod in 1850 introduced it as the direct heir to the "rod of Aaron."⁷²

There is also a problem in the apologist claim that Cowdery simply held a straight staff in his hands while he received internal revelations without any activity on the part of the "rod."⁷³ This does not adequately explain the revelation's statement: "behold it has told you things." Nor does this view reflect the previously cited understanding of Smith's contemporaries about staffs of revelation.

Finally, the language of the 1829 revelation to Cowdery indicated that his was a forked divining rod of American folk magic. The revelation itself uses the words "working with the rod" and "to work in your hands." Both phrases reflected contemporary American terms to describe the operations of the forked divining rod: "In the hands of an adept, they are moved in an artist-like manner; and it is then, that in vulgar [i.e., common] terminology, they are said to *work well*" (emphasis in original). This publication was in Smith's hometown library.⁷⁴

The historical record is silent about how or when Oliver Cowdery obtained the divining rod he was already using for revelation before April 1829. He was twenty-two years old, had been a school teacher, and his father was later identified as a Vermont rodsman. If the Vermont reports about William Cowdery were accurate, Oliver obtained this knowledge of folk magic from his father, either by observation or personal instruction.

It is important to recognize that the 1829 revelation validated as "the work of God" an instrument of folk magic that Oliver Cowdery had already been using for revelations before he met Smith or encountered what would become Mormonism ("behold it has told you things"). Furthermore, Smith's revelation gave divine sanction to Cowdery's continued use of the rod for revelations now that he was one of Joseph's close associates. This was not the only instrument of magic that received divine approval for use in Mormonism (see chs. 5, 7). The revelation to Cowdery was only one example of God's ratifying the previous and continued use of folk magic in early Mormonism.

Aside from evidence that the Smiths and Cowderys used divining rods from the early 1800s to 1829, another early New York Mormon was also a rodsman. A resident of Livonia, about twenty-five miles from the Smith farm, Alva(h) Beman (also Beaman) was "a grate [sic] Rodsman," according to early Mormon Joseph Knight.⁷⁵ "Some years previous" to 1828, Be(a)man "became acquainted with Father Joseph Smith the Father of the Prophet." His daughter was a school teacher near Livonia: "We frequently would go to Palmira to see Father Joseph and his family."⁷⁶ According to Martin Harris, these frequent visits were for the treasure-quest. Be(a)man joined the elder Joseph Smith, his sons Joseph Jr. and Hyrum, and they "dug for money in Palmyra, Manchester, also in Pennsylvania, and other places."⁷⁷

Like others of Smith's money-digging associates, Be(a)man became disaffected after the young man obtained the *Book of Mormon* plates in September 1827 (see ch. 5). He joined briefly with Palmyra neighbors Willard Chase and Samuel F. Lawrence who turned against the Smiths and tried to steal the gold plates. Be(a)man used his rod to aid his neighbors in their efforts to wrest the plates from Smith.⁷⁸ He was apparently the Baptist deacon who asked a conjuror to make a sixty-mile trip to find Smith's treasure. Brigham Young publicly referred to this Baptist deacon, without naming him, and said that he became converted to Joseph Smith's claims and remained a faithful elder in the LDS church until his death. Young married Be(a)man's daughter, by whom he fathered five children.⁷⁹ That description of a conjuror matches Luman Walter(s), identified by Palmyra neighbors as a conjuror and Smith's mentor. Another of Be(a)man's daughters verified that her father knew Walter(s) and invited him to come to the Palmyra area several times to look for buried treasure (see ch. 4). She was also LDS.

Nevertheless, shortly after trying to use his rod against Smith, Be(a)man converted to Smith's claims. He now assisted the Smiths to conceal the sacred plates from their neighbors.⁸⁰ After publication of the *Book of Mormon* and organization of a new church in 1830, the "grate Rodsman" hosted Smith at Livonia, New York. Before his death in 1837, this New York rodsman was a member of the high council of "Zion" [Independence, Missouri] and president of the elder's quorum in Kirtland, Ohio.⁸¹ A few years after her father's death, Louisa Be(a)man became Smith's plural wife at Nauvoo, Illinois.⁸² As indicated, she later became one of Young's wives.

Just as "mineral rod" was a contemporary reference to the forked divining rod, the word "seer" had particular significance within the magic world view. In his *System of Magic; or, a History of the Black Art*, Daniel Defoe wrote that in biblical

times "they used to say when they wanted to enquire of God, that is to enquire about any thing difficult, *come and let us go to the SEER*, that is to the *Magician*, the *wise Man*, the *Prophet*, or what else you please to call him" (emphasis in original).⁸³ The best-known occult practitioner (magician) of the Elizabethan era was the Queen's mathematician John Dee. He had a sryer (a person using a stone for divination) who was described in popular books as "Prophet or Seer to Dr. Dee." The earliest of these books recorded many spirit communications that Dee's prophet-seer, Edward Kelley, revealed through his "*Shew-stone*" or "*Holy-stone*" (emphasis in original). Francis Barrett wrote several pages about Dee and Kelley in his 1801 *The Magus*, the source for Joseph Smith's Jupiter talisman (see ch. 3).⁸⁴ As an 1839 hook on witchcraft noted, Dee "firmly believed that by means of a small black stone with a shining surface, and cut in the form of a diamond, which he possessed, he could hold converse with the elementary spirits."⁸⁵ Belief in elementary spirits would intersect with subsequent visions of Joseph Smith as a divine seer (see ch. 5).

A popular tradition in English folk magic was that Adam, Abraham, and other Old Testament patriarchs also possessed "Angellicall Stones." Writers insisted modern people could also obtain such a stone that provides "Apparition of Angells, and gives a power of conversing with them, by Dreams and Revelations."⁸⁶ An equally common view held that by using the biblical Urim and Thummim, "the Priest had his Visions in the Stone of the Breast-plate." Since the Urim and Thummim was lost to the world, "the Magicians, now, use a Crystal-Sphere, or Mineral-Pearl for this purpose, which is inspected by a Boy, or sometimes by the Querent himself." Originally published in 1696, this account in John Auhrey's "Collection of Hermetick Philosophy" had two British reprints to 1784, and by 1813 was available in New York.⁸⁷ Magic treatises also instructed that such a "glasse or stone" should be anointed with olive oil before being consecrated to seeric use.⁸⁸

Since the late 1770s various publications repeated this description of a seer: "Another mode of consulting spirits was by the berryl, by means of a *speculator* or *seer*, who, to have a complete sight, ought to be a pure virgin, a youth who had not known woman, or at least a person of irreproachable life and purity of manners." Reprinted in the U.S. edition of *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, this description told Americans of the early 1800s that "the seer looks into a crystal of berryl, wherein he will see the answer, represented either by types or figures: and sometimes, though very rarely, will hear the angels or spirits speak articulately."⁸⁹ In Essex, Vermont, for example, a local treasure-seer in 1824 "carried in his hat the mystical stone in which he could see the precise locality and enormous quantity of the concealed precious metals ..."⁹⁰ Contrary to modern assumptions about the complete decline of folk magic and about the alleged ignorance of its practitioners, an academic journal noted in 1863 that divination by "seeing glasses" or seer stones "is quite common at the present day and by persons of good education."⁹¹

A number of village seers dotted the vicinity of Palmyra, New York, in the first decades of the nineteenth century. At Rose, 24.8 miles northeast of Palmyra, the local minister's son ("eighteen years of age and of good habits") had "a large, peculiar stone" with which this young man led a group of diggers in search of

treasure. "He held it to his eyes, and claimed the power to see through it into the earth."⁹² At Rochester, twenty-two miles northwest from Palmyra, two local seers surfaced briefly. About 1815 the eighteen-year-old son of a British immigrant named Smith found "a round stone of the size of a man's fist." For a time he guided Rochester's residents in search of buried treasure, "after adjusting the stone in his hat."⁹³ About a decade later, a young man named Zimri Allen "came into possession of a small transparent stone, which he called a 'diamond': It was also termed a 'looking-glass,' 'magic-stone' and 'seer-stone' by others." He used this stone to look for treasure. The unpublished history of Allen's activities near Rochester recorded that when looking into his seer stone on one occasion, he said: "I am going down the vista of Time. ... I behold the red men as intruders in the land, expelling a race of men of exceedingly large stature, whom we would call giants." Through Allen's efforts as a sayer, treasure-diggers unearthed wedges of "solid gold" that they showed to skeptics.⁹⁴ Just as this unpublished history at Rochester noted that "magic-stone" was a nickname others gave to Zimri Allen's seer stone, Palmyra's newspaper editor referred in 1830 to the "magic stone" (emphasis in original) of local astrologer and treasure-digger Luman Walter(s).⁹⁵

Even in Palmyra, several of Smith's neighbors had seer stones. Until the *Book of Mormon* thrust Joseph into prominence, Palmyra's most notable seer was Sally Chase who used a greenish-colored stone. Her schoolfriend said: "She told me she would place the stone in a hat and hold it to her face, and claimed things would be brought to her view."⁹⁶ William Stafford also had a seer stone,⁹⁷ and Joshua Stafford had a "peepstone which looked like white marble and had a hole through the center."⁹⁸ The hole allowed Stafford's "peepstone" to double as an amulet (see ch. 3). Both the Chase and Stafford families used their stones for treasure-digging around Palmyra.⁹⁹ Joseph Knight described Samuel Lawrence as a fourth non-Mormon "Seear" at Palmyra.¹⁰⁰ Martin Harris and another Palmyra neighbor also described Lawrence as participating in local treasure-digging with the Smith family.¹⁰¹

A very important factor in Palmyra's treasure-digging of the 1820s is that the local newspaper endorsed it. A July 1822 article titled "MONEY DIGGERS" reprinted a Vermont newspaper's report: "We could name, if we pleased, at least five hundred respectable men, who do, in the simplicity and sincerity of their hearts, verily believe that immense treasures lie concealed upon our Green Mountains; many of whom have been for a number of years, most industriously and perseveringly engaged in digging it up. Some of them have succeeded beyond their most sanguine [i.e., hopeful] expectations." The New York newspaper's report also claimed that one man near Lake Champlain had dug up a treasure worth "the enormous sum of fifty thousand dollars!" This 1822 newspaper report cautioned that "much, however, depends on the skillful use of the genuine mineral rod." The local almanac for 1823 reprinted this entire article.¹⁰² In September 1822 Palmyra's newspaper reported that in North Carolina a "young man" dug up "a pot, containing several thousand dollars in gold and silver."¹⁰³ In the early 1820s Palmyra's elites were hardly discouraging treasure-digging. They condemned Joseph Smith for the practice only after he published the *Book of Mormon* (see ch. 5).

According to Vermont neighbors, Joseph Sr. expressed belief in seer stones before the family moved to New York. In an open letter to Joseph Jr. (intended for publication in an anti-Mormon newspaper), some Vermonters wrote that "you was old enough when you left here to remember a great many things about him and how he used to tel[l] about your being born with a veil over your face, and that he intended to procure a stone for you to see all over the world with." The elder Joseph made this statement in the context of his belief in digging for the treasure "your Father pretended old Bob Kidd buried."¹⁰⁴ Twenty-five years after this letter from an unidentified location in Vermont, a judge visited Sharon and Royalton, where Joseph Jr. and two of his brothers were born (1805, 1810, 1811). During this visit the Vermont judge learned that "Joseph Smith, Sr., was at times engaged in hunting for Captain Kidd's buried treasure ..."¹⁰⁵

According to neighbors in various towns of Vermont, a revelatory stone, the divining rod, and the treasure-quest were all part of Joseph Sr.'s beliefs and practices for more than a decade before he moved to Palmyra, New York. His brother Jesse verified part of those allegations, while New York neighbors commented on the elder Joseph's same beliefs and practices.

His wife Lucy Mack Smith also used seer stones. New York neighbor Samantha Payne said that Joseph Sr.'s wife "once came to my mother to get a stone the children had found, of curious shape. She wanted to use it as a peepstone."¹⁰⁶ About the same age as Joseph Jr., John Stafford likewise said: "My father Wm. S[tafford]. had a stone which some thought they could look through and old Mrs. S[mith]. came there for it but never got it."¹⁰⁷ Thus, Joseph's mother was a stone-seer, while Joseph Sr. had sought for the right stone in Vermont.

From a combination of friendly and unfriendly sources, it is clear that Joseph Smith as a teenager acquired three different seer stones. He obtained the first by digging for it himself after seeing its location in a stone he had borrowed from a neighbor. Someone claimed to give him a second stone. He used most extensively a third stone obtained while he and his brother Alvin were well-digging on a neighbor's property in Palmyra.

William D. Purple, a non-Mormon, published his reminiscences of acting as scribe for an 1826 court case (see below) during which he heard Joseph Jr. describe finding his first stone. "He said when he was a lad, he heard of a neighboring girl [Sally Chase] some three miles from him, who could look into a glass and see anything however hidden from others; that he was seized with a strong desire to see her and her glass; that after much effort he induced his parents to let him visit her. He did so, and was permitted to look in the glass, which was placed in a hat to exclude the light. He was greatly surprised to see but one thing, which was a small stone, a great way off. It became luminous, and dazzled his eyes, and after a short time it became as intense as the mid-day sun. He said that the stone was under the roots of a tree or shrub as large as his arm ... He borrowed an old ax and a hoe, and repaired to the tree. With some labor and exertion he found the stone."¹⁰⁸ In his interview with Lapham, Joseph Sr. also said his son saw the location of this stone in the earth by looking at someone else's stone. His father said Joseph Jr. acquired his first seer stone at "about fourteen years of age," in other words, about 1819-20.¹⁰⁹

More than ten years before these non-Mormons published their reminiscences, Brigham Young verified that Smith used someone else's stone to find his own stone, which Joseph dug up himself. Converted to Mormonism in 1832, Young later told the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles that "the seer stone which Joseph Smith first obtained He got in an Iron kettle 25 feet under ground. He saw it while looking in another seers stone which a person had. He went right to the spot & dug & found it."¹¹⁰ The part about the loaned stone was unpublished. Young added the significant detail that this was "the seer stone which Joseph Smith first obtained," confirming Lapham's memory of his interview.

Martin Harris also verified the above descriptions by Isaac Butts and William D. Purple of the manner in which Joseph Jr. used his seer stone. "He took it [the stone] and placed it in his hat—the old white hat—and placed his face in his hat."¹¹¹

Smith's Palmyra neighbors often confused the descriptions of his stones, but several accounts agreed that teenage Joseph first obtained a whitish, opaque stone in September 1819.¹¹² Consistent with the age ("about fourteen") stated by Joseph Sr. to Lapham, this was three months before his namesake turned fourteen.

E. W. Vanderhoof remembered that his Dutch grandfather once paid young Smith 75 cents to look into his "whitish, glossy, and opaque" stone to locate a stolen mare. The grandfather soon "recovered his beast, which Joe said was somewhere on the lake shore and [was] about to be run over to Canada." Vanderhoof grouched that "anybody could have told him that, as it was invariably the way a horse thief would take to dispose of a stolen animal in those days." In trying to trivialize Smith's success with the white seer stone, Vanderhoof failed to explain why his grandfather paid money for information that was so obvious.¹¹³ To put young Joseph's scrying fee into perspective, in 1822 Palmyra's residents could buy a regular-bound, new book for 44 cents, and four years later a New York Bible society noted that a Bible "can be had of any of the booksellers for seventy-five cents" (emphasis in original).¹¹⁴

Others freely accepted Smith's ability to see things in his stone, because they themselves had seen things in it. This occurred in Palmyra and along the Susquehanna River border of New York and Pennsylvania.¹¹⁵ These accounts often confuse the finding of the whitish stone with the later circumstances of Smith's obtaining a brown seer stone. Nevertheless, Smith was nearly fourteen years old when he first used Sally Chase's green stone to find a white stone he used for divinatory purposes as a young man.¹¹⁶

For a time, young Joseph continued to defer to her longer experience in divination. Sally's schoolfriend said that "she told me several times that young Jo Smith, who became the Mormon prophet, often came to inquire of her where to dig for treasures."¹¹⁷

Another seer stone Joseph Jr. evidently possessed was greenish in color. A history of Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania, quoted one of Smith's acquaintances that Joseph Jr. obtained a "seeing stone" from Jack Belcher: "it was a green stone, with brown, irregular spots on it."¹¹⁸ Though hostile to Smith, this account is corroborated by a Mormon source. In 1934 LDS member Norman C. Pierce wrote that he acquired a greenish-grey seer stone from his uncle's widow. This

stone came to the Pierce family because of an in-law relationship to David Dibble, son of 1830s convert Philo Dibble. In turn the elder Dibble obtained the greenish seer stone from Joseph Smith, either directly or from the prophet's Nauvoo residence shortly after Smith's death.¹¹⁹ Photographs of the greenish Dibble-Pierce stone show that it resembles the description of the stone Belcher gave to Smith (fig. 9).¹²⁰

Thus, according to early Utah folklore of the Dibble-Pierce families, in the 1840s Smith had a green seer stone which passed into the possession of Philo Dibble. According to Pennsylvania folklore, the teenage Joseph obtained such a green stone originally from Jack Belcher during the 1820s. After Pierce's death, Princeton University Library temporarily acquired the Belcher-Smith-Dibble stone.¹²¹ Before it became the private possession of a new purchaser, members of the Pierce family allowed me to examine this Belcher-Smith-Dibble seer stone.¹²² Since none of the Palmyra neighbors referred to such a greenish stone, Smith did not use it to the extent he did his two other well-known seer stones.

Smith and his followers had the highest regard for his brown stone. Both Mormon and non-Mormon sources stated that he found it as he dug a well for the Chase family at Palmyra. According to Willard Chase, this occurred in 1822. From the early 1830s onward, Palmyra neighbors affirmed that Smith used this stone in treasure-digging.¹²³

Willard Chase claimed the stone came from the excavation for his well, yet other sources identify it as the well of Mason Chase or Clark Chase. That was not a contradiction, because the well belonged to all three men. It was on property owned jointly by Clark Chase and his sons Willard and Mason.¹²⁴ While asserting an ownership of the stone that was disputed from 1822 to the present, Abel D. Chase said Joseph Smith "got a singular looking stone which was dug up out of my father's well; it belonged to my brother Willard ... it was a dark looking stone; it was a peculiar stone."¹²⁵

While in agreement with those descriptions of the stone's shape and its discovery in the Chase well, some sources mistakenly describe the stone as white.¹²⁶ Because Smith had seer stones of more than one color, this confusion among his neighbors is understandable. Palmyra's neighbors (both hostile and friendly to the Smiths) agreed that young Joseph used his seer stone (of whatever color) to search for buried treasures.

Decades ago, some Mormon scholars dismissed these statements as a combination of hostile deceit, distortion, hearsay, or, at best, as descriptions of what Joseph Sr. (not Jr.) had done.¹²⁷ Richard L. Bushman's history of early Mormonism repeated the assertion that eye-witness accounts of treasure-digging identify Joseph Sr., not Jr. He concluded: "The record is equally explicit that Joseph did not like treasure hunting."¹²⁸ In contrast, historians Howard J. Booth, Wayne Ham, Marvin Hill, Jan Shipp, Donna Hill, Richard P. Howard, James B. Allen, and Glen M. Leonard have portrayed Smith's treasure-digging activities as extensive, but not inconsistent with the honorable life of a teenager who had a prophetic calling.¹²⁹ A Mormon philosopher affirmed: "Joseph Smith could have been president of the Palmyra fraternal organization of money diggers and still have been a prophet. There is simply no logical inconsistency in being both."¹³⁰

Although their bias is unmistakable, the non-Mormon accounts of Smith's treasure-digging seem valid. As Mormon historian Ronald W. Walker has observed: "Anti-Mormon and non-Mormon witnesses represent too many viewpoints and their accounts were given in too many circumstances to be dismissed merely as trumped-up misrepresentations designed to discredit Joseph Smith and Mormonism."¹³¹ For example, several Palmyra residents affirmed the involvement of Smith and his family in treasure-digging, yet revealed that other neighbors were self-serving in criticizing Smith. These critics themselves had participated in treasure-digging.¹³² Certainly the early associates and neighbors of the Smiths reported rumors. More important, these neighbors also witnessed actions and statements by the Smiths in the treasure-quest.

The case of Joshua and John Stafford illustrates the selective reporting by some non-Mormon neighbors about the Smith family's activities. Joshua Stafford complained that the Smiths "commenced digging for hidden treasures, and soon after they became indolent." John Stafford claimed that the "Smiths with others were hunting for money previous to obtaining [the *Book of Mormon's*] plates."¹³³ However, a relative of the two Staffords set the record straight: "There was much digging for money on our farm and about the neighborhood. I saw Uncle John and Cousin Joshua Stafford dig a hole twenty feet long, eight broad and seven deep. They claimed that they were digging for money but were not successful in finding any. Jo Smith kept it up after our neighbors had abandoned it."¹³⁴ Isaac Butts likewise stated: "Joshua Stafford, a good citizen, told me that young Jo and himself dug for money in his [Stafford's] orchard and elsewhere [during the] nights. All the money digging was done [at] nights."¹³⁵ The Staffords were involved in the same kind of treasure-digging for which they later condemned the Smiths—after the publication of the sacred Mormon scripture (see ch. 5).

With their seer stones and treasure-digging, the Staffords of Palmyra were simply acting out their family's tradition of the occult. Granduncle Joseph Stafford (1700-73) had cast horoscopes and published astrological almanacs in Rhode Island (see ch. 1). Shortly before his death he was searching "for treasures hid by Indians" in his locale and in Massachusetts.¹³⁶

Willard Chase, a staunch Methodist at Palmyra, left out the same kind of information in his otherwise detailed reminiscence. He stated: "I became acquainted with the Smith family, known as the authors of the Mormon Bible, in the year 1820. At that time, they were engaged in the money digging business, which they followed until the latter part of the season of 1827. In the year 1822, I was engaged in digging a well. I employed Alvin [Smith, Joseph's brother] and Joseph Smith to assist me."¹³⁷ Chase did not mention that he himself dug for treasure, his sister Sally acting as treasure-seer.¹³⁸

According to other Palmyra neighbors, the Smith family first organized their neighbors to hunt for treasure in early 1820.¹³⁹ This indicates that money-digging was the real basis of Chase's initial association with the Smiths in 1820.

Furthermore, during Chase's treasure-expeditions with his sister Sally, Alvin Smith served as a digging companion. Chase's brother-in-law remembered: "Well

I will tell you they did dig; Willard Chase & Alvin, the one that died, they dug before Alvin died [in 1823]. Willard Chase told me about a place; He said he & Alvin Smith went there to dig & there was a chest there; and he said it was so long, & so wide (measuring with a cane). It was an iron chest. And he said they dug down & it only lay a little under the ground. I says how did this shovel become broken up like that? Willard Chase then told me; He says Alvin & I went down & found that chest. Willard Chase claimed his Sister Sally had a peep stone.¹⁴⁰ After Joseph Sr. spoke of "one chest of gold and another of silver" buried nearby, Peter Ingersoll witnessed Alvin and his father take turns putting a stone in a hat and claiming to see a remarkable vision in the stone.¹⁴¹ Finally, it was no coincidence that Willard Chase and Alvin Smith were digging on the Chase property in 1822 as another village seer, Joseph Jr., looked on. Lorenzo Saunders discussed this incident with his brothers-in-law Willard and Edmund Chase. Saunders learned that when Smith discovered his brown seer stone during this excavation on the Chase property, the well was an afterthought: "They dug that hole for money. Chases & Smiths altogether was digging it."¹⁴²

A decade after the conversations and events, some Palmyra neighbors reported first-hand accounts of the Smith family's treasure-digging. Peter Ingersoll said that the Smiths frequently tried to persuade him to join their activities, and that Joseph Sr. explained some of the techniques.¹⁴³ Despite Ingersoll's professed aloofness, fellow non-Mormon and Palmyra resident Pomeroy Tucker listed him among those who "made a profession of belief either in the money-digging or gold bible-finding pretensions of Joseph Smith, Jr."¹⁴⁴ Joshua Stafford also reported a conversation when Joseph Jr. discussed one of his treasure-digging experiences.¹⁴⁵ Joseph Capron referred to one of the younger Joseph's treasure-digs "north west of my house." Referring to Joseph Jr., Capron said that "orders were given to stick a parcel of large stakes in the ground, several rods around, in a circular form."¹⁴⁶ However, an actual participant described in detail how Joseph Sr. drew what is known as a "magic circle" to secure the site of magic-protected treasure (see ch. 3).

Under judicial oath in December 1833 William Stafford's affidavit acknowledged that he joined the Smiths "in their nocturnal excursions" in search of hidden treasure from 1820 onward. One night in Palmyra, "Joseph, Sen. first made a circle, twelve or fourteen feet in diameter. This circle, said he, contains the treasure. He then stuck in the ground a row of witch hazel sticks, around the said circle, muttering to himself something which I could not understand. He then stuck a steel rod in the centre of the circles, and then enjoined profound silence upon us, lest we should arouse the evil spirit who had the charge of these treasures."¹⁴⁷ As with ritual magic generally, such procedures were not original to Joseph Smith, Sr.

Compare that description of the Smith family's patriarch in New York of the early 1820s with words of Silas Hamilton in Vermont of the 1780s. With "Nine Steel Rods about ten or twelve Inches in Length[,] Sharp or Piked to Perce in to the Erth," Hamilton's notehook described "a method to Tak up hid Treasure." This rare manuscript was not published until fifty years after the death of Joseph and Hyrum Smith. Hamilton wrote: "Then mak two Surkels [circles] Round the

hid Treasure one of S[ai]d Surkels a Little Larger in surcumference than the hid Treasure lays in the Erth the other Surkel [circle] Sum [some] Larger still, and as the hid treasure is wont to move to North or South East or west Place your Rods as is Discribed on the other side of this leaf" (fig. 7).¹⁴⁸

In drawing magic circles for the treasure-quest, Smith and Hamilton were not copying each other, but were indebted to an extensive oral and written tradition of ritual magic and the occult (see Intro. and ch. 1). It was an occult tradition that Joseph Sr.'s widow, Lucy, eventually acknowledged in a passing comment while dictating her family's history (see ch. 3).¹⁴⁹

However, like most early Americans, the Smith family's interest in magic was only part of their religious quest. When Joseph Jr. was six, his father had the first of several visions or dreams with religious meaning. Joseph Sr. rejected organized religion, but his wife Lucy sought out institutional religion and joined the Presbyterians without her husband.¹⁵⁰ The parents nurtured all their children in a home where the wondrous, mundane, and spiritual commingled.¹⁵¹

Close to the time of the actions and statements they describe, reports by the Smith family's neighbors tend to carry greater weight than later recollections. Nevertheless, contemporary reports are not always completely accurate and reminiscences are not necessarily flawed.

Mormons traditionally have rejected outright the nearly contemporary accounts from hostile non-Mormons in favor of LDS accounts written long after the event. For example, Mormons readily accept the accuracy of Joseph Smith's sermons which were massively reconstructed more than a decade after he spoke. In one instance, the official *History of the Church* published a 128-word section of his sermon twelve years earlier. This was someone else's expansion of five words in the original manuscript report of Smith's sermon.¹⁵²

Apologists extend the broadest possible latitude to sources they agree with, yet impose the most stringent demands on sources of information the apologists dislike. Both scholars and casual readers should give greater attention to the reports by Palmyra neighbors of statements and actions the neighbors witnessed.

The hostility of contemporary reports and reminiscent accounts is not an adequate basis for assuming distortion in documents of the Mormon past. Likewise, the devotion of LDS reminiscences decades after the events they describe is not grounds for skepticism. Eye-witness reports from hostile Palmyra neighbors and Mormon devotional reminiscences must both be evaluated in terms of other evidence.

Besides the Smith family's activities of folk magic in and around Palmyra in the early 1820s, several eye-witnesses reported that Joseph Jr. was involved in the treasure-quest far from his hometown. Most of these accounts describe his activities as a treasure-seer near the Susquehanna River between Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania and the cross-border counties of New York state north of that section of the river-border. Traditional LDS historians have been willing to accept these reports only with regard to a treasure-quest in Harmony, Pennsylvania in October-November 1825, because Joseph Smith acknowledged this event and dating.¹⁵³ Even revisionist historian Dan Vogel has maintained this chronology, steadfastly rejecting the dates given by eye-witnesses who claimed that young

Joseph was active in the Susquehanna area as a treasure-seer "years before November 1825."¹⁵⁴

The resolution of this chronology problem involves what handbooks of historical research call "a fixed point: [where] no doubt is possible" for verifying the chronology of a reminiscent account.¹⁵⁵ The first historical "fixed point" is a marriage date. A resident of Susquehanna County, John B. Buck said: "Joe Smith was here lumbering soon after my marriage, which was in 1818, some years before he took to 'peeping,' and before diggings were commenced under his direction."¹⁵⁶ Although the marriage date is certain, "soon after" in this reminiscence could be a few months to a few years after 1818. However, the "some years" clearly designates the 1820s for Buck's reference to Smith's activities as a treasure-seer in the area of Susquehanna County. To narrow that time-period, the second and most important "fixed point" is Oliver Harper's murder in May 1824.¹⁵⁷ Any activities involving Harper had to occur before that date.

Cousins of Joseph Smith's wife Emma Hale explained how their relatives became involved in the treasure-quest with Harper and Smith. "According to our recollection, the starting point of the money digging speculation in our vicinity, in which Joseph Smith, jr. was engaged was as follows. ... a man by the name of Wm. Hale, a distant relative of our uncle Isaac Hale, came to Isaac Hale and said that he had been informed by a woman named Odle, who claimed to possess the power of seeing under ground, such persons were then commonly called peepers, that there was great treasure concealed in the hill north-east from his, Isaac Hale's, house [in Harmony, Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania]. By her directions, Wm. Hale commenced digging, but being too lazy to work, and too poor to hire, he obtained a partner by the name of Oliver Harper, of [New] York state, who had the means to hire help. But after a short time, operations were suspended for a time: during the suspension, Wm. Hale heard of peeper Joseph Smith, jr., wrote to him, and soon visited him; he found Smith's representations were so flattering that Smith was either hired or became a partner with Wm. Hale, Oliver Harper, and a man by the name of Stowell, who had some property."¹⁵⁸ This referred to Josiah Stowell, a resident of Bainbridge, Chenango County, New York, adjacent to Broome County, both north of Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania.¹⁵⁹

Joseph Smith's mother said it was Harper's pre-1824 partner Stowell who "came for Joseph on account of having heard that he possessed certain keys, by which he could discern things invisible to the natural eye."¹⁶⁰ Concerning that discrepancy between the memory of Joseph's mother that the visitor was Stowell and the memory of Emma's cousins that the visitor was William Hale (Stowell's partner), it is useful to remember a standard guideline in historical research: "Not all discrepancies signalize a myth or a fraud. In autobiographies, for instance, one must be prepared to find errors in dates and names without necessarily inferring that the account is false."¹⁶¹

Stowell later provided a pre-1825 dating for his first association with young Joseph Smith. In an 1843 letter Stowell's son wrote that Josiah Sr. said "he has been acquainted with him 6 years & he never knew anything of him but that was right and also know him to be a Seer & a Prophet." The "6 years" phrasing was obviously not a reference to Stowell's total acquaintance with Joseph Smith from

the 1820s to 1843. In the letter Stowell's son had already specified "2 years" as the period he himself was "Intimately acquainted" with Joseph Jr.¹⁶² Thus, six years was the period of Josiah Stowell's close association with Palmyra's prophet. The key to identifying when that "6 years" began is to determine when Stowell's close association with Joseph Smith ended.

After more than two years of living in his own house a few miles south of Stowell's house, Joseph Smith and his wife, Emma, in June 1829 "removed from Harmony, Pa., to the home of Peter Whitmer, sen., at Fayette, Seneca Co., N.Y." That would put Smith's first acquaintance with Stowell as the summer of 1823 or "6 years" before Joseph ended his continuous residence near Stowell.¹⁶³ This dating was consistent with the statement of Bainbridge's fellow resident William D. Purple that Josiah Stowell first met "Joseph Smith, Jr., [as] a lad of some eighteen years of age."¹⁶⁴ The young man turned eighteen in December 1823.

However, Joseph and Emma returned briefly to Harmony in June 1830 before leaving permanently the following August. That renewed residence near Stowell would give an alternate dating of the summer of 1824 for the first Smith-Stowell association.¹⁶⁵ Nevertheless, the "fixed point" of Oliver Harper's death in May 1824 eliminates that option. According to Hale's nephews and (see below) a later treasure-digging agreement, Harper and Stowell had been partners while young Joseph Smith served as Harper's treasure-seer. Therefore, Stowell's statement of the "6 years" of his close association with Joseph Jr. actually confirms that they met "years before November 1825."¹⁶⁶

Oliver Harper lived less than ten miles north of Harmony in Windsor, Broome County, New York, and William Hale lived in adjacent Delaware County when he proposed the treasure-quest to Stowell. Hale's female-seer named "Odle" may have been "Clary Odell," a head-of-household who lived in Harpersfield, Delaware County, during the 1820 census but not afterward. By 1823 William Hale was living in Colesville, Chenango County, New York, north of the Susquehanna.¹⁶⁷

Harpersfield was likewise the home of Milo Bell, who also moved from Delaware County to Broome County at this time. He said that young Joseph Smith "had a peep-stone through which he claimed to see hidden or buried treasures." Bell was apparently one of the young men who dug the holes, and said "they would make a circle, and Jo Smith claimed if they threw any dirt over the circle the money chest would leave. They never found any money."¹⁶⁸

In Broome County, New York, one of Oliver Harper's hired laborers stated the year this treasure-digging commenced prior to his 1824 death. "R. C. Doud asserts that in 1822 he was employed, with thirteen others, by Oliver Harper, to dig for gold under Joe's directions (though the latter was not present at the time), on Joseph McKune's land: and that Joe had begun operations the year previous. ... The digging was kept up constantly; seven resting and seven at work." According to an unidentified resident of the area, this eventually cost Harper "\$2000 [and] he utterly refused to go any further."¹⁶⁹ Russell C. Doud lived in Harper's hometown of Windsor throughout the 1820s.¹⁷⁰ Jacob Skinner purchased McKune's land in 1830, and decades later the holes from the Harper/Smith treasure-quest were still observable on Skinner's land (fig. 8).¹⁷¹

McKune's wife Sally verified that young Joseph Smith "had paid several visits to this region when the first settlers were struggling with the wilderness."¹⁷² Combined with John B. Buck's reminiscence, Doud's account helps to narrow the time period for the non-occult "lumbering" purpose of young Joseph's first visit(s) to this area along the Susquehanna River. It was "soon after" 1818 and "some years before" Harper's 1822 diggings. Taking 1820 as the average of these estimates, Joseph Jr. was about thirteen to fourteen when he first traveled to the Susquehanna to help earn money for his family by cutting timber.

Known throughout his life for unusual physical strength,¹⁷³ in 1820 Joseph Jr. was working as a field-hand with his oldest brother and father.¹⁷⁴ By 1820 "lumbering" along the Susquehanna was within his ability, since young Joseph had helped "to clear sixty acres of heavy timber land" around his family's home in Palmyra since their arrival when he was eleven.¹⁷⁵

A resident of Windsor Township, William Riley Hine also witnessed young Joseph Smith acting as a seer for treasure-digs "two summers, near and in sight of my house." According to Hine, this began in the summer of 1821, for "his father told me he was fifteen years old." Joseph Jr. used "a very clear stone" or "peep-stone" to dig for salt and silver. After "over one year without success" (i.e., in 1822), Smith moved the digging site to "half a mile from the river."¹⁷⁶ Hine thus gives independent support for Doud's observation that "Joe had begun operations the year previous" to 1822, when Doud worked as a treasure-digger for Harper along the Susquehanna. In addition, Hine's claim that young Joseph was using a whitish seer stone along the Susquehanna in 1821 is consistent with Palmyra neighbors who said that in September 1819 Smith obtained this first stone.¹⁷⁷

As an eye-witness of Joseph Jr.'s treasure-quests near the Susquehanna in the early 1820s, Hine also said: "Sometimes his brothers were with him."¹⁷⁸ This supports the statement of another eye-witness. Five years younger than Smith, Henry A. Sayer testified: "When a young man I spent much of the summers along the Susquehanna River. I became acquainted with Jo, Hyrum, and Bill Smith [age twelve in the summer of 1823], whom I often saw hunting and digging for hurried money, treasure, or lost and hidden things. Jo claimed to receive revelations from the Lord where to dig. ... He had a peep-stone which he claimed had an attraction, and he could see hidden things through it."¹⁷⁹ Teenagers and young adults like Sayer were not listed by name in the censuses for 1820 or 1830, but his relatives were undoubtedly among the five Sayer heads-of-household in Colesville, Broome County, in Bainbridge, Chenango County, and in Montrose, Susquehanna County.¹⁸⁰

However, Richard L. Anderson dismissed Sayer's testimony because "Hyrum, the eldest after Alvin died in 1823, took the main responsibility with his father for the farm in Manchester and was married there in later 1826. Treasure jaunts to Pennsylvania are implausible for Hyrum in these years. As for William, he writes of being raised on the Manchester farm and mentions that Joseph went to Pennsylvania part of the time between the angel's first visit and getting the plates in 1827: 'During this four years, I spent my time working on the farm, and in the different amusements of the young men of my age in

the vicinity.' Since Sayer is off base in claiming to see Hyrum and William Smith in Pennsylvania, his credibility is not high in what he claims for Joseph."¹⁸¹ At least according to BYU's Anderson.

However, there are several pieces of corroborating evidence that Anderson did not acknowledge here. First, eye-witness Hine also said that Joseph's unnamed "hrothers" were involved in the treasure-quest on the Pennsylvania-New York border two years before 1823. Second, as previously noted, Palmyra residents Willard Chase and Peter Ingersoll witnessed (and even participated with) Alvin Smith in local treasure-digging. Third, a Palmyra resident supported Sayer's claim that Hyrum Smith was involved in treasure-digging. John Stafford said: "Saw them digging one time for money [in Manchester or Palmyra]; (this was three or four years before the Book of Mormon was found) [ca. 1823-24], the Smiths and others. The Old man [Joseph Smith, Sr.] and Hyrum was there, I think, but Joseph was not there."¹⁸² Thus, independent of Sayer and Hine, Palmyra residents claimed that Joseph's older brothers Alvin and Hyrum joined him in the treasure-quest.

Most important, in a source Anderson himself has used in writing about this *Book of Mormon* witness,¹⁸³ Martin Harris contradicted Anderson's claim that "treasure jaunts to Pennsylvania are implausible for Hyrum in these years." As a Palmyra resident and early convert, Harris affirmed that Hyrum Smith was among those who "dug for money in Palmyra, Manchester, also in Pennsylvania, and other places" with Joseph Smith, Jr.¹⁸⁴

According to Daniel S. Kendig of Seneca County, New York, one of those "other places" was in Junius (absorbed after 1829 by Waterloo and Seneca Falls, both southeast of Palmyra/Manchester). There Joseph Smith "worked as a day-laborer for old Colonel Jacob Chamberlain, and occasionally for others, when not engaged with his mineral rods digging for gold in various places." This eye-witness, who served with Chamberlain in the civil government of Junius, dated the beginning of Smith's employment by Chamberlain as "about the year 1820, [when] Seneca Falls and Fayette were visited by an odd-looking boy, clad in tow [i.e., hemp] frock and trousers, and barefooted. He hailed from Palmyra, Wayne County, and made a living by seeking hidden things."¹⁸⁵

Born in 1776, Jacob Chamberlain was one of young Smith's early converts at Junius/Waterloo.¹⁸⁶ This was far closer to the Smith farm than the Susquehanna River border. Junius Township was adjacent to Phelps, which was only nine miles east from Manchester. In addition, the postal notices of Junius support Kendig's claim that young Joseph began working there "about the year 1820." In April 1819 "Joseph Smith" had a letter "remaining at the Junius Post-Office," and a similar notice appeared in July 1820 for "Hiram Smith."¹⁸⁷ Like the Smith family's neighbors, this eye-witness in Seneca County also dated Joseph Jr.'s treasure-quest as early as 1820. Therefore, to use Anderson's phrase, "credibility is not high" for his denial that teenage William Smith would tag along with his older brothers in the trips and excitement of their treasure-quests.

In fact, in another article Anderson noted that "the two young adolescent sons, Samuel and Joseph, were not listed with their family on the 1820 census" of Palmyra. Since the pre-1850 census listed the names only for the heads-of-

household, Anderson was commenting on the fact that there were no male children of their ages listed in the census enumeration for Joseph Smith, Sr. In an effort to bolster a favorable claim about young Joseph, this apologist then wrote that the absence of Joseph and Samuel from the census "tends to confirm" William's statements that "the neighbors" hired out the Smith boys for "a good day's work."¹⁸⁸

To the contrary, the census has never limited its enumerations to those who happen to be at home when the census-taker speaks to a member of the household. The census has always listed all persons residing in a household when contacted, even if some are attending school or working nearby at that particular hour. The census cannot confirm or deny someone's daytime work or evening work in the neighborhood where they reside.

Beginning their enumerations on 1 August 1820, the census-takers did not list Joseph and Samuel at the Smith home for only one reason—these youths were not currently living with their parents. Daughter of rodsman and treasure-digger Alva(h) Be(a)man, believer Mary A. Be(a)man Noble also said that "Father Smith & Samuel had been to Father's before this on business." Her narrative was emphasizing pre-1828 events, and therefore provided an explanation for the absence of Samuel Smith (b. 1808) from Palmyra's 1820 census.¹⁸⁹ As previously noted, early believer Martin Harris said that prior to 1827, Be(a)man had "dug for money" with Joseph Sr. at various places in New York state, and Be(a)man's residence in Livonia was apparently one of those places. According to this rodsman's daughter Mary, young Samuel Smith tagged along.

Instead of supporting William's statement that Palmyra neighbors hired the Smith boys, the 1820 census supports the claims of Buck, Doud, and Hine that by 1821 Joseph Smith was working as a treasure-seer during the summers in places distant from his home. This required his temporary residence away from the Palmyra area, which the 1820 census supports. Whether or not they were on a "treasure jaunt," Joseph and his brother Samuel were not living at their family's residence when the census-taker visited in the late summer of 1820.

In fact, one of Smith's Palmyra schoolfriends verified the statements of Buck, Doud, and Hine that during summers of the early 1820s young Joseph left his home to work near the Susquehanna River. "I often accompanied her [Sophronia Smith], Hyrum, and young Jo Smith, who became the Mormon prophet, to apple parings and parties," stated Mrs. S. F. Anderick. "He was [away] from home much summers. Sometimes he said he had been to Broome County, New York, and Pennsylvania."¹⁹⁰

Decades later Hine professed entire disbelief in Smith's claims, yet Hine admitted using Joseph's seer stone "many times and could see in it whatever I imagined." Seeing visions in a "peep-stone" was an extraordinary admission for someone claiming to regard Joseph Jr. at that time as "half-witted." Hine felt sorry for Smith and his crew digging along the Susquehanna, and "when it rained hard, my wife has often made beds for them on the floor in our house."¹⁹¹ Hine moved from New York to Ohio, where "he was an early settler in Kirtland,"¹⁹² and remained a friend of Joseph's wife Emma for a decade after her marriage to the young seer (ch. 7).

As early as October 1823 William Hale had land transactions with Joseph Knight in Colesville,¹⁹³ which also supports Joseph Smith's pre-1824 treasure-quests along the Susquehanna for the Hale-Harper partnership. That 1823 deed record is a third "fixed point" which verifies the accuracy of reminiscences by Doud, Hine, and Isaac Hale's nephews. As a teenage resident of Colesville, one evening George Collington "discovered Smith, Joseph Knight, William Hale," and two workmen preparing "to discover a salt-spring by the agency of the peek-stone."¹⁹⁴

Without naming any of the participants, in 1824 a nearby newspaper explained this treasure-quest for something so basic as salt. The local Indians "were in the habit of borrowing kettles of many families in the neighborhood, and returning them encrusted with pure salt, of an excellent quality; but no promises could ever induce them to disclose this important secret—and many attempts have been made to discover this hidden treasure, but without success ..." This report appeared just weeks before Harper's death.¹⁹⁵

Despite his rejection of every eye-witness's claim for Joseph Smith's pre-1825 treasure-quests along the New York-Pennsylvania border of the Susquehanna River, historian Vogel mentioned added evidence for Smith's use of a seer stone in that area as early as 1823. Vogel noted that "the [March 1826] court record itself limits Smith's stone gazing to the previous three years (ca. 1823)." He assumed this referred to Joseph Jr.'s first use of a seer stone in his hometown of Manchester/Palmyra.¹⁹⁶ However, this court proceeding (see below) emphasized Smith's treasure-seer activities within its jurisdiction in New York state, north of the Susquehanna River, and Smith's alleged defrauding Stowell of the funds used to support the treasure quest south of the river in Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania. Therefore, the court record indicated that Joseph Smith was using a seer stone along the Susquehanna as early as March 1823. This was consistent with deed records of William Hale's residence in the area by 1823, while eye-witnesses specified that Joseph Jr. was using a stone as a treasure-seer along the Susquehanna by 1822. That was "the previous three years" before the 1825 treasure-digging which was the emphasis of the court case.

Even *Book of Mormon* witness Martin Harris linked the time of Smith's discovery of a seer stone in the Chase well with the time the young seer first became involved in treasure-digging along the Susquehanna: "When Joseph found this stone [in 1822], there was a company digging in Harmony, Pa., and they took Joseph to look in the stone for them ..." In the remainder of that sentence, Harris "then" skipped to the final conclusion of Smith's effort in the Susquehanna River area in 1825.¹⁹⁷ Vogel acknowledged that 1822 was the year Smith discovered this seer stone on the Chase property,¹⁹⁸ which is actually a fourth "fixed point" for dating Joseph Jr.'s first experience as a treasure-seer in the Susquehanna area. The dating of that 1822 discovery is not as firm as a marriage date or death date, but its universal acceptance by Mormon historians gives it the status of a "fixed point."

One of the first Mormon converts, Joseph Knight had known Smith since the early 1820s. His son Newel married Emily M. (Colburn) Austin's sister, and Newel's autobiography referred to Joseph Knight's employment of young Joseph

Smith "from time to time" before Newel's marriage in June 1825.¹⁹⁹ Emily was so devoted to Mormonism that she accepted baptism into the new church in 1830 despite a court order instigated by her father seeking to prevent it. She also reported seeing Smith during visits with her sister to the Knights in Colesville.²⁰⁰ Emily never personally observed Smith digging, but her sister told her of Joseph Knight's previous treasure-digging activities with Smith and she took Emily to various excavation sites on the Knight property.²⁰¹ Again, those excavations were evidence of Smith's treasure-quests in the area before the marriage of Emily's sister. Since Emily became acquainted with Newel Knight during his courtship of her sister, the June 1825 marriage date is a fifth "fixed point" for verifying Joseph Smith's activities as a treasure-seer near the Susquehanna River before the fall of 1825. In this regard, Emily's minister at Colesville wrote in 1830 that Joseph Jr. "has been known in these parts, for some time, as a kind of juggler, who has pretended, through a glass, to see money underground &c &c."²⁰²

Joseph Knight's personal history tells of his acquaintance with Smith. Housed in LDS church archives, this manuscript is "missing at least one beginning page."²⁰³ This missing portion would cover the period when treasure-digging was allegedly the primary association of Knight with teenage Joseph, as previously stated by Collington and also by other sources.²⁰⁴ LDS historian Richard L. Bushman observes: "Although a believer from the start, Knight's 'Recollection' has bothered some Mormon readers because of its rough-cut style and its unembarrassed reports of familiar relations with neighborhood money diggers."²⁰⁵ That discomfort explains the missing pages in Knight's history of his first association with young Joseph Smith.

In describing how Smith "practised with his peek-stone" in the Susquehanna County area, Sally McKune said that Joseph acted as treasure-seer for Harper's digging operations and Harper's "diggers" boarded at this time with Isaac Hale. The McKunes and the Smiths remained on sufficiently good terms for a decade, that in 1833 Joseph Smith and his wife Emma sold their property in Harmony to Joseph McKune.²⁰⁶ This was the 1822 excavation on McKune's property as described by Doud. Mrs. McKune's statement was not inconsistent with Hale's affidavit that he first met Joseph Smith in November 1825, since Harper's treasure-digger specified that Joseph Smith "was not present" at the digging. The young seer instructed Harper where to dig in 1822-24, but did not work with or reside with the laborers who dug the holes. Young Joseph may have resided at Harper's house in New York, north of the Susquehanna River, another reason that Harper's widow received a significant share of the treasure-digging agreement which Joseph Jr. later signed (see below).

According to Mrs. David Lyons, it "was in 1825, when the digging was renewed after Harper's death, and Joe himself was present" in Harmony, Pennsylvania.²⁰⁷ In his interview with Fayette Lapham, Joseph Sr. said his son "Joseph went to the town of Harmony, in the State of Pennsylvania, at the request of some one who wanted the assistance of his divining rod and stone in finding hidden treasure ..."²⁰⁸ This indicates that Joseph Jr. still used a divining rod as late as the fall of 1825.

Like the invitation to young Joseph three years earlier for the treasure-quest

of William Hale and Oliver Harper, Josiah Stowell's renewed invitation in 1825 involved both an established reputation and personal faith. As a non-Mormon wrote nearly 140 years ago: "It requires faith to become a money-digger; and there must have been to their minds some evidence upon which such faith was based. Joseph was the seer. He had a stone, in which, when it was placed in his hat, and his face buried therein, so as to exclude the light, he could see as a clairvoyant."²⁰⁹ More recently, a BYU professor of religion has written: "Stowell would not have hired Joseph in the first place had Joseph not already had the reputation of one who could find treasures deep in the earth."²¹⁰ As previously indicated, young Smith already had this reputation as a Palmyra treasure-seer in 1821-22, when he first began this activity along the Susquehanna River.

On 1 November 1825 Isaac Hale, William Hale, and Josiah Stowell signed a very significant agreement for dividing the anticipated proceeds from this renewed treasure-quest. According to Russell C. Doud, Isaac Hale's nephews, and Sally McKune, those three men had been partners in the previous digging with Oliver Harper from 1821/22 to 1824. As direct evidence of that fact, Harper's widow was one of the beneficiaries in this 1825 contract. Joseph Smith, Sr. and Jr., both signed this agreement, which resumed the young man's previous work for Oliver Harper.²¹¹

Isaac Hale said this treasure-quest ended when Joseph "said the enchantment was so powerful that he could not see" with his stone. The partners "dispersed" about 17 November 1825. Martin Harris, Hale's nephews, and Mrs. McKune made similar statements about Smith's claim of "enchantment" at this time.²¹²

However, Joseph Jr. did not end his treasure-quests along the Susquehanna in mid-November 1825. As Dan Vogel has noted: "Although Smith's later accounts limited his treasure-seeking activities to his experience with Stowell in Pennsylvania, he continued similar ventures in Chenango and Broome counties [in New York state] until his arrest and court hearing in March 1826."²¹³ Two members of Stowell's family provided some details for this four-month period.

Josiah's nephew Lyman Stowell (b. Feb. 1810) said that "in his youth" he and Joseph Smith "both boarded with the former's uncle Josiah Stowell," who lived in Bainbridge, New York. Lyman's father Aaron Stowell lived in nearby Windsor, and therefore this young man was fourteen when his neighbor Oliver Harper was murdered. Lyman Stowell reported that Joseph once told him that "he had lost one of the magic glasses, which he alleged enabled the wearer to discover hidden treasures ..." Josiah Stowell's nephew with other "boys" sometimes followed as teenage Joseph Smith "used to take his adherents out at night and search for hidden treasures ..." Lyman Stowell did not give a date or time period for this experience, but indicated that this occurred while "he was a schoolmate of Joseph Smith."²¹⁴

Josiah Stowell, Jr., (b. 1809) provided one possible time-period for the activities his first cousin described. Asked by a Mormon believer to describe the "circumstances with which you are well acquainted, relative to the youthful, and also more matured character of Joseph Smith Jun, your play mate and School fellow," Josiah Jr. replied that he was "Intimately acquainted with him about 2 years [—] he then was about 20 years old or there about [—] I also went to school

with him one winter."²¹⁵ Joseph Smith turned twenty in December 1825, and therefore was both schoolboy and treasure-seer just north of the Susquehanna River from the fall of 1825 to the spring of 1826 (the normal school term in farm communities).

If Lyman Stowell was not also boarding with his uncle during this same winter, then this nephew's observations of Smith as a treasure-seer occurred during a previous school year. That is equally possible. Various residents agreed that Smith was in the Susquehanna area prior to Harper's death in May 1824 but not again until the resumption of digging in October-November 1825. Thus, the only other period for Lyman Stowell's observations was a school term prior to the spring of 1824. The young man's family first moved to Chenango County when he was "twelve years of age."²¹⁶ That was 1822, when other eye-witnesses claimed Joseph Smith was serving as treasure-seer for Oliver Harper, whose partners included Josiah Stowell. This 1822-24 period would also be consistent with Lyman Stowell's eye-witness observations "in his youth" of Joseph Smith's efforts "to discover hidden treasures" near Josiah Stowell's home in Bainbridge, New York.

After Harper's death, however, Josiah Stowell provided the funds for Smith's treasure-quests north and south of the Susquehanna River during 1825-26. Convinced that his uncle was the victim of fraud, Stowell's nephew Peter Bridgeman filed a legal complaint against young Joseph as a "disorderly person."²¹⁷ For many years Mormon writers denied that such a court case even occurred, despite its evidence.²¹⁸

A newspaper article in 1831 claimed that about 1826 or 1827 a court tried Smith "as a disorderly person" because "he was about the country in the character of a glass-looker: pretending to discover lost goods, hidden treasures, mines of gold and silver, etc."²¹⁹ That claim was consistent with early New York statutes defining the criminal status (misdemeanor) of "Disorderly Persons."²²⁰

Oliver Cowdery's officially published history in 1835 also referred to Smith's being brought to trial prior to 1827 "as a disorderly person" due to his treasure-hunting activities with Josiah Stowell.²²¹ Moreover, about fifteen years later a local resident wrote that Smith came to Bainbridge "in the capacity of Glass Looker" when he was seventeen or eighteen years old and that Smith was tried for that activity twice.²²² This corresponds to Doud's statement thirty years later regarding Smith's work for Harper about 1822. This account is also supported by Smith's appearance in court during 1826 and 1830.²²³

In the 1970s a non-Mormon researcher verified the existence of the 1826 trial through the county court house. A manuscript itemized the court costs for the March 1826 legal process against "Joseph Smith The Glass looker."²²⁴

However, convinced that any non-Mormon charge of money-digging against Smith was only propaganda, many Mormon apologists had previously ignored the other available evidence, including Cowdery's 1835 history. LDS researcher Francis W. Kirkham went so far as to deny the authenticity of the published 1826 court record because "if such a court record confession could be identified and proved, then it follows that his believers must deny his claimed divine guidance which led them to follow him." Smith would then be "a superstitious fraud" who

used a seer stone "to deceive superstitious persons [into believing] that he had the ability to look into the depths of the earth for hidden treasures." Therefore, Kirkham concluded "that no court record ever was made that contained a confession by Joseph Smith that he had used a seer stone to find hidden treasures."²²⁵ LDS apologist Hugh Nibley also wrote that if genuine, the court record "is the most devastating blow to Smith ever delivered."²²⁶ That was a self-defeating line-in-the-sand for those earlier apologists to draw, and LDS apologists now accept the transcripts of this 1826 testimony as legitimate.²²⁷ One LDS author (non-lawyer) has suggested that this court case was a pre-trial examination, but LDS lawyer Gordon A. Madsen recently demonstrated that this was a misdemeanor trial.²²⁸ Madsen is a conservative revisionist.

Actually, the published court records of 1826 portray Smith in a positive light. Unless, of course, one denies the legitimacy of folk magic. Published accounts of this proceeding simply report Smith's statement that he had "a certain stone" with which he saw lost objects. With this stone he saw "where hidden treasures in the howels of the earth were," and had used it to help others in their quest for treasure. His father confirmed his son's story. He added that his son's ability to see by means of the stone was a divine gift that Joseph Sr. hoped his son would use for exclusively religious purposes. Smith's alleged victim Josiah Stowell testified that Smith had not deceived him but actually saw genuine visions in the stone. In addition, one of the workmen hired to dig for treasure testified "that he believe[d] in the prisoner's professed skill; that the board which he struck his spade upon was probably the chest, but on account of an enchantment the trunk kept settling away from under them while digging."²²⁹ Seventeen years later Stowell continued to express his faith in Joseph Smith as "a Seer & a Prophet."²³⁰ That was the order in which Stowell knew the young man, first as treasure-seer and second as religious prophet.

These positive assessments of Smith and his role as treasure-seer remain in the 1826 court records, even though their recorder expressed disbelief in Smith and his witnesses.²³¹ In the accounts of the published testimony, neither Smith nor his supporters admitted to superstition or fraud.²³² Unfortunately, Mormon apologists have in the past accepted rationalist categories of superstition and fraud rather than affirmations by Smith and his supporters of supernatural powers from the perspective of folk magic. Other evidence affirms the basic content of the published testimony. Aside from anti-Mormon editorial comments in these published accounts, there is little reason for Mormons to deny the substance of testimony by Smith and his witnesses, merely because the 1826 court record itself has not been found in manuscript.

If anything, the court records simply add details to the statement of Smith's mother that Stowell "came for Joseph on account of having heard that he possessed certain keys, by which he could discern things invisible to the natural eye."²³³ This referred to Joseph's white and brown seer stones, as indicated in the 1845 draft of her published history: "a Key was indeed nothing more nor less than a urim and Thummim."²³⁴ Before Smith obtained treasure in 1827 from the Hill Cumorah (fig. 2; ch. 5), these stones were the only "keys, by which he could discern things invisible to the natural eye."²³⁵

Prior to the publication of *Book of Mormon*, Joseph Sr. expressed a similar view of the Urim and Thummim (ch. 5), but applied that term to treasure-digging. The LDS newspaper published a verbatim transcript of this long interview as a faith-promoting report of the Smith family by a merchant in Palmyra during the 1820s. William Hyde said: "I was well acquainted with the elder Smith; he often came [into the store] to see me, and we had many long talks together." The father "told me of the stones his son Joseph had found, and by means of which he could see hidden treasures and many wonderful things." Asked to describe a specific gold-digging incident, Hyde said: "Young Smith had designated the spot—about an acre of open ground; there were no woods there—and said that by means of the Urim and Thummim he could see 'treasures' that were hidden in that ground, and people went to work searching for them. Young Smith was not there then, but the elder Smith [was], and when the sudden flash of light[ning] frightened and dispersed the diggers, he declared that the Lord had in this manner shown His displeasure." Hyde said that the failure of this "treasure-seeking expedition" turned some local residents against the Smiths, but he insisted that most of the hostility occurred after the *Book of Mormon* brought instant fame to the family. This Palmyra merchant repeatedly stated his admiration for the Smiths and his belief in their integrity, despite his disinterest in their religious claims.²³⁶

Another neighbor reported personal knowledge of the full duration of Smith's treasure-digging at Manchester/Palmyra. Samantha Payne was only three years younger than Smith. She testified that "for a period of about seven years [he] was more or less of the time engaged in digging for money—that he so dug upon many of the farms in the neighborhood, as well as upon the farm on which she now resides, and that some of the holes where he dug can now be seen."²³⁷ Payne's recollection of a seven-year period of treasure-digging by Joseph Jr. is supported by other neighbors. Some reported that he began treasure-seeking in 1819-20, and other neighbors (including Martin Harris) said that Smith ceased those activities after September 1827.²³⁸ The evidence indicates that his school friend's comment "about seven years" referred to Joseph Jr.'s eight years as a treasure-seer in Manchester/Palmyra from the fall of 1819 to the fall of 1827.

When the Smith family began treasure-seeking in 1819 they were poor and lacked outside financing. That changed when Joseph Jr. "in the spring of 1820, raised some small contributions from the people in the vicinity, to defray the expense of digging for the buried money, the precise hiding-place of which he had discovered by the aid of the stone in his hat."²³⁹

In the Smith family's immediate neighborhood, most of the funding for the treasure-quest came from one man. According to a January 1832 letter from five members of the judiciary and the postmaster at Canandaigua, New York, neighbors reported to them that a Mr. Fish gave financial support for Joseph Smith's treasure-digging at Manchester.²⁴⁰ Pomeroy Tucker's local history listed David Fish and Abram Fish of Manchester among believers in Smith's "money-digging or gold bible-finding."²⁴¹ This funding probably included treasure digs in adjacent Palmyra.

There were different benefactors in other locations. As previously discussed,

first Oliver Harper and later Josiah Stowell provided the funding for Joseph Jr.'s treasure-quest in the area along the Susquehanna River border between New York and Pennsylvania. Jacob Chamberlain apparently financed Smith's treasure-quest in the area of Junius/Waterloo. In 1831 Palmyra residents referred to Chamberlain's former financial aid to Joseph in Waterloo and they expressed hope that it had ended.²⁴²

More important, Mormons and other friendly witnesses demonstrate Smith's treasure-digging and its relationship to magic. Friendly sources corroborate hostile non-Mormon accounts. As historian Richard L. Bushman has written: "There had always been evidence of it ["money-digging in the Smith family"] in the hostile affidavits from the Smiths' neighbors, evidence which Mormons dismissed as hopelessly biased. But when I got into the sources, I found evidence from friendly contemporaries as well, Martin Harris, Joseph Knight, Oliver Cowdery, and Lucy Mack Smith. All of these witnesses persuaded me treasure-seeking and vernacular magic were part of the Smith family tradition, and that the hostile witnesses, including the 1826 trial record, had to be taken seriously." BYU historian Marvin S. Hill has likewise observed: "Now, most historians, Mormon or not, who work with the sources, accept as fact Joseph Smith's career as village magician. Too many of his closest friends and family admitted as much, and some of Joseph's own revelations support the contention."²⁴³

For example, in January 1831 Mormon convert William W. Phelps wrote: "The places where they [Smith and Harris] dug for the plates, in Manchester, are to be seen."²⁴⁴ Phelps was a newspaper editor in Canandaigua, nine miles from the Smith home.²⁴⁵ At some point he obtained his own seer stone (see ch. 7).

Palmyra resident and convert Martin Harris provided more details in an interview: "There was a company there in the neighborhood, who were digging for money supposed to have been hidden by the ancients. Of this company were old Mr. Stowell—I think his name was Josiah—also old Mr. Beman, also Samuel Lawrence, George Proper, Joseph Smith, jr., and his father, and his brother Hiram Smith. They dug for money in Palmyra, Manchester, also in Pennsylvania, and other places." Harris added: "and they took Joseph to look in the stone for them, and he did so for a while, and he then told them the enchantment was so strong that he could not see, and they gave it up."²⁴⁶ As further evidence that Smith actually used the word "enchantment" for buried treasures, the term was also in his father-in-law's 1834 affidavit of Joseph's statements and in Cowdery's 1835 retelling of Smith's discovery of the gold plates.²⁴⁷ To both believers and scoffers—from Palmyra to the Susquehanna River and to the headquarters of his new church in Ohio—Joseph Smith repeatedly used the word "enchantment" to describe his eight-year treasure-quest as a youth.

Therefore, it is astonishing how some LDS apologists can misread (or misrepresent) all the above evidence for the magic use of seer stones and divining rods in the experience of early America and of Joseph Smith. Claiming that he liked this chapter's discussion of those implements, BYU biblical professor Stephen E. Robinson wrote a response that must be quoted in full to be believed: "Clearly use of these objects was a part of early Mormonism. But the vital question is did these practices have their origin in magic? Since there are

clear biblical precedents of the use of rods and seerstones, or at the very least since Joseph believed there were, and since there is an ocean of evidence that Joseph Smith was influenced by the Bible, is it not more economical to suppose the origin of these practices to be biblical? To ignore the possible biblical origins, where proven precedents exist, in favor of speculative magical origins, where they do not, violates Occam's Razor and introduces another hypothesis that is itself not proven." This is self-parody by an LDS polemicist who is determined to ignore the context of American folk magic in which young Joseph Smith obtained and used divining rods and his various seer stones.²⁴⁸ I expect that those who have carefully read this chapter will differ with Robinson about the location of "proven precedent," about where the "ocean of evidence" flows, and about what "violates Occam's Razor" (choosing the simplest explanation that accounts for all the evidence).

Furthermore, Mormons verified a non-Mormon account of one dramatic (and metaphysical) event in Smith's treasure-quest of folk magic. Fellow treasure-digger Joshua Stafford said: "Joseph once showed me a piece of wood which he said he took from a box of money, and the reason he gave for not obtaining the box, was, that it *moved*" (emphasis in original).²⁴⁹

By itself, Stafford's statement could simply be imposing on Smith the folklore that an enchanted treasure could escape the diggers. In 1825 a Palmyra newspaper described such a treasure: "the chest moved off through the mud." In fact, this article had obvious interest to Joseph Sr. Reprinted in Palmyra from a newspaper in Windsor, Vermont, this front-page story described "a respectable gentleman" in Tunbridge who used a "mineral rod" to search for treasure in Randolph.²⁵⁰ Asael and Jesse Smith had been prominent residents of Tunbridge, where Joseph Sr. and Lucy Mack had married and where four of her children were born. Joseph Sr. had also been a merchant in Randolph, Vermont.²⁵¹ In August 1827 the *Lyons Advertiser* also told about "two Vermonters" who proposed to use "a talisman" to find a "box of dollars." Lyons was 13.8 miles east from Palmyra.²⁵²

Back in New York, an early account from Rochester claimed that the buried treasure was "wrenched from their hands and the party heard it move, rattling, away into the hill some thirty feet or more."²⁵³ Typically the treasure trove "moved off" through the earth when guardian spirits were not securely bound by proper ceremony or were offended when the diggers breached the necessary silence.²⁵⁴ Dating back a thousand years in English occult traditions, there was a "taboo against speech" after saying the required charm or invocation of magic ceremonies.²⁵⁵ This was the context for Stafford's narrative.

However, LDS sources verify Stafford's story of Smith's adventure with a moving treasure. In the "autumn of 1827," Martin Harris made his first-known reference to this moving treasure-chest when he described Joseph Smith's recent activities to Palmyra's Episcopal minister. Harris said this treasure-dig occurred because Joseph Sr. "insisted upon it."²⁵⁶ In an 1859 interview, this *Book of Mormon* witness said: "Mr. [Josiah] Stowel was at this time at old Mr. Smith's [Joseph Smith Sr.'s] digging for money. It was reported by these money-diggers that they had found boxes, but before they could secure them,

they would sink into the earth."²⁵⁷ Decades later Harris told Utah Mormons: "I will tell you a wonderful thing that happened after Joseph had found the plates. Three of us took some tools to go to the hill [Cumorah] and hunt for some more boxes, or gold or something, and indeed we found a stone box. We got quite excited about it and dug quite carefully around it, and we were ready to take it up, but behold, by some unseen power it slipped back into the hill. We stood there and looked at it, and one of us took a crow bar and tried to drive it through the lid to hold it, but it glanced and broke one corner off the box."²⁵⁸

Combining the dating of Harris's three accounts, this search for the moving treasure-chest occurred on the Hill Cumorah between Joseph's obtaining the gold plates on 22 September 1827 (ch. 5) and the visit of Harris to the minister in the "autumn" (no later than November 1827). Because of such evidence and testimonies, historians of New York long ago referred to Manchester's Hill Cumorah as "the Magic Hill." For example, in a chapter by that name, Carl Carmer wrote that Joseph Smith "felt magic in the rocks and, boylike, dreamed of buried treasure to which a stone of strange color and shape might lead him."²⁵⁹ Likewise, the LDS church's publishing company released a devotional book which titled a chapter as "On the Magic Hill," concerning "Joseph's visits from Moroni, and many other thrilling experiences which had made the place holy."²⁶⁰

Harris described the moving box as stone in contrast to Stafford's description of wood. Nonetheless, Palmyra convert Orrin Porter Rockwell (b. 1815) verified the incident and confirmed Stafford's description of the box. According to a non-Mormon in-law, the Rockwell family dug for treasure at Palmyra in the 1820s before they were among the earliest converts to Mormonism.²⁶¹ Pomeroy Tucker's neighborhood reminiscence also counted Orrin Rockwell of Manchester among Joseph Jr.'s earliest associates "either in the money-digging or gold hible-finding."²⁶²

Brigham Young told a Salt Lake City congregation about Rockwell's own testimony that he and "certain parties" actually experienced what Stafford and Harris remembered. "He [Rockwell] said that on this night, when they were engaged in hunting for this old treasure, they dug around the end of a chest for some twenty inches. The chest was about three feet square. One man who was determined to have the contents of that chest took his pick and struck into the lid of it, and split through into the chest. The blow took off a piece of the lid, which a certain lady kept in her possession until she died. That chest of money went into the bank [of the hill]. Porter describes it so (making a rumbling sound); he says this is just as true as the heavens are. I have heard others tell the same story."²⁶³ Rockwell's account in Utah about the moving chest's "rumbling sound" in Palmyra verifies the memory of Palmyra's Episcopal minister about a phrase Martin Harris used in 1827 to describe the moving treasure: "with a rumbling noise the chest moved off out of their sight."²⁶⁴ Once again, a Mormon source verifies the accuracy of an anti-Mormon's memory of what he heard early Mormons say.

According to Stafford, Smith said he was one of those who dug for this treasure and that the young man had the broken piece of the lid in his possession. Harris confirmed this as "broke one corner off the box." Young's sermon identified

it as "a piece of the lid which a certain lady kept in her possession until she died." Young said privately that the woman was Joseph Smith's mother. That is consistent with Harris's claim that Joseph Sr. "insisted upon" digging for this moving treasure. Lucy Mack Smith's possession of this "piece of the lid" was an obvious consequence of Joseph Sr.'s being (in Young's words) the "man who was determined to have the contents of that chest." Until her death she retained as a memento of her martyred son the artifact he obtained during a treasure-digging expedition her husband had "insisted upon."²⁶⁵

According to their neighbor and early Mormon convert Orrin Porter Rockwell, Lucy Mack Smith aided her husband and son Joseph in such a treasure-quest. "Not only was there religious excitement, hut the phantom treasures of Captain Kidd were sought for far and near," Rockwell said. Four years before Young's sermon about this matter, the wife of Mormon benefactor Thomas L. Kane recorded Rockwell's reminiscence in her diary: "The most sober settlers of the district he said were 'gropers' [i.e., treasure-diggers] though they were ashamed to own [up to] it; and stole out to dig of moonlight nights, carefully effacing the traces of their ineffectual work before creeping home to bed." Only twelve years old in 1827, Porter (b. Jan. 1815) often hoped that "his mother would forget to send him to bed, and that he might listen unnoticed to their talk" in Manchester, New York. Rockwell explained that "his mother and Mrs. Smith used to spend their Saturday evenings together telling their dreams ... He often heard his mother and Mrs. Smith comparing notes, and telling how Such an one's dream, and Such another's pointed to the same lucky spot: how the spades often struck the iron sides of the treasure chest, and how it was charmed away, now six inches this side, now four feet deeper, and again completely out of reach. Joseph Smith was no gold seeker by trade; he only did openly what all were doing privately; but he was considered to be 'lucky.'"²⁶⁶ As a dream-diviner, Joseph Smith's mother was as active in their neighborhood's treasure-quest as her son was with his seer stone.

Aside from these Mormon accounts of Joseph Sr.'s enthusiasm for the treasure-quest, Palmyra eyewitness Lorenzo Saunders described the participation of the elder Smith in a dig that was directed by "conjurer" Luman Walter(s): "I seen the old man dig there day in a[nd] day out; he was close by."²⁶⁷ (See ch. 4.)

The incident in Manchester/Palmyra was not the only occasion that Joseph Jr. and his followers encountered a moving treasure. Martin Harris said: "A candid old Presbyterian told me, that on the Susquehannah flats he dug down to an iron chest ... [but] it moved away two or three rods into the earth, and they could not get it."²⁶⁸ This referred to Josiah Stowell, who was a deacon in the Presbyterian church of Bainbridge and whose house was "two miles below the village, on the Susquehanna."²⁶⁹ Aside from Josiah's statement to Harris about this moving treasure, one of Stowell's workmen also referred to the same incident during young Smith's treasure-quest along the Susquehanna River: "One of the men placed his hand upon the box, but it gradually sunk from his reach."²⁷⁰

Back in Palmyra, Joseph Jr.'s boyhood friend Orsamus Turner wrote that "Legends of hidden treasure had long designated Mormon Hill as the reposi-

tory. Old Joseph had dug there and young Joseph ... had accompanied his father in the midnight delvings, and incantations of the spirits that guarded it" (chs. 4-5). Turner also wrote that "in digging for money" the Smith family claimed "they came across a chest three by two feet in size ... The chest vanished and all was utter darkness."²⁷¹ This gave more precise dimensions of the chest than Stafford, but did not repeat details from Stafford's earlier narrative. Turner was apparently giving an independent account of what he learned from the Smiths about this incident. In view of the evidence from Mormon and non-Mormon sources, it is necessary to acknowledge that in the 1820s Joseph Sr. and Joseph Jr. both participated extensively and enthusiastically in treasure-digging.²⁷²

In 1838 the church's periodical published an interview with the Mormon prophet: "Question 10. Was not Jo Smith a money digger. Answer. Yes, but it was never a very profitable job to him, as he only got fourteen dollars a month for it."²⁷³ However, his mother said Stowell "offered high wages."²⁷⁴ In fact, Joseph's income as Stowell's treasure-seer was significantly higher than the monthly wage of workers on the nearby Erie Canal.²⁷⁵

Prominent nineteenth-century LDS leaders winced at anti-Mormon use of Smith's treasure-digging but sometimes matter-of-factly affirmed it. Brigham Young told a Salt Lake City congregation: "Ten years ago, it was called heresy for Joseph Smith to be a money digger, and receive revelations; it actually became treason; and the people killed him for it: and now I see hundreds of reverend gentlemen going to dig money. I despise a man who wont [sic] dig for gold, he is a lazy man, and intends to sponge on others. Do not think that I blame you; all I have to say is, that you have to follow in the wake of 'Old Joe Smith,' and paddle away to dig gold."²⁷⁶

Decades ago Dale L. Morgan observed: "Joseph himself never denied that he had been a seer in peepstones before establishing himself as a prophet of God." Nor, as the above quote shows, did Brigham feel any embarrassment over the young prophet's treasure-quest. Morgan noted: "It has remained for a later generation of believers to deny the stories altogether."²⁷⁷ Likewise BYU's Richard L. Anderson has recently written: "After public accusations, one would expect Joseph's total denial if there had been no treasure-searching." He adds this reasonable limitation for the Smith family's treasure-quest in Palmyra: "Money digging had to be occasional because of the hard necessity of working long hours productively to stay alive."²⁷⁸

However, a corollary to Anderson's limitation is that treasure-believers "Mr. Fish," Jacob Chamberlain, Oliver Harper, and Josiah Stowell were supplementing the Smith family's meager income by giving financial support to young Joseph as a treasure-seer. It is no surprise that this financially-struggling family's charismatic son continued this activity for eight years.

In a 1932 interview, eighty-nine-year-old non-Mormon Wallace Miner also said that there was no reason to criticize Smith's treasure-digging. Miner specified that one of Joseph Jr.'s excavations was on the farm in Manchester where Miner then lived. He added that "the angel told [Joseph] this was not holy ground, but to move south. Martin Harris stayed at this home [in Manchester] when I was

about 13 years of age [ca. 1856] and I used to go over to the diggings about 100 rods or a little less S.E. of this house. It is near a clump of bushes. Martin Harris regarded it as fully as sacred as the Mormon Hill diggings."²⁷⁹

Miner was among the Palmyra area's non-Mormons who did not ridicule such beliefs. On the other hand, historian Alan Taylor has noted that from the 1820s onward "the village middle class aggressively practiced a sort of cultural imperialism that challenged the folk beliefs held by farmers like Martin Harris."²⁸⁰

Documentation for Smith's use of divining rods and seer stones for the treasure-quest has often been fragmentary, hostile, or reminiscent. Nevertheless, BYU historian Marvin S. Hill has pointed out that there is "too much evidence to simply brush aside or ignore."²⁸¹ Because critics of Mormonism continue to cite Smith's treasure-digging as an argument against his prophetic claims,²⁸² some Mormon historians still downplay its significance.

Unable to see anything commendable in such occult activities, LDS writers Richard L. Anderson and Richard L. Bushman dismissed Smith's "dahblings" and "limited involvement" in "disreputable money digging [and] self-seeking" which "Joseph Smith did not like." Defining treasure-seeking as "false starts of Joseph Smith's teens," these historians insisted that treasure-seeking was "trivial" and "irrelevant" to Smith's prophetic career. According to this argument, "something far deeper was going on spiritually for him even in the years where evidence shows some involvement with money digging."²⁸³

Taking a somewhat different approach, BYU religion professor Bruce A. Van Orden wrote that "until Joseph learned to channel his seer gifts, he also believed he could use the stone to locate buried treasure." This was Smith's "inability as a teen-ager to distinguish the correct use of the special gifts he recognized the Lord had given him." Therefore, Van Orden claimed that young Joseph's intense religiosity existed in spite the fact that "he accepted the superstitions of buried treasure in the earth."²⁸⁴

Despite their best efforts to adopt a broader perspective, these LDS historians continued to perceive Smith's treasure-quest as embarrassing and "disreputable," or at least not "correct" in God's view.²⁸⁵ Modern Mormons have difficulty understanding that an early American could be deeply religious at the same time he was eagerly involved in the treasure-quest, and that folk magic was an extension of religious faith. This is evidence of LDS secularization (see ch. 7).

From another perspective, non-Mormon historians have suggested that folk magic treasure-seeking could actually enhance one's spiritual growth. Based upon detailed analysis of early American use of treasure rods and stones, Alan Taylor wrote: "For many rural folk, treasure-seeking was a materialist extension of their Christian faith as well as a supernatural economy. For them the actual contest with the supernatural assumed an importance equal to recovering a treasure." He concluded: "And to the seeker, successfully besting an evil spirit connoted a share of divine power, a reassuring confidence that he shared in divine grace."²⁸⁶ In a pioneering expression of this perspective, Jan Shipps noted that teenage Joseph's experience as a treasure-seer was "an important indication of his early and continued interest in extra-rational phenomena, and that it played an important role in his spiritual development."²⁸⁷

According to this view, during the 1820s Joseph Smith was actually developing inward spirituality by functioning as a treasure-seer, rather than treasure-digger. The latter was usually motivated only by the desire to obtain whatever riches were supposed to lay buried or hidden, whereas the former possessed the gift of seership in one of its many forms and sometimes confronted the spirits who guarded the treasure. Such seership was a "gift" relatively few mastered. Therefore less than 20 percent of known treasure-quests in early America involved seers and seer stones.²⁸⁸

For the treasure-seer the primary reward was expanding his or her seeric gift.²⁸⁹ Often the treasure-seer had little or no financial interest in the quest, beyond a small fee for traveling or living expenses. In fact, such seers sometimes demonstrated their disdain for riches by absenting themselves from the dig once they had instructed the diggers how to locate the treasure.²⁹⁰

This is consistent with Smith's own lack of involvement in the actual digging and occasional absence from the site of the digs he was directing. Emma Smith's cousin Joseph Lewis (b. 1807) wrote: "Alva Hale [Emma's brother] says: 'Joe Smith never handled one shovel full of earth in those diggings. All that Smith did was to peep with stone and hat, and give directions where and how to dig, and when and where the enchantment moved the treasure.'"²⁹¹

This also explains a contradiction in descriptions of the young man. Emphasizing his treasure-digging activities, hostile witnesses accused Joseph Jr. of "indolence" or "laziness."²⁹² Smith's family and early friends described him as a hard-working farmboy.²⁹³

It is an overstatement, however, to claim that Smith as treasure-seer was not interested in financial gain. After all, his first description emphasized money: "it was never a very profitable job."²⁹⁴ Because his family was poor, Joseph Jr. had both financial and metaphysical interest in the treasure-quest.²⁹⁵ Only once that we know of did he ever personally reach into the earth for treasure (ch. 5). Then he acted alone to find the ancient records of the *Book of Mormon*. As he started to grasp those gold plates, the young man thought this discovery would "add to his store of wealth," according to believer Cowdery and Smith's own mother.²⁹⁶ Money was certainly part of Joseph's motivation for the treasure-quest.

Even though Joseph Smith was not the only seer at Palmyra in the 1820s, he was remarkable for the way he dramatically expanded the religious dimensions of folk magic. "The traditional magician in Europe and America searched for buried treasure, healed the sick, interpreted dreams, forecast the future, and translated ancient hieroglyphics," noted Brigham Young University historian Marvin S. Hill. "Joseph carried these functions with him into his role as church prophet." From this perspective, BYU historian Ronald W. Walker has written that Smith's youthful activities of folk magic were actually "providential" or divinely inspired.²⁹⁷ In expressing these clear-eyed views of early Mormonism and magic within their own perspective of religious faith, Hill and Walker are conservative revisionists.

3.

Ritual Magic, Astrology, Amulets, and Talismans

Various sources have stated that during the 1820s Joseph Smith and his family used divining rods and seer stones as part of the folk magic of treasure-seeking (see ch. 2). In addition, Smith family members themselves provided evidence of their involvement in more esoteric manifestations of Christian occultism. In fact, Lucy Mack Smith specifically commented on “drawing Magic circles or sooth saying.” Unlike later apologists, she did not attempt to disassociate Joseph Sr. and Jr. from those occult practices. She simply acknowledged them as part of her family’s spectrum of activities, which included Bible-reading, hard work on the farm, and religious dreams and visions (also ch. 5).

Aside from that general statement by the founding prophet’s mother, there are two kinds of direct evidences concerning the Smith family’s early involvement with ritual magic and astrology, both of which were extensions of their involvement with treasure-digging. These evidences come from opposite directions, separated by a hundred years. In the nineteenth century, non-Mormon neighbors in New York claimed that Joseph Sr. and Jr. engaged in ceremonial magic during the 1820s. In the twentieth century, Smith family descendants and relatives announced they were custodians of certain artifacts originally possessed and used by Joseph Smith and his family. Several of these artifacts were passed from father-to-son among Hyrum Smith’s descendants in Utah (figs. 43, 49-53; also ch. 4). To children of her second husband in the Midwest, Joseph Smith’s widow gave two unusual artifacts she claimed belonged to the Mormon prophet: a decoratively-tooled seer stone (fig. 10; ch. 7) and a medallion with unusual inscriptions (figs. 28a, 28b).

The modern custodians were unsure of the purposes for some of these artifacts. However, occult handbooks published before the 1820s demonstrate conclusively that several of the “sacred relics” were constructed specifically as instruments of ceremonial magic (see ch. 4, and below). Before that discovery, their custodian Eldred G. Smith authorized Hyrum Smith’s 1963 biography which attributed all these artifacts to Joseph Sr.¹

His son’s widow, Emma Hale Smith Bidamon, also gave to members of the Bidamon family various items she affirmed were sacred possessions of her

martyred husband, Joseph Jr. In addition to original manuscripts of Mormon scripture, these artifacts included an intricately engraved "silver piece." This object has been identified, without question, as a magic talisman fashioned according to instructions of an 1801 occult handbook.²

Before that discovery in 1974, this medallion was proclaimed for seventy years as the founding prophet's valued possession. Such descriptions appeared in the diary of LDS apostle John Henry Smith, in the official church magazine, in faith-promoting forums for the general public at Brigham Young University, and in a Deseret Book Company publication (see below). LDS apologists tried to reverse those assessments only after the widespread publicity that Joseph Smith's medallion was actually a magic talisman.

These evidences have been dismissed as insignificant. One LDS polemicist used absurd, non-parallel analogies to deny there was any significance to the later discovery that Smith family descendants preserved these magic artifacts. Another purpose of this false analogy was to ridicule the idea that Joseph Smith or his father used the artifacts for any purpose whatever.³ From that point of view, these evidences of magic are allegedly irrelevant to Smith's religious preoccupations, such as his obtaining the *Book of Mormon* (see ch. 5).⁴

However, each magic artifact attributed to the Smith family by their relatives was to be used (according to occult handbooks) in connection with every other such magic artifact in possession of the Smith family. In other words, not one of these unusual items was inconsistent with the prescribed use of any other magic artifact passed down by the Smith family. Yet these "sacred relics" were preserved through completely separate provenance (chain-of-ownership). In addition certain statements by family members and early associates either implied or affirmed that during the 1820s the Smith family believed in and used ritual magic, astrology, talismans, and parchments inscribed with magic words and occult symbols (see ch. 4 for the latter). Later in life Joseph Smith also publicly quoted a book's statement about inscribed parchments and "an amulet, charm, or talisman" (see below; ch. 7). These are significant linkages of evidence.

Historical understanding cannot grow by ignoring or dismissing evidence that seems unusual or inconsistent with traditional perceptions. Several interrelated approaches are needed to assess the significance of this evidence for Joseph Smith and early Mormonism. A starting point is to explore the linguistic and historical context of certain statements by Smith family members relating to the magic world view. A second approach is to evaluate the claims regarding the Smith family's possession of the magic artifacts. Third is an analysis of how specific events and developments of early Mormonism were consistent with the perspectives of astrology and magic that are explicit in these magic artifacts. As a paper-bound chapbook informed common people, in three editions from 1823 to 1826, astrology is the "gate-keeper or usher to magic."⁵

There is a particular world view involved in treasure-digging, seer stones, divining rods, and parchments inscribed with terms of magic. I do not assert that specific individual(s) did in fact perceive events in exactly this manner. My approach describes the likely perceptions of persons with a magic world view.

Obviously, that probability increases according to direct evidence in an individual's life of magic practice and belief.

A fourth approach is to evaluate the claims that specific persons were occult mentors of the Smiths. This requires analyzing the relationships (both geographical and kinship) of these alleged mentors with the Smith family and other early Mormons. That also requires exploring the role of these occult mentors with regard to the Smith family's magic artifacts (see ch. 4).

A fifth approach is detailed examination of these artifacts, their textual derivation and normative meaning within the magic world view (see ch. 4, and below). A final approach is analyzing how Smith's verified statements or actions correspond with the traditional meaning and uses of the artifacts possessed by his family (see below and chs. 4-5).

If there are no correspondences, then there is no relevance. In other words, if early Mormon developments were fundamentally dissimilar from the purposes of the Smith family's magic artifacts, then apologists would be justified in dismissing those artifacts as irrelevant. On the other hand, irrelevance decreases with every intersection (linkage) between developments of early Mormonism and the purposes of the magic artifacts possessed by the Smiths. This chapter begins that analysis of artifacts and past events.

Lucy Mack Smith denied the affidavits of New York residents that the Smiths in the 1820s neglected their farm and other necessary work in order to dig for treasure in Palmyra and adjacent Manchester.⁶ However, her reply acknowledged that the Smiths practiced ritual magic. In the first draft of her dictated manuscript history in 1845 she stated: "let not my reader suppose that because I shall pursue another topic for a season that we stopt our labor and went at trying to win the faculty of Abrac[,] drawing Magic circles or sooth saying to the neglect of all kinds of buisness[—] [W]e never during our lives suffered one important interest to swallow up every other obligation but whilst we worked with our hands we endeavored to remember the service of & the welfare of our souls."⁷ Joseph's mother did not deny that her family participated in occult activities. She simply affirmed that these did not prevent family members from accomplishing other, equally important work. More important, she also affirmed that these activities of folk magic were part of her family's spiritual quest. "Drawing Magic circles or sooth saying" was "one important interest" of Joseph Smith's family. Their neighbor and early Mormon convert Orrin Porter Rockwell also described (ch. 2) how Lucy Mack Smith helped direct her son to treasure-digging locations by dreams she had. As Marvin S. Hill has written: "Belief in magic was not at odds with the Smith family's religious attitudes and can be seen instead as evidence of them."⁸

By the early 1820s "Faculty of Abrac" was a well-known phrase linking magic and divinity. Medieval and early modern magic manuscripts in England used "Abrac" and "Abraca" as one of the names of God in conjurations.⁹ In seventeenth-century English translations of Peter Abano's work on ceremonial magic, "Abrac" was one of the names used in conjurations seeking "Visions and Apparitions." This purpose of "Abrac" was in the 1783 English edition of Abano's work and in its unacknowledged reprinting by Francis Barrett. His 1801 *The Magus* was

the textual source for one magic artifact attributed to Joseph Smith (see below).¹⁰ In addition Joseph Smith used an illustration from Barrett's book to instruct Alpheus Cutler, a prominent member of the LDS church in the 1840s (see ch. 7).

Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History* identified "Abraxas" as a Gnostic name for God that had become associated with magic.¹¹ Newspapers in Smith's neighborhood advertised this study, and he owned his own copy later in life.¹² Specifically, many publications noted that Abraxas derived from the untranslatable magic word "Abracadabra." This word was often used as a talismanic spell in the form of a triangle, Abrac occupying the holy seventh line, with the single letter A as the bottom end point. From 1798 to 1829 American encyclopedias published this charm (fig. 42).¹³

In the eighteenth century, Freemasons also began publishing John Locke's alleged letter commenting on a fifteenth-century document which accused Masons of trying to conceal their ability "of wynnyng the facultye of Abrac." From 1775 to 1840 William Preston's discussion of the Faculty of Abrac in his pro-Masonic *Illustrations of Masonry* went through fifteen English and two American editions.¹⁴ Some late-nineteenth-century Masons disavowed both documents as forgeries,¹⁵ yet earlier Freemasons frequently used this allegedly medieval document to help establish the "antiquity" of Masonry.¹⁶ In the process, the "faculty of Abrac" was associated specifically with Masonry. However, Preston's seventeen editions disavowed such a connection with Masonry of this "Abrac" reference: "In the days of ignorance and superstition, that word had a magical signification."¹⁷ At least since 1798 American Masonic writers introduced Preston's note in the text of Locke's disputed commentary as if it were a note by Locke himself.¹⁸ However, this common Masonic use of the letter obscured the fact that Masons rejected the accusation that they practiced ceremonial magic.

Anti-Masonic writers were eager to accept the implications of the Freemasonry-magic connection that Masonic writers had unintentionally encouraged with their use of the document's reference to "faculty of Abrac." In 1828 New Yorker Henry Dana Ward anonymously published under the pseudonym "A Master Mason" an influential anti-Masonic exposé that made the magic-Masonry connection explicit. The first time Ward quoted the phrase, he altered it to read: "the way of winning the faculty of magic," even though he cited as his source an official Masonic publication that used "Abrac" not "magic." In a later quote, Ward referred to "the way of winning the faculty of Abrac, (magic)."¹⁹ Ward argued that Masonic tradition allowed no ancient connection with magic, because in Masonic lore Hiram Abiff, "the master of 'the art of wonder-working,' did not even draw a magic circle; the master of 'the way of winning of faculty of Abrac,' did not utter a syllable of magic, did not spit one mouthful of fire, did not make the slightest attempt to conjure a spirit to his rescue." Nevertheless, Ward denounced modern Freemasonry because it "teaches the seven liberal arts and sciences, besides the black art" (emphasis in original).²⁰ Likewise, nine miles south from the Smith family's home, Canandaigua's *Ontario Phoenix* described this "VERY ANCIENT MASONIC CHARM" in 1830 as deriving from "the magical term—ABRACADABRA, written or repeated in a particular manner."²¹

The Smith family's Palmyra neighbors did not make anti-Masonic accusa-

tions against them. No known denunciation of the family ever used the phrase "faculty of Abrac," even though Lucy Mack Smith did. Neighbors accused Joseph Jr. and Sr. of practicing certain treasure-digging ceremonies, and it was Lucy Smith who used the phrase linking these accusations to ritual magic. Mormon historian Richard L. Bushman observed that thereby Lucy "revealed a knowledge of magic formulas and rituals."²² One Palmyra resident reported that the prophet's mother also performed various forms of magic divination, including palmistry. Without dissent, the LDS church's official newspaper reprinted this statement.²³ Marvin S. Hill has concluded: "In her mind magic circles, sooth saying, and other magical arts were one with her religious activities."²⁴

Since antiquity, drawing magic circles has been central to the ritual magic of incantation, necromancy, and treasure-hunting (figs. 7-8). This could be done with chalk, yet most magic handbooks required a specially consecrated sword or dagger for the ceremony.²⁵

Palmyra neighbors stated that Joseph Sr. and Jr. drew circles for treasure-hunting. The neighbors did not mention if the Smiths used a tool to draw these circles of ceremonial magic.²⁶ Likewise, without mentioning an instrument, Milo Bell of Broome County, New York, commented on young Joseph's treasure-quest "near the Susquehanna River." Apparently hired as a treasure-digger, Bell said that "they would make a circle and Jo Smith claimed if they threw any dirt over the circle the money chest would leave" (see ch. 2).²⁷ In 1830 Palmyra's newspaper claimed that young Joseph's occult mentor also drew "a Magic circle, with a rusty sword" (see ch. 4).²⁸ Despite that report's sarcasm, there is verified evidence of a dagger, rather than a sword.

Confirming these stories, the Hyrum Smith family has preserved as an heirloom the kind of dagger necessary for ritual magic. The first public announcement of its existence was an authorized inventory of Hyrum Smith's "relics." This biography described the artifact as "Dagger, Masonic [—] ten inch, stainless steel—wooden handle—Masonic symbols on blade."²⁹ Photographs of the Smith dagger have been in print since 1982, and slides were screened at a public convention in Salt Lake City during 1985 (figs. 43-44).³⁰

Modern Mormons have often assumed that any early Mormon symbol or artifact they could not otherwise identify was Masonic, because of Joseph Smith's association with Masonry in the early 1840s.³¹ However, the inscriptions on the Smith family dagger have nothing to do with Freemasonry and everything to do with ceremonial magic.

One side of the Smith family dagger is inscribed with the astrological symbol of Mars and the magic "sigil" (or "seal") for the "Intelligence" of Mars. Next to these is the Hebrew word "Adonay." The other side of the dagger is inscribed with the magic seal of Mars (figs. 43-45).³² By Joseph Smith's time, books and widely circulated manuscripts of ritual magic instructed that "Adonay" or one of the other names of God needed to be written on the blade of the magic sword or dagger.³³ That was one of the requirements for seeking treasure-trove,³⁴ an important activity of young Joseph (see ch. 2). Combining the symbols of Mars with the Hebrew "Adonay" conforms precisely to the

construction of a Mars talisman in *The Magus* by English occultist Francis Barrett.³⁵

On the blade of the Smith dagger (between the astrological sign of Mars and the magic seal of the Intelligence of Mars) is the symbol for the zodiacal sign of Scorpio (figs. 16c, 43). In astrology, Mars is the "ruling planet" over Scorpio. Thus, the Smith dagger followed the tradition of inscribing at least one zodiacal sign of Mars—Aries or Scorpio—on magic implements dedicated to Mars.³⁶

Possession alone may not be proof of use, but it is crucial when the object verifies previous testimony. Hyrum Smith in 1844 possessed an instrument designed for drawing the kind of magic circles that Palmyra neighbors claimed his father was drawing on the ground in the 1820s. In addition, Lucy Smith's manuscript history virtually confirmed the accusation that her husband and son Joseph drew magic circles in the 1820s. She noted the alleged magic activity and insisted that it did not interfere with their farm work.³⁷ As previously quoted (ch. 2), their neighbor and early Mormon convert Orrin Porter Rockwell said that Joseph Smith's mother helped locate the places in Palmyra to dig for buried treasures that moved.

Concerning the magic context for this artifact of the Smith family, it is crucial that Mars (inscribed on the dagger) was the "planet governing" the year 1771. That was the year of Joseph Sr.'s birth. It was not the governing (or "ruling") planet for the birth years of Joseph Jr. (b. 1805), Hyrum (b. 1800), or their oldest brother Alvin (b. 1798).³⁸ Barrett's 1801 *Magus* expressed the astrological meaning of a person's governing planet or ruling planet (he used the term "star"): "Every thing, therefore, hath its *character* impressed upon it by its *star* for some peculiar effect, especially by that star which doth principally govern it" (emphasis in original).³⁹ This occult concept appeared in the pseudepigraphic *Prayer of Joseph* as "a ruling spirit," which James H. Charlesworth explained as "a general term in astrological and angelological materials ..."⁴⁰

For current readers there is a non-astrological parallel which demonstrates the distinction between a person's governing (or ruling) planet and the same person's birth sign in the Zodiac. Most readers immediately think of various characteristics for a person "born and raised in America" that distinguish that person from someone born and raised in another country. Those with an astrological world view likewise think of various characteristics for a person born in the sign of Capricorn, for example, that distinguish that person from someone born in another sign of the Zodiac. However, "born and raised in Utah" immediately communicates to most readers a subset of additional characteristics for an American. For many readers, Utah-born-and-raised may be more important to a person's identity than the fact that this person is American-born. Likewise in astrological handbooks before Joseph Smith's generation, a person's ruling planet of Jupiter, for example, rivalled the importance of that person's birth sign (such as Capricorn) and its planet or star.⁴¹

Contemporary almanacs show that Smith's birth on 23 December 1805 was in the sign of Capricorn, whose planet is Saturn.⁴² However, he was also born in the first of three 10-degree arcs (Decans) of Capricorn. This Decan is ruled by Jupiter. In addition, a specific planet governed each year and Jupiter

ruled 1805.⁴³ Therefore, Jupiter ruled both his birth year and his birthdate within the zodiacal sign. Within the magic world view, Jupiter had enormous significance for Joseph Smith.

In ancient times, astrologers stated that the Decans "have infinite power and freedom in indicating the fates of men."⁴⁴ A modern scholar has described the continuation of this view in Renaissance astrology. The Decans "thus 'preside' over everything and maintain cosmic order. They also influence men's affairs collectively and individually and cause large social events such as the changes of kings, famines, pestilences, floods, and earthquakes."⁴⁵ William Lilly's *Christian Astrology* had outlined this significance of the Decan in 1647, which other astrological works restated a decade later.⁴⁶ An LDS historian observed that Lilly's book was "still popular over 200 years later."⁴⁷ From 1784 to 1826 thirteen editions of Ebenezer Sibly's occult handbook promoted the same views about Decans, as did Barrett's *Magus*.⁴⁸ An 1822 book referred to "the Elohim, the Decans, or the symbols which presided over the thirty-six sub-divisions of the Zodiac," and added: "These Decans or Elo[h]im are the Gods of whom it is said *he created the universe*" (emphasis in original).⁴⁹ By a well established astrological heritage, Smith's ruling planet of Jupiter in his Decan of birth was more significant than Capricorn's planet of Saturn for his zodiacal sign.

Several factors indicate that Joseph Sr. used the family's Mars-inscribed magic dagger, not Hyrum Smith (who did not inherit it until 1840). First, Palmyra neighbors rarely mentioned Hyrum Smith as a participant in the treasure-digging that his father and younger brother frequently engaged in. Second, Palmyra neighbors never mentioned Hyrum in connection with drawing magic circles, yet did say that Joseph Sr. and Jr. drew circles as part of their treasure-quest. Third, the astrological sign inscribed on the dagger was Joseph Sr.'s and not Hyrum's. Fourth, in September 1840 Joseph Sr. ordained Hyrum as his patriarchal successor on his deathbed.⁵⁰ Therefore, Hyrum was the obvious heir of his father's sacred relics, which Hyrum's descendants then preserved.⁵¹

After August 1844 his brother Joseph's personal belongings were jealously maintained by his widow Emma, due to her increasing alienation from his *de facto* successor as church president, Brigham Young.⁵² This included some items of magic (see ch. 2 and below). Had the dagger been among the Mormon prophet's possessions in 1844, Emma Smith certainly would not allow this relic of her deceased husband to go to Utah with Hyrum Smith's widow. According to Young, Emma even took a ring from Hyrum's widow because it matched the ring of Joseph Smith.⁵³

Both friendly and unfriendly sources show that astrology was important to members of the Smith family. Without giving further details, Brigham Young stated that "an effort was made in the days of Joseph to establish astrology."⁵⁴ Hyrum Smith's descendants preserved a magic dagger inscribed with Mars, the ruling planet of Joseph Sr.'s birth year. Hyrum's descendants also possessed magic parchments inscribed with the astrological symbols of the planets and the Zodiac (see ch. 4). Joseph Smith as church president gave himself the code name "Baurak Ale," which had traditional use as an incantation for magic ceremonies emphasizing Jupiter, the ruling planet of his birth (see ch. 6). Emma Smith Bidamon's

family also preserved a magic artifact consecrated to Jupiter, and she told them that her martyred husband valued this possession (see below).

Based on interviews with disaffected Mormons, "Dr. Wyl" echoed Young's previously stated view: "The only thing the Prophet believed in was astrology. This is a fact generally known to old 'Nauvoo Mormons'" who lived at LDS headquarters in Illinois during the 1840s.⁵⁵ This claim was published nearly 100 years before there was public knowledge about the astrological artifacts preserved by two branches of Joseph Smith's family. It was certainly a polemical exaggeration to assert that astrology was Joseph Smith's "only" sincere belief, but his family's artifacts confirm the claim that astrology was one of his beliefs.

Books of astrology were easily available to the Smith family. Two of their magic parchments (see ch. 4) depended directly on one of the thirteen editions of Ebenezer Sibly's *New and Complete Illustration of the Occult Sciences*. It was sometimes published under the alternate title *Illustration of the Celestial Science of Astrology* due to its emphasis on astrology, but all editions had identical content.⁵⁶ The bookstore at Hanover, New Hampshire, had publicly advertised Erra Pater's occult *Book of Knowledge* and also the *Complete Fortune Teller ... for Fore-telling Future Events, by Astrology, Physiognomy, Palmistry, Moles, Cards, Dreams*. Hyrum Smith later attended school in Hanover,⁵⁷ and his mother used dream-divination for the treasure-quest (see ch. 2). This book of astrological recommendations had thirteen American editions.⁵⁸ Just prior to the Smith family's move to Palmyra, the newspaper at nearby Canandaigua also advertised the *Fortune Teller* for sale in a special insert. In 1824 Palmyra's newspaper advertised that book, plus another occult handbook, *The BOOK OF FATE* (see ch. 4).⁵⁹ For a decade before that, local interest in popularized astrology was evident in repeated advertising of Walter Scott's *Guy Mannering, or the Astrologer*.⁶⁰ Astrological almanacs were also published near Joseph Jr.'s residences from the 1820s to the 1840s (figs. 17a, 17h, 18).

In fact, LDS historian David J. Whittaker noted that "there were about 155 separate[,] known printings of almanacs between 1815 and 1831 in areas close to the Smith home near Palmyra." In Whittaker's view, Joseph Smith's family inevitably knew of and used astrological almanacs.⁶¹ For example, an astrological almanac was printed each year in Canandaigua, nine miles from the Smith home.⁶²

Nevertheless, a reviewer for BYU's Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies (FARMS) mentioned the "magical texts to which the Smith family almost certainly had no access (especially those long since out-of-print) ..."⁶³ Despite this unfounded certainty of LDS apologists, since the late 1700s American rationalists and clergy complained about the widespread ownership and readership of occult works that had been out-of-print for more than a century (see ch. 1).

Aside from evidence of direct availability and use of occult books, it is significant that most astrological advice (see below) was in printed circulation for hundreds of years before Joseph Jr.'s birth. Many of these occult works had multiple editions, and literally hundreds of astrological guides saturated the Anglo-American culture of folk magic by the early 1800s. As Katharine Briggs has observed, occult works had an even wider influence in the oral tradition of

folk magic. Occult instructions "were distributed among the people, and returned again to the folklore from which they had been borrowed. For [academic] occult learning was originally founded upon folklore."⁶⁴ According to the Smith family's artifacts, statements of their neighbors, and reports by some of Joseph's followers, his family was interested in folk magic and in astrology. That predisposed the Smith family to participate in oral traditions that circulated astrological instructions which were also widely available in print.

To challenge this discussion, an LDS folklorist insisted that the relatively unchanging "book culture" was distinct from folk culture. "The one constant about folk culture, on the other hand, is that it is ever changing; it is subtracted from, added to, and created anew in every new performance or ritual enactment, as the practitioner adapts traditional knowledge to the demands of the social and physical environment," William A. Wilson argued. Unvarying behaviors in folk magic could not result from oral traditions, he concluded, and therefore were not really examples of "folk culture."⁶⁵

However, there are three enormous fallacies in Wilson's argument. First, it is based on an assumption of illiteracy or lack of sophistication in the common "folk," an assumption that Wilson also wrongly attributed to this book.⁶⁶ Instead, common people of Anglo-European extraction had extremely high literacy in early America and were sophisticated readers (see chs. 1, 6). Second, Wilson's argument shows extraordinary ignorance of astrology's significance to both academic occultists and regular people who believed in it. Astrology did not give generalized advice which its believers could modify at will. Astrology is an occult science, which requires as much attention to detail as does mathematics or chemistry. Folk astrology was based on the maxim that people should "do nothing without the assistance of the Moon."⁶⁷

Likewise, the Smith family believed that success in their treasure-quest "depended in a great measure on the state of the moon." This was the incidental comment of an 1833 affidavit by Palmyra neighbor William Stafford, who admitted participating with the Smiths in treasure-digging during the early 1820s.⁶⁸ This neighbor had no knowledge that artifacts showing the Smith family's astrological belief were being preserved by two separate branches descending from Joseph Sr. (see ch. 4 and below).

Early Americans bought tens of thousands of almanacs with astrological information, because everyone from Harvard students to fourteen-year-old farm boys knew they must follow astrology's requirements exactly in order to get the desired effect (see chs. 1, 5). Even if Wilson had no prior knowledge of astrology, he should have known that much if he read this book twice, as he claimed. For astrology in particular and much of folk magic in general, there were no distinctions between "book culture" and folk culture. Oral traditions imposed the same continuities on folk magic as did written handbooks.

Religious devotion was also compatible with early American dependence on astrological almanacs. A researcher's comment about late-nineteenth-century Pennsylvanians also applied to New Yorkers of Joseph Smith's generation: "The Bible was their rule of action for Sunday," and "their actions during the week were controlled largely by the almanac."⁶⁹

Another kind of analysis can measure the extent Joseph Smith and his family followed astrological advice, or ignored it. If there are few or no correlations between voluntary act and astrological advice, it is unlikely that the person paid any attention to astrology. However, when there are demonstrable correlations between voluntary act and astrological guides, this suggests that the individual chose to do certain things in conformity with astrological advice. Such linkage does not assert that the person did everything according to astrological advice.

The more correspondences between voluntary acts and astrological recommendations, the greater the probability that the individual considered astrology in certain decisions and acts. Probability of attention to astrology increases when there is evidence of astrological objects in the person's possession, plus correlations between the person's voluntary acts and astrological guides. This is the realm of probability, not proof.

Astrology gives much attention to questions concerning marriage. Likewise, there is a pattern of astrological-numerological correlation in the marriage dates of Joseph Smith, Sr. and Jr. In addition, Joseph Jr.'s polygamy multiplied the opportunity for astrological correspondence or non-correspondence.

However, a BYU professor of the New Testament complained "that any date can be made astrologically significant, propitious or ominous, by using different guides, systems, and criteria." Stephen E. Robinson explained: "The beauty of astrology as a confidence game is that there are enough variables to produce any desired result for a given date or to explain any outcome in retrospect ..." He did not volunteer to his readers that the same can be said for the world views of Judaism, Christianity, Mormonism, and modern science.⁷⁰

Flexibility in accounting for life's variables and disappointments is what allows a world view to endure for centuries or millennia. Jews have proposed various explanations for the Messiah's non-appearance in 132 B.C.E., 70 C.E., 117, 645, the eighth century, the year 1060, 1099, 1100, 1121, 1172, 1295, 1350, 1391, 1453, 1481, 1500-1502, the 1660s, and in the eighteenth century.⁷¹ After confidently finding "keys" or "codes" in prophetic texts of the Bible (such as Revelation) for dating Christ's second coming and/or the "end of the world," various Christians have also managed "to explain any outcome in retrospect" for those non-events in first century A.D., the year 500, about 799-806, and the years 1000, 1260, 1533-34, 1655, 1666, 1688, 1708, 1734, 1763, 1796, 1806, 1814, 1820, 1823, 1843, 1844, 1846, 1847, 1890, 1914, 1975.⁷² Mormons were equally adept at reconciling the absence of the Second Coming in 1891 that the Latter-day Saints had expected since their founding prophet's remarks about that dating.⁷³ On a far more frequent basis, Mormon parents and LDS leaders have provided faith-supportive explanations for a faithful person's failure to recover from physical problems after priesthood promises for full recovery. This includes children who do not live to fulfill a patriarchal blessing's unconditional promise of long life or (at least) of serving a full-time mission in mortality.⁷⁴ Almost as often, scientists throughout the world propose various explanations for why experiments or phenomena violate the "laws" of physics or "rational" logic.⁷⁵ Like the magic world view, both religion and science require a certain amount of faith and flexibility when faced with apparent contradictions.

Early Americans who valued astrology also found encouragement in following astrological recommendations, satisfaction at any favorable outcome, and reinforcement from correlations between astrology and life's experiences. The Smith family's magic artifacts are filled with astrology references. Contemporaries (who had no knowledge of those artifacts) also mentioned Joseph Smith's belief in astrology. Joseph Smith's life has astrological correlations which coexisted with the above facts. Where LDS apologists claim to see only coincidences, I see logical consequences of astrological belief.

For example, there is evidence for exact or probable dates for seventeen of Smith's marriages, and all of these wedding dates have astrological correlations. By contrast, of the eight marriage dates of Smith's brothers and sisters from 1826 to 1841, only two correspond with astrological guides (Lucy's in 1840 on the moon's first day in Leo, and Samuel H.'s in 1841 on the moon's second day in Leo). The probability of "mere coincidence" diminishes in view of the fact that there is an overwhelming pattern of astrological correlations in the marriage dates for Joseph Sr. and Jr. They were the only members of the Smith family identified by neighbors as performing ritual magic. There is a corresponding lack of astrological correlations in the marriage dates of other family members who were not identified by neighbors with magic practices.

Among the astrological methods used in reckoning favorable days for marriage was the new moon.⁷⁶ The two Smiths married in multiples of seven days after the new moon. Joseph Sr. and Lucy Mack married fourteen days after the new moon in January 1796. In January 1827 Joseph Jr. married Emma Hale twenty-one days after the new moon. The exact marriage dates for all of the prophet's later plural wives are not known, yet he married Eliza M. Partridge seven days after the new moon, Louisa Be(a)man and Rhoda Richards fourteen days after the new moon, Eliza R. Snow twenty-one days after the new moon, and Prescendia Huntington Buell and Sylvia P. Sessions Lyon twenty-eight days after the new moon.⁷⁷

This marriage pattern is consistent with an awareness of magic and the occult. Barrett's 1801 occult handbook emphasized: "The number Seven is of various and manifold power," and "joins the soul to the body; and the virtue of this number relates to the generation of men, and it causes man to be received, formed, brought forth, nourished, live, and indeed altogether to subsist: for when the genital seed is received in the womb of the woman, if it remains there seven hours after the effusion of it, it is certain that it will abide there for good."⁷⁸ Moreover, books dealing with the magic of numbers had declared for more than a century that the ancient Pythagoreans and modern Rosicrucians "call seven the number of Virginity."⁷⁹ For hundreds of years occult handbooks (including Barrett's) declared that seven was the number of Venus, the planet governing love.⁸⁰

Based on the Cabala,⁸¹ the ancient Jewish system of magic, Agrippa's and Barrett's system assigned only one number from 3 through 9 to each of the seven "planets" (including the sun and moon). Using a different system, other occult books attributed the same number to more than one planet.⁸² In this over-lapping numerical astrology, seven was attributed to Saturn and Mars, not to Venus. Because the Smith family's magic relics (see below; ch. 4) show a

dependence on *The Magus*, Francis Barrett's use of seven for Venus only is my point of reference here.

Even when not in multiples of seven days after the new moon, some of Smith's marriage dates corresponded to other published guides for the new moon.⁸³ Smith married Emily Partridge and Elvira Cowles Holmes three days after the new moon, one of the best days each month for spiritual communication.⁸⁴ He married Zina D. Huntington Jacobs thirteen days after the new moon. This was consistent with Erra Pater's popular occult *Book of Knowledge*: "On the thirteenth Day of the Moon. ... To wed a Wife on this Day is good, for she shall be both loving and obedient to her Husband." Throughout the nineteenth century, penny chapbooks repeated these instructions for marriage according to the moon.⁸⁵ Moreover, Smith was sealed for time and eternity to his wife Emma on 28 May 1843, twenty-nine days after the new moon. On sale in Palmyra when Joseph was eighteen, *THE BOOK OF FATE* had stated that "on the twenty-ninth day ... It is good to marry on this day ..."⁸⁶

The daily movement of the moon through the Zodiac was also important in astrology. Astrological guides listed eight days during the lunar month which were specifically designated as days on which to marry. The guides implied that marriage was astrologically consistent with four other days that promoted love.⁸⁷ Typical almanacs available to Smith throughout his life furnished such astrological information to aid folk believers in their decision-making (figs. 17a, 17b, 18).

Because this was a different system of astrological recommendations, there was some overlap between Smith's marriages according to the moon's position and previously discussed methods. Accordingly, Smith married the following women on the matrimonial days⁸⁸ of the moon's position as it passed through the signs of the Zodiac: Eliza M. Partridge and Lucy Walker as astrologically prescribed on the first day the moon was in Gemini, Olive G. Frost on the second day in Virgo, Patty Bartlett Sessions on the second day in Aquarius, Eliza R. Snow and Fanny Young Murray on the second day in Pisces, and Zina D. Huntington Jacobs, and Sarah Ann Whitney on the first day the moon was in Aries. All these polygamous marriages occurred at Nauvoo in the 1840s.

Moreover, the moon's first day in Leo "yieldeth love."⁸⁹ This was the moon's position when Joseph Sr. married Lucy Mack Smith. It was also when Joseph Jr. married Malissa Lott (if the Lott marriage occurred in 1843, as traditionally claimed). However, in an affidavit Malissa Lott Smith Willes claimed that on 20 September 1842 she married Smith in polygamy.⁹⁰ That was the moon's first day in Aries, an astrologically designated occasion to marry.⁹¹

In addition, of the persons for whom Joseph Smith performed polygamous marriages, Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball were the two early apostles most attuned to folk magic (see ch. 7, and below). Smith performed three polygamous marriages for Brigham Young on the recommended days of marriage according to the moon's transit through the Zodiac.⁹² These were the only polygamous wives Young married during Smith's lifetime. The date Smith performed Kimball's polygamous marriage is unknown, yet it probably occurred on the same day Young married his first polygamous wife. Shortly after Smith's death, the two apostles often performed each other's marriages on the same occasion.⁹³

Exact marriage dates are unavailable for most of Smith's forty-plus wives. On the known dates, he married only three wives on Thursday. That was the day over which his governing planet Jupiter ruled.⁹⁴ From 1655 to 1783 the English publications of Abano's *Heptameron, or Magical Elements* had specified that under Jupiter, the spirits of Thursday "procure the love of women; to cause men to be merry and joyful." Francis Barrett repeated this in his 1801 *Magus*, also quoted in 1825 by astrologer Robert C. Smith ("Raphael").⁹⁵

Only Fanny Young Murray's Thursday wedding in 1843 was also on a date specifically recommended for marriage according to the moon's zodiacal transit. Within the magic world view, a Thursday ceremony benefited and reinforced astrologically Emma Hale's civil marriage in 1827, her second anointing with her husband in 1843, and Smith's polygamous marriage with Elvira A. Cowles Holmes in 1843. Like Elvira, Emily M. Partridge married him on an occasion that was spiritually significant in magic (three days after the new moon), but not a recommended day for marriage. Emily's plural marriage originally occurred without Emma Smith's knowledge, and when the first wife reluctantly chose Emily to become a new plural wife for her husband, Smith arranged a re-performance of the ceremony. This occurred on 11 May 1843, according to the testimony of Emily and her sister Eliza Partridge (also married in this repeated ceremony). That was Jupiter's day, Thursday.⁹⁶

Even simpler than astrological correlations, magic books also designated certain days as always "lucky days for marriages." In its three editions from 1823 to 1826, Buchan's handbook listed 6 January, 1 May, and 29 June among those dates. Joseph Smith married Agnes Coolbrith Smith on 6 January 1842, Lucy Walker on 1 May 1843, and Eliza R. Snow on 29 June 1842.⁹⁷

Within the magic world view, there was also significance in the birth patterns of Smith's children. Sibly's *New and Complete Illustration of the Occult Sciences* (a major text for the Smith family's magic parchments; see ch. 4) explained the influence of the planet Jupiter: "In generation, he governs the second and the ninth months [February and September]."⁹⁸ In normal gestation, this results in childbirths during November and June.

According to a public talk by his plural wife Mary E. Rollins Lightner, the LDS prophet actually fathered children through polygamy. Even though three of Smith's polygamous children lived to adulthood, their identities were concealed and they went "by different names" than Smith. She did not explain why.⁹⁹ These children were born to women who were living with legal husbands while they were secretly plural wives of the Mormon prophet. Mrs. Lightner was one of these polyandrous women.¹⁰⁰ There is verified identity for only one of Smith's polygamous children, Josephine Lyon Fisher. Her mother Sylvia P. Sessions Lyon married Smith while Sylvia resided with Windsor P. Lyon, her LDS husband. She bore Smith's daughter the February before his death.¹⁰¹ This did not correspond to conception during Jupiter's months.

However, Joseph Smith did not cohabit on a continuous basis with any of his polygamous wives. Aside from Smith's irregular cohabitation with these women, his daughter Josephine's conception was complicated by the fact that during any given month her mother was having sexual intercourse with two

men: her legal husband (who was excommunicated from the LDS church the year of her polyandrous marriage) and also the Mormon prophet.¹⁰² Under these circumstances, it was impossible for Smith to schedule the conception of his polyandrous child.

By contrast with the uncertain birth dates for most of his polygamous children, Joseph Smith fathered a large number of children through legal marriage to Emma Hale. Consistent with his astrologically recommended time to father children, most (and possibly all) of Emma's children were conceived in either February or September when their father's ruling planet of Jupiter governed sexual generation.

Emma's first-born child Alvin (or "Alva") was born nine months after his parents went to the hill to unearth the gold plates during the early morning hours of 22 September 1827. The first-born's brothers Frederick, Alexander, and Don Carlos were also born in June (thus also conceived in Jupiter's generative month of September). Joseph III and David were born in November (thus conceived in Jupiter's generative month of February). The twins "Thadeus" (Thaddeus) and Louisa, born 30 April 1831, were exceptions consistent with the rule: their mother's biography noted that the twins were "probably premature and lived only three hours." They were probably also conceived seven to eight months earlier during Jupiter's generative month of September.¹⁰³ In February 1842 Emma Smith bore a child which died the same day, and the evidence indicates that this child was "still horn," as stated in LDS Ancestral File. The birth was noted in the family Bible which did not give this "7th Son" a name, nor was this birth even mentioned in Joseph Smith's diary for February 1842 or in the family's published genealogy.¹⁰⁴ This stillbirth occurred five months after Jupiter's generative month of September, during which this seventh son may also have been conceived.

Thus, six of Emma Smith's nine children were definitely fathered during the two months when her husband's ruling planet governed "generation." This exceeds the statistical randomness one would expect in unplanned and unregulated conceptions, yet it would fulfill folk magic expectations that the births should conform to the generative months of his governing planet. Moreover, Joseph Smith's three other children were premature births, whose conceptions may have also occurred during Jupiter's generative months.

For those with a magic world view, many characteristics of the Mormon leader's life corresponded to previously published astrological descriptions. Influenced by a magic world view, when persons observe non-voluntary circumstances (such as bodily features) conforming to astrological predictions, these persons regard those "coincidences" as validating astrology. Within the magic world view, coincidence is confirmation.¹⁰⁵

Astrology provided a world view that allowed Smith's astrologically inclined followers to see his life as fulfillment of the astrology they already believed.¹⁰⁶ That same circular logic is explicit in devotional biographies of religious leaders, whose biographers provide readers with various reasons for having the faith they already have in their leaders. *Lives of the Saints* is a Catholic example, while biographies published by *Deseret Book* and *Bookcraft* are Mormon examples.¹⁰⁷ That is the circular logic of every world view.

Likewise, when the course of a person's life seems to fulfill astrological expectations, this encourages the oral tradition that has perpetuated astrological belief and instructions. Even unfulfilled predictions do not destroy the faith of astrology's advocates. Like persons with the scientific world view,¹⁰⁸ persons with the astrological view are able to tolerate contradictions and unfulfilled expectations within a system they believe to be valid. The same is true of those who believe that God loves humans and answers their prayers—despite deformed births, unhappy lives, tragic deaths, or prolonged disasters like the Jewish holocaust, Cambodia's killing fields, and central Africa's famines.

Astrology books were very specific about the physical appearance of persons born under the governing influence of Jupiter. Gadbury's seventeenth-century description was typical: "handsome, upright, tall Stature; corpulent, and of a ruddy and pleasant Complexion, the Visage oval; Forehead, high and large; comely gray Eyes; the Hair ... Auburn-brown." According to the intentional timelessness of the occult (see Intro.), this description continued to appear in astrological and occult books to the mid-1820s.¹⁰⁹ Smith's "corpulent" appearance is reflected in a contemporary painting by his plural wife Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner (fig. 1), and in a contemporary description of his "tending to corpulancy." Unaware of the astrological expectations of physical appearance, a modern biographer described Smith as "six feet tall, muscular and like his father, noted as a wrestler, but his face was sensitive, with remarkably blue and compelling eyes under heavy eyelashes, thick blond eyebrows, a high, slanting forehead and light auburn hair."¹¹⁰ Based on statements by Smith's associates, this description exactly fulfilled the astrological expectations for his Jupiter-determined physical appearance, with the exception of Smith's blue eyes (rather than gray). However, one Palmyra resident added his recollection that Smith had "large eyes of a bluish gray."¹¹¹

This match between Smith's appearance and astrological predictions for persons with his birth planet may have contributed to what Brigham Young described as "an effort ... in the days of Joseph to establish astrology." Those who believed in astrology looked for its fulfillment in everyday life.

Astrology texts also stated that persons such as Smith who were born in Capricorn were subject to "all Infirmities incident to the Knees or Hams, either by Sprains, colds [or] Inflammations," "schirrous Tumors," "Putrifaction in the Blood," "diseases [such as] sprains, dislocations, and broken limbs." Thus persons with such a birth sign were "inclined to be crooked."¹¹² For persons such as Smith, born in Capricorn under Jupiter's governing influence, the legs were likewise expected to be adversely affected.¹¹³

As a seven-year-old child, Smith contracted a severe leg infection. This initially required a surgical "incision of eight inches on the front side of the leg between the knee and the ankle" to drain the infection. A second operation provided better drainage, and finally a radical operation "took away, 3 large pieces of the Bone." Amputation was the conventional medical response to this kind of bone infection. Nevertheless, the thrice-repeated, unconventional surgical procedure that took three pieces of bone was successful in saving the seven-year-old's leg.¹¹⁴

Within the magic world view, the sacred numbers of three and seven were significant in the success of this uncommon surgery. Still, this surgery left Smith with a limp the rest of his life.¹¹⁵ This fulfilled astrological expectations that those of Smith's birth sign were "inclined to be crooked." (see above)

Persons born in the sign of Capricorn were also expected by astrologers to be "whistling in their delivery and speech, though otherwise quick and voluble enough."¹¹⁶ As a result of a chipped tooth during a mob attack in 1832, Smith "had a slight whistle in his speech" throughout the last decade of his life.¹¹⁷ Again, this fulfilled astrological expectations for his birth sign.

Some of Joseph Jr.'s contemporaries condemned his early treasure-seeking as inconsistent with his later religious claims, yet both activities found a comfortable home within the astrological world view. Consistent with the claim that his ruling planet Jupiter governed the hazel tree,¹¹⁸ neighbors reported that Smith began using a divining rod (hazel was the traditional wood) in his early adolescence (see ch. 2). Henry Cornelius Agrippa's widely influential *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* specified: "Things under Jupiter ... Amongst Metals, Tin, Silver, and Gold."¹¹⁹ Published in 1794 and 1796, another astrological guide added that Jupiter "signifies ... riches," while Barrett's 1801 *Magus* said "it conduces to gain riches ..."¹²⁰ This provided an avenue for Jupiter-born Smith in his quest for silver and gold (see ch. 2).

Astrological belief among Smith's followers was consistent with their faith in his prophetic career (see ch. 7). Astrology books had consistently affirmed to the mid-1820s that Jupiter in one's birth "signifies Religious men, Church men," that Jupiter governed "the whole Leviticall order, all Ministers of Churches."¹²¹ Because of his birth in the sign of Capricorn, astrologically inclined believers would expect Smith to have: "Hostile family. Great struggles. Mobility of life. Several marriages."¹²² His many residences in seven states are well-known, as is the hostility of his wife Emma against Smith's polygamous marriages.¹²³

On the other hand, astrological guides also described Joseph Smith's birth characteristics as consistent with denunciations by his enemies. Hostile neighbors described young Smith as specified in *The Complete Fortune Teller*, which was advertised at Palmyra in 1824. For his birth in the sign of Capricorn, the astrological guide predicted he would be: "exceedingly amorous, ambitious, restless, and troublesome to himself and others, not from any design of giving uneasiness, but merely from want of reflecting, he will easily yield to the first impression, and will be rather too dull and lazy to consider the consequences that may result from what he says or does." The *BOOK OF FATE* (also listed in the same Palmyra book-advertisement) added that "in love he will be extremely amorous, much attached to the female sex, rather fickle in his affections, but kind and loving to his wife ..."¹²⁴ Likewise, disaffected Mormons denounced Joseph Smith for being anointed in April 1844 as theocratic "King, Priest and Ruler over Israel on the Earth" while he was also candidate as president of the United States. This was a reminder that the *BOOK OF FATE* had noted in the 1820s that "those born under this planet [Jupiter] are remarkable for their ungovernable ambition."¹²⁵

The astrological dominance of Jupiter in Smith's life is also reflected in an

artifact (figs. 28a, 28b) preserved by Emma Smith. After her widow's marriage into the Bidamon family, she told them that this medallion was of special significance to the Mormon prophet. In September 1902 her stepson displayed it to LDS apostle John Henry Smith. His diary noted: "Mr. Chas. E. Bidamon showed us a medal said to have been carved by Joseph Smith with this inscription on it [—] Confirm[o] O Deus Potentissimus."¹²⁶ One of the apostle's traveling companions gave more detail about what Bidamon said on this occasion. Eleven-year-old Henry D. Moyle was keeping a daily record of this trip which "show[ed] that he was already a perceptive observer," according to his biographer. The young man's diary noted: "a man showed us a peice [sic] of metal found in the pocket of the prophet when killed [—] It is about the size of a dollar [coin]. It had a latten [Latin] phrase meaning O God make me all powerful and many ..."¹²⁷

Therefore, to an LDS apostle visiting from Utah in 1902, Emma Smith's stepson Charles E. Bidamon made several statements about this artifact: (1) that Joseph Smith possessed this "medal"; (2) that the founding prophet had created or "carved" it himself; (3) that it was inscribed "Confirm[o] O Deus Potentissimus"; (4) that the phrase meant: "O God make me all powerful"; and (5) that this inscribed artifact was "found in the pocket of the prophet" after his martyrdom. Neither Apostle Smith nor his young companion Henry D. Moyle mentioned that Bidamon expressed any interest in selling this medallion.

Not until three decades later did Charles Bidamon offer to sell this artifact. It was acquired by Wilford C. Wood, a mid-twentieth-century Mormon collector. On behalf of the LDS First Presidency, Wood also purchased the Aaronic Priesthood property in Pennsylvania, the Liberty Jail in Missouri, the Adam-ondi-Ahman property in Missouri, the John Johnson home in Ohio, and the Masonic lodge in Nauvoo, Illinois.¹²⁸ As a part of his acquisitions from Bidamon, Wood turned over to the LDS church the English translation manuscript for the "Book of Abraham," a document in the handwriting of early convert William W. Phelps. This document was published as part of the LDS standard work, *The Pearl of Great Price*.¹²⁹ In September 1937 the LDS church's magazine reported on Wood's recent acquisition of "Church Documents." The *Improvement Era* quoted Bidamon's statement about the "silver pocket piece which was in the Prophet's pocket at the time of his assassination."¹³⁰ He had said the same thing while showing this medallion to Apostle Smith in 1902. A receipt to "Charley Bidamon" showed that on 3 September 1937 Bidamon sold "One Silver Pocket Piece. Inscribed 'Make me O Lord all Powerful'" for \$50 to Wood, who added it to his museum.¹³¹

In 1938 Bidamon made an affidavit about this sale. "This is to certify that I have sold to Wilford C. Wood of Woods Cross[,] Utah, a silver piece bearing the inscription, 'Confirmus [sic] O Deus Potentissimus' and numerous hieroglyphical inscriptions. This piece came to me through the relationship of my father Major L. C. Bidamon who married the Prophet Joseph Smiths widow, Emma Smith. I certify that I have many times heard her say, when being interviewed, and showing the piece, that it was in the Prophets pocket when he was martyred at Carthage," Bidamon wrote. "She prized this piece very highly on account of its being one of the Prophets intimate possessions."¹³² In a letter defending Emma Smith Bidamon

against a recent book's criticisms, Charles Bidamon explained their association: "Her children and grandchildren visited her oftentimes and loved and esteemed her highly. But I was there continually from the age of four until her death in 1879," when he was fifteen.¹³³ Wood displayed this silver medallion as "the Prophet's Masonic Jewel" during his lectures on Smith at Brigham Young University's Education Week throughout the 1950s and early 1960s.¹³⁴

As later discovered, Smith's "silver piece" was not a Masonic emblem. It is a silver Jupiter medallion constructed according to instructions in Barrett's *Magus* for making "Magic Seals, or Talismans" (figs. 28a, 28b, 29-30). On one side of the one-and-a-half-inch-diameter Smith medallion (fig. 28b) are the astrological symbol of Jupiter, the magic seal of Jupiter, the magic sigil of the Intelligence of Jupiter, and the Latin words "Confirmo O Deus potentissimus" (compare figs. 29-30). On the other side (fig. 28a) are the astrological symbol of Jupiter, Jupiter's magic number 136, and the magic square (or table) of numbers (in Hebrew) that add to 136. To the right of the magic square of Jupiter is the familiar Hebrew word for father/God, "Abba." To the left is the Hebrew name for the Intelligence of Jupiter, spelled "Johphiel" according to Barrett (but more often "Jophiel"). Above the magic square on the Smith medallion is the Hebrew word, with the first character missing, for "El Ab." That was one of the "Divine names" reserved for Jupiter in magic.¹³⁵

Shortly before Barrett's book, London already had its own manufacturer of "magico-astrological talismans."¹³⁶ Smith's talisman shows that America had similar manufacturers by the early 1800s.

Upon inquiry from Mormon researcher A. C. Lambert, American occultist Francis I. Regardie examined a photocopy of the Smith talisman. Regardie thought that the Hebrew word to the left of the magic square was the name "Haniel," the angel connected with Venus, rather than Jupiter. He was incorrect, as shown in a comparison of Smith's talisman with the Jupiter talisman in Barrett. Regardie's error is also evident when comparing the Smith talisman with Barrett's listing of the Hebrew name for "Johphiel, the Intelligence of Jupiter." Two Jewish rabbis and a Jewish graduate student provided Lambert with transliterations of the Hebrew name on the left of Smith's talisman as "Yehafi'el" or "Yehapeal." This should have alerted him to Regardie's error and might have eventually led Lambert to Barrett's designation of Johphiel in Hebrew. Nevertheless, Lambert accepted Regardie's conclusion, despite these Jewish transliterations.¹³⁷ In his article on an English example of this Jupiter talisman, William Gilbert noted in a numismatic journal that "the name of JOPHIEL, the Intelligence of Jupiter, appears in Hebrew on the left side of the square."¹³⁸

A year after Bidamon's sale of Smith's Jupiter medallion to Wilford Wood, the Royal Numismatic Society in England published photos of its near-twin. The article described "a circular engraved talisman of silver, pierced at the top for suspension," a slightly chipped version of the Smith medallion. This silver Jupiter talisman of English manufacture (figs. 27a, 27b) included the Hebrew character originally published in Barrett but missing from the Smith talisman. The English talisman also omitted one character in the magic table (square) found in both Barrett's and Smith's talismans.¹³⁹ Charles Bidamon did not realize that the artifact

he obtained from Joseph Smith's widow was a magic talisman. Either he (or his source of information, Emma Smith Bidamon) assumed that Smith had kept it as a "pocket piece."

It is clear that Smith's silver talisman depended upon *The Magus* rather than some other source. First, Barrett followed Agrippa's instruction to make the Jupiter talisman out of silver, whereas other magic books sometimes prescribed tin.¹⁴⁰ Second, Agrippa's well-known *Occult Philosophy* did not describe the exact placement of symbols on the Jupiter talisman (figs. 31-32).¹⁴¹ Except for the omission of one Hebrew character, the inscriptions on Smith's Jupiter talisman follow Barrett's diagram precisely, rather than designs found in such works as the widely circulated medieval manuscript "Key of Solomon," Tycho Brahe's sixteenth-century magic calendar, or Israel Hiebner's (Hiebner's) textbook on talismans published a century earlier in London.¹⁴² Third, the Smith talisman has a break in the line for the sigil of the Intelligence of Jupiter. This follows Barrett's Jupiter talisman (fig. 29, bottom portion), which, in turn, relied on the English edition of Agrippa's *Occult Philosophy*. The English version had a break in the Jupiter sigil (fig. 32), while Agrippa's Latin edition showed no break (fig. 31).¹⁴³ However, Barrett had also consulted the Latin edition, which he followed in a separate illustration of the sigil without a break (fig. 30). There was no standard form of Jupiter talisman (figs. 33-36),¹⁴⁴ but Joseph Smith's followed Barrett.

Francis Barrett distilled centuries of occult instructions into his 1801 book, which created an immediate sensation. Despite having no reprint for decades, *The Magus* "played an important part in the English revival of magic."¹⁴⁵ Barrett's book and teachings were also widely available to Smith's generation. Its instructions ended up in Smith's artifact. About 1852 an American wrote a manuscript titled "A Complete System of Magic," which used Barrett's instructions for the Jupiter talisman.¹⁴⁶ By then, *The Magus* had been out of print for fifty years, yet Americans were still reading it and using it.

The Latin inscription ("Confirmo O Deus potentissimus") on the Smith talisman with its magic square of Hebrew characters was typical of talismans. A publication of the American Numismatic Society in the late nineteenth century explained that "Hebrew, with Latin admixture, was always the magical language" for talismans.¹⁴⁷ Various Mormon commentators have regarded the inscription as ungrammatical Latin and have not been able to agree on a translation of the Jupiter talisman's phrase. As mentioned earlier, Charles Bidamon rendered it in 1902 as: "O God make me all powerful." From the 1930s to 1960s Wilford Wood repeatedly stated it as: "Make me O Lord all Powerful," which Reed C. Durham revised in 1974 to: "Make me, O God, All powerful." In the 1980s Richard L. Anderson translated it: "Strengthen [me], Almighty God," while Robert F. Smith preferred: "I affirm, O Almighty God!"¹⁴⁸

The concordance to the Vulgate Bible shows that the phrase on the talisman was not derived from biblical Latin. "Confirmo" was used only once (Deut. 29:14) and not in connection with "Deus." The distinctive word "potentissimus" and its variations (-am, -e, -i, -o) occurred only seven times in the Latin Vulgate, and never as a direct modifier of "Deus."¹⁴⁹ Like the Vulgate Bible, manuscripts of ceremonial magic typically referred to "Deus Omnipotens" not "potentis-

simus."¹⁵⁰ However, published versions of Peter Abano's *Heptameron, or Magical Elements* referred to "Deus" twice with the word "potentissimus" or "-um" in a prayer for spirit conjuration, and Barrett's *Magus* used the "potentissimus" phrase in the talisman and cited Abano's *Heptameron* later in his 1801 handbook.¹⁵¹

In fact, Richard L. Anderson's translation of the inscription on the Smith Jupiter talisman comes closest to the English version of an incantation prayer from Abano. This seventeenth-century vellum English manuscript of conjurations reads: "Confirm O god thy strength in us so that neither the adversary nor any Evil thing may cause us to fail through the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ Amen + Amen + Amen +."¹⁵² Barrett's *Magus* renders this same incantation as "confirm, O God! thy strength in us," which undoubtedly is what he intended for the Latin inscription on the Jupiter talisman. From 1655 to 1783 the English publications of Abano's work described a protective role of Jupiter medallions.¹⁵³

In this respect the talisman functioned as an amulet for personal protection. For example, the 1829 edition of the *Encyclopaedia Americana* noted: "AMULET; a piece of stone, metal, or other substance, marked with certain figures or characters, which people wear about them as a protection against diseases and enchantments."¹⁵⁴

Barrett's 1801 inscriptions also provided for the Jupiter talisman's use in ceremonial magic of spirit invocation. Preceding the conjuration for Thursday (Jupiter's day) in Abano were two prayers using the phrase "O Deus potens," followed by the conjuration formula "conjuro & confirmo."¹⁵⁵ Barrett translated the Latin and copied the English from Abano into *The Magus*.¹⁵⁶

When Barrett put this inscription around the edge of the Jupiter talisman, he apparently got the idea from the book in which Abano's work was a supplement. The 1783 edition of pseudo-Agrrippa's *Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy* specified that one of three verses to be written around a pentacle for spirit invocation was "Confirm, O God, thy strength in us."¹⁵⁷ The inscriptions on Joseph Smith's Jupiter talisman indicated its use as an implement in ceremonies of spirit conjuration.

In fact, the influential manuscript "Key of Solomon" defined a Jupiter talisman's use strictly in terms of ceremonial magic: "This defendeth and protecteth those who invoke and cause the Spirits to come."¹⁵⁸ This ceremonial purpose of the Jupiter talisman in Joseph's possession in 1844 was consistent with the ceremonial purposes of the magic parchments in the possession of his brother Hyrum in 1844 (see ch. 4).

An article in *BYU Studies* attempted to dispute Smith's ownership of the Jupiter talisman. In this study, Richard L. Anderson argued that Bidamon misrepresented the medallion as "sales talk" in order to sell it for \$50 to Wood. This apologist did not make a similar claim about Bidamon's sale to Wood a few months earlier of the "Book of Abraham" translation manuscripts for a much larger amount of money.¹⁵⁹ The LDS archives informs any researcher of these manuscripts that they were "acquired from Wilford Wood, Bountiful, Utah, 1947."¹⁶⁰ In addition, Bidamon simply responded to Wood's newspaper advertisement offering to purchase early Mormon artifacts.¹⁶¹

Contrary to Anderson's insinuation, Charles Bidamon was not trying to

sell artifacts. He showed the Jupiter talisman to an LDS apostle thirty-five years earlier, with no suggestion of offering it for sale. In the same year he sold the medallion and other Smith possessions to Wood, Bidamon simply gave away items equally precious to him. He made a gift of "the old letters once handled & treasured by my grandmother Emma Smith" to a granddaughter of Joseph Smith, Jr.¹⁶² "Grandmother" was his affectionate term for Smith's widow who was twenty-four years older than Charles Bidamon's own mother. Emma raised Charles from the age of four.¹⁶³

Anderson then expressed doubt that Emma Smith's stepson, rather than her own sons, "should have retained the coin [sic] if it meant that much to their father." However, typical of polemics, the author did not apply that same argument against the legitimacy of the "Book of Abraham" manuscript which Bidamon, not Emma's sons, possessed.¹⁶⁴

Anderson's strongest objection was that the talisman was absent from a lawyer's list which he described decades later as "the articles I found upon the person of Joseph Smith," a copy of which Smith's attorney gave to his widow a few days after the martyrdom.¹⁶⁵ Nonetheless, this list was not exhaustive. Despite the lawyer's above statement (published forty-one years later), his list did not include all of the personal items Smith had with him in the Carthage Jail on the day of his death. The lawyer's inventory did not itemize Smith's clothing or several other items that the prophet had with him in the jail. More probably, these were personal effects Smith gave to his lawyer or to prison authorities rather than items on his person at the time of his death. The lawyer's claim ("I found upon the person of Joseph Smith") was a clear exaggeration, when compared with separate evidence of the other items Smith had with him.

Several facts increase the probability that this was an inventory of items Joseph surrendered upon entering the jail. First, the list included "one pen-knife" (a weapon prison authorities would confiscate). It did not include the six-shot revolver that a Mormon visitor smuggled to Smith in jail,¹⁶⁶ yet decades later Utah's Deseret Museum displayed "the Pistol which he [Joseph] had as well as the one that His Brother Hyrum Had at the time of thare [sic] assassination in Carthage Jail."¹⁶⁷ Hyrum received a smuggled one-shot pistol at the same time Joseph got his smuggled revolver.¹⁶⁸ As a list of items confiscated from Joseph Smith at his entry in Carthage Jail (traditionally a requirement for the prisoner to empty his pockets), the inventory's gaps are understandable. Concealed under his shirt next to the skin, the Jupiter talisman would not make the list while he lived.

Clothing is another matter. The Smiths were not buried in their martyrdom clothes. Hyrum's descendants to the present have preserved his blood-stained clothing, and Joseph Smith's estate inventory in August included his clothes "when murdered."¹⁶⁹

The absence of clothing demonstrates that the lawyer's inventory was not a list of Joseph's post-mortem belongings taken from his body or from the room where the prisoners were shot. The official history shows that Smith had his hat with him at Carthage.¹⁷⁰ Forty years after the martyrdom Apostle Wilford Woodruff also displayed "the Gloves that the prophet wore when he went to

Carthage prison." Woodruff received these from Smith's widow two weeks after the estate inventory.¹⁷¹ However, neither hat nor gloves were on the lawyer's inventory.

Smith's estate inventory is not helpful in this matter, because his widow Emma excluded all jewelry items (such as finger rings).¹⁷² However, she had her husband's gold ring and gave it "to Alexander Hale Smith, one of their sons."¹⁷³ Joseph Smith's ring was on his finger for at least one portrait.¹⁷⁴ He wore it at Carthage Jail, and it was among the items Emma received from the lawyer.¹⁷⁵ However, like the Jupiter talisman, Smith's ring was absent from her inventory. In addition, the Daughters of Utah Pioneers Museum in Salt Lake City, Utah, preserves another silver medallion "Owned by PROPHET JOSEPH SMITH" (see below). It was absent from his estate inventory, as well.

Emma Smith also omitted from Joseph's estate inventory every item the lawyer had given to her a month earlier. For unexplained reasons, the faithful Mormons who officially inventoried the prophet's real estate, farm equipment, livestock, household goods, and furniture were not allowed to inventory his personal effects.¹⁷⁶

By contrast, Hyrum Smith's estate inventory listed jewelry, including his watch and watch chain.¹⁷⁷ Official and family histories mention that Hyrum, John Taylor, and Willard Richards had their watches when the mob attacked.¹⁷⁸

Joseph Smith's watch was also missing from the lawyer's inventory. However, his watch passed from Emma to his son and namesake.¹⁷⁹ Like his three companions, the prophet certainly kept his watch with him as a prisoner in Carthage.

The lawyer's July inventory clearly did not include all the personal items Joseph Smith had with him in Carthage Jail. For whatever reasons, this inventory excluded the prophet's bloodied clothing, his hat, "the Gloves that the prophet wore when he went to Carthage prison," the gun he fired at the attackers, his watch, and his Jupiter talisman. The last item's absence from the inventory is no more significant than the absence of the other items the prophet had with him at death.

There is also a reason why Joseph Smith possessed a talisman but did not display it to others during his life, according to known documents and reminiscences. Magic books instructed that the talisman should be "worn round the neck" and "carried on the breast." Typically an amulet was worn under the clothing next to the skin of the person seeking its protective powers.¹⁸⁰ That explains why the Smith talisman has a hole at the edge opposite the astrological symbol of Jupiter. Smith's silver medallion was designed to hang on a chain or ribbon around the neck, thus concealing the talisman underneath his clothing.

An 1825 occult handbook described both the secrecy and purposes for wearing a Jupiter talisman: "It may be suspended about the neck, or worn about any part of the body, so that it may be kept secret to all but the wearer. Its effects are, to give the most decisive victory over enemies, to defend against machinations, and to inspire the wearer thereof with the most remarkable confidence" (emphasis in original).¹⁸¹ Those purposes of a "secret" Jupiter talisman matched Joseph Smith's needs, particularly in 1844.

As a newspaper editor in 1842, Smith had reprinted a reference to "an amulet,

charm, or talisman" (see ch. 7).¹⁸² From 1842 to 1843 the official LDS newspaper also published articles about the Jewish Cabala.¹⁸³ In the early 1800s an English-language study of the Cabala had already noted: "Medallions were also made, according to Cabbalistic art, and prized as amulets of astonishing power," mentioned Jupiter amulets, and also commented: "The *practical* [Cabala] is nothing more than a system of magic ..."¹⁸⁴

Similar to the situation with Smith's talisman, contemporary associates did not report during his lifetime that LDS president Brigham Young possessed the bloodstone amulet his niece donated to a museum decades after his death (fig. 41). She stated that Young used this stone for protection, and its metal casing allowed this amulet to be hung from the neck, next to his skin (see ch. 7).¹⁸⁵ Like Smith's close friends, Young's associates did not know he possessed an amulet. The sixteen-volume *Encyclopedia of Religion* has noted that when amulets or talismans "are carried on the person it is often a requirement that they must not be revealed to anyone except to the one who uses them ..."¹⁸⁶

Since Young had a silver medallion that first belonged to Joseph Smith (see below), the founding prophet may also have owned this bloodstone amulet. As discussed elsewhere (see ch. 5), the bloodstone was used for ritual magic during the part of September that is significant for the coming forth of the *Book of Mormon*.¹⁸⁷

The discovery of Joseph Smith's Jupiter talisman after his death was consistent with other examples before and since 1844. Sometime after the death of French philosopher and mathematician Blaise Pascal in 1662, an amulet "was found sewed" in the lining of clothing he wore the day he died.¹⁸⁸ A Scottish clergyman died in 1710 with an amulet "Tyed with a Small Rihand about the Ministers Neck." This was discovered only when his clothes were removed for his burial.¹⁸⁹ Those preparing the corpse of a wealthy Yorkshire farmer in 1870 also found an amulet inscribed with a pentacle in a circle, Hebrew letters, the word AGLA, and biblical quotations.¹⁹⁰ Like Smith's Jupiter talisman, not until after death were these amulets known to the bearer's acquaintances.

Ultimately, it requires apologist contortions to dispute Bidamon's claim that the Mormon prophet possessed and valued the "silver piece" that has turned out to be a Jupiter talisman. Independent sources verify Smith's possession of every other item Bidamon transferred to Wood. Thirty-five years before he sold the medallion, Bidamon affirmed Smith's ownership much as he did in the affidavit he gave to Wood. Bidamon clearly did not know what the "silver pocket piece" actually was. He was long dead when Mormon researchers recognized it as an occult artifact. Moreover, there are clear answers to the question of why the Mormon prophet acquired this medallion: (1) there were precise astrological connections between the Jupiter talisman and Joseph Smith's own birth, and (2) the talisman's purposes matched his own interests and needs. This artifact was neither incidental nor coincidental in the Mormon prophet's life.

In fact, the managing editor of the LDS church's *Ensign* magazine did not hesitate to affirm the founder's ownership of this "silver piece" in a 1969 publication by Deseret Book Company.¹⁹¹ This was three decades after the LDS magazine publicized the transfer of this medallion to Utah, and still no one

thought to dispute Bidamon's claim. After all, he had made the same statements when he showed Smith's talisman to an LDS apostle in 1902.

No one disputed Joseph Smith's possession of this curious medal until after 1974. In a public address that April, Reed C. Durham identified the medallion as a magic Jupiter talisman rather than a Masonic jewel. At that time Durham was director of the LDS institute of religion in Salt Lake City.¹⁹² There was still no apologist stampede for another decade. In 1975 Mormon researcher David Martin published photographs of the talisman, accompanied by Durham's talk. In 1982 Mormon researcher Art deHoyos added photographs of the Smith family's magic parchments (see ch. 4). Though his study of their significance had limited circulation, by December 1982 Utah's anti-Mormon newspaper republished the photos and borrowed from the deHoyos analysis. This began public discussion of Smith's connection with magic.¹⁹³ In August 1985 one of those photos appeared on the front page of the local section in Salt Lake City's largest newspaper.¹⁹⁴ Now it was obvious to everyone that Smith's Jupiter talisman was consistent with other evidence of early Mormon occultism, and LDS apologists started their rear-guard action.¹⁹⁵

FARMS reviewer William J. Hamblin recently demonstrated both the desperation and emptiness of the apologist denial. "Charles Bidamon may have been a modern counterpart of the medieval relic mongers, who for the right price—could dredge up a lock of hair or bit of bone of any required early saint." Hamblin added: "The question of the authenticity of some of the Bidamon artifacts is worth further study."¹⁹⁶ First, this accusation of profit-motive does not apply to Bidamon's simply showing the Jupiter talisman to an LDS apostle in 1902, while giving the same statements he made to Wilford Wood thirty-five years later.

Second, the LDS church's official historian Joseph Fielding Smith (an apostle at the time) examined all the other items Bidamon sold to Wood and "pronounced them authentic." There were property deeds (including Isaac Hale to his son-in-law Joseph Smith and Willard Richards to Smith), the manuscript of the English translation of the "Book of Abraham," a Kirtland bank note, a manuscript history of Smith's confinement at Liberty Jail in 1838-39, Smith's 1839 writ of habeas corpus, Smith's credit statement in 1839, a copy of the Abraham facsimile published in 1842, Smith's petition for bankruptcy in 1842 and some related papers, an inventory of his property, and two pages of poems.¹⁹⁷ In order to attack the only item in Bidamon's transfer that embarrasses Hamblin, which "some" of these other items does this polemicist want his LDS readers to doubt? He knows that the authenticity of all the other items in Bidamon's transfer also gives overwhelming support to the authenticity of the Jupiter talisman. It was simply one of Joseph Smith's possessions that his widow maintained and that her stepson possessed after her death.

Aside from the previously discussed use of the Jupiter talisman in connection with ceremonial magic, occult books stated that talismans could have more than one purpose. Four years before Smith's birth, Barrett's *Magus* defined the Jupiter talisman in earthly terms: "to gain riches and favour, love, peace, and concord, and to appease enemies, and to confirm honours, dignities, and counsels."¹⁹⁸ This was similar to Hibner's (Hiebner's) earlier publication on amulets.¹⁹⁹ A seven-

teenth-century English manuscript of magic also specified that another purpose of the Jupiter talisman was "that no witchcraft or sorcery bee [sic] done in thy house."²⁰⁰ As previously described (in ch. 2), Joseph Sr. believed in witches, a belief Joseph Jr. maintained as LDS church president (see ch. 7).

These traditional magic uses for the Jupiter talisman are consistent with Smith's activities beginning in the mid-1820s. However, his family's poverty would require a tremendous sacrifice to purchase such a silver medallion during those years. If Joseph Jr. acquired the medallion before the 1830s, this indicates the importance he attached to the Jupiter talisman.

There was also a special religious significance in following Barrett's instructions to make the talisman of silver rather than tin. Silver amulets were regarded as especially potent against evil spirits.²⁰¹ Agrippa's *Occult Philosophy* specified that the silver Jupiter talisman would "dissolve enchantments."²⁰² Young Joseph often said "enchantment" blocked his seer stone's view of buried treasure (ch. 2), which made a Jupiter talisman worth its cost to him in the 1820s.

There is a separate evidence that Joseph Smith valued the governing planet of his astrological birth enough to own a Jupiter talisman. In 1985 the LDS Museum of Church History and Art began displaying another artifact that links Mormonism's founding prophet with Jupiter (fig. 37). The museum's exhibition on the presidents of the LDS church included a serpent-headed cane inscribed with the initials "J S" under a carved crown (fig. 38).²⁰³

By Smith's time it was a long-established astrological tradition that the serpent was one of the animals governed by both Saturn and Jupiter. "Still popular over 200 years later," William Lilly and other writers had specified this since the mid-1600s, and this appeared in the 1839 reprint of Lilly's *Christian Astrology*.²⁰⁴ Saturn ruled over Smith's zodiacal birth sign of Capricorn, but Jupiter was the ruling planet of his birth year and of his birth in Capricorn's first Decan. The traditional magic world view was that those born in the first degrees of Capricorn could "soothe poisonous snakes."²⁰⁵

Atop the carved crown on Smith's serpent-cane is a symbol that closely resembles the magic seal or sigil of Jupiter (fig. 38, compare figs. 27b, 28b, 29-33, 35). One could construe that symbol as a representation of St. Andrew's cross within a circle.²⁰⁶ However, there is no other religious motif on the cane, unless one chooses to regard the serpent as a satanic motif. That meaning would not fit with the other motifs at all. Moreover, it is difficult to believe that the LDS president would use a walking cane if he thought ordinary observers might regard one of its inscriptions as satanic. Still, it is also doubtful that the carvings on the prophet's cane would remind even the most ardent Christian of the crucifixion. Thus, I discount the possibility that the symbol was a cross of St. Andrew. The cane's decorations are not overtly Christian, but do communicate a subtle message.

Stylistically the carving of the serpent head flows into three descending symbols. Carved on the Smith cane are the apparent sigil of Jupiter, the crown, and the initials "J S" (fig. 38). Those symbols seem to convey the message: "Jupiter—reigns over—Joseph Smith." This meaning of the three descending carved symbols on his cane is consistent with its dominant motif of a serpent

(ruled by Jupiter and connected with Smith's birth sign of Capricorn). The above phrase certainly reflects Smith's own astrological birth under the governing influence of Jupiter. A Jupiter motif on Joseph Jr.'s cane is also consistent with the Jupiter talisman preserved separately by his widow Emma Smith Bidamon and given to her stepson.

In connection with the Jupiter talisman, a second Smith medallion has been on display for eighty years in the Daughters of Utah Pioneers Museum. It is labeled, "MASONIC EMBLEM Owned by PROPHET JOSEPH SMITH. Later belonged to BRIGHAM YOUNG. Donor: Zina Y. Card."²⁰⁷ She was a daughter of Zina D. Huntington, polygamous wife of both Smith and Brigham Young. Also silver, this medallion is dominated by the image of a dove in flight with an olive branch in its beak (fig. 39).

It is presently unknown when and how Smith obtained this dove medallion. Like the Jupiter talisman, this item probably had no Masonic significance to Smith. An inscription on the back of the medallion reads: "Fortitude Lodge No. 42."²⁰⁸ Neither Smith, nor other Masons in his family, nor other early Mormons belonged to this lodge in New Brunswick, Canada.²⁰⁹

In 1813 the Grand Lodge of England first adopted the dove-and-olive-branch emblem. The Scottish Rite of Freemasonry also used it for the Patriarch Noachite degree. From Britain, this jewel entered Canadian lodges. In America, each state's grand lodge chose its own jewels, and only Pennsylvania adopted the emblem which was included in an 1851 book. This jewel was briefly conferred in early America as a "side degree" to the Royal Arch, which Smith never received.²¹⁰ The emblem is so little-known in the United States that an American Masonic publication in 1945 began an article on the dove with the question: "How many of our readers are aware that the dove occupies a high place among our Masonic symbols?"²¹¹ Even today, only ten of the fifty-one grand lodges in the United States have adopted the dove-and-olive branch as a Masonic jewel.²¹²

In the early-nineteenth-century grand lodges of England and Pennsylvania, the dove medallion was suspended from the neck outside the clothing of deacons to represent visually their role as "the messengers of the Masters and Wardens."²¹³ Since this use of the dove-and-olive-branch emblem was not part of Smith's own Masonic experience or of any other early Mormon, to Smith it probably had symbolic significance outside of Freemasonry.²¹⁴

In the Christian tradition, the dove represented peace, purity, and the Holy Ghost, meanings that Smith also stated in a sermon.²¹⁵ During nearly two thousand years of Christian art work, the dove—with or without the olive branch—has been limited to representations in mosaics, sculptures, stained-glass windows, paintings, woodcuts, and tapestries.²¹⁶ Used strictly as a Christian symbol, the dove almost never appeared in jewelry and was "seldom or never used as a charm or ornament."²¹⁷

On the other hand the dove had different meanings and usages within the magic world view, which certainly influenced Joseph Smith in other ways. The dove was the one form neither devils nor witches could assume.²¹⁸ In medieval Europe the dove-and-olive-branch served as "a talisman to ensure pilgrims hospitality wherever they traveled," and the dove was a "sexual emblem sacred

to love and mother goddesses."²¹⁹ In fact, the dove's sexual meaning was the central reason a nineteenth-century Masonic encyclopedia rejected it as "a proper emblem": the dove was "of an ultra-amative nature."²²⁰

For almost two hundred years before Smith's birth, English books on astrology and the Cabala ascribed the dove to Venus. Agrippa wrote that it was one of the "particular forms" of the "*Familiar Shapes of the Spirits of Venus*," and other magic books (including Barrett's 1801 *Magus*) listed it as the first talismanic symbol of Venus.²²¹ In her study of "magical jewels" in medieval and Renaissance England, Joan Evans discussed an English manuscript which described astrological jewelry inscribed with a dove-and-olive-branch. This included a silver Venus medallion.²²² In 1822 a published German collection of magic included an illustration of a dove with olive branch in its beak, and by 1830 this publication was being reviewed by American journals.²²³

An illustration of *The Magus* described the Venus talisman as made of copper, yet Barrett's written instructions specified silver. "This being engraven on a plate of silver, Venus being fortunate, promotes concord, ends strife, procures the love of women, helps conception, is good against barrenness, gives ability for generation, dissolves enchantments, causes peace between man and woman." Barrett copied this almost verbatim from Agrippa's *Occult Philosophy*.²²⁴ Eighteenth-century English manuscripts of magic added that a silver Venus talisman "dissolves witchcraft ... [and is] a sovereign remedy against all griefs that proceed from Melancholy," and Barrett's 1801 instructions also specified that the Venus talisman "likewise drives away melancholy distempers, and causes joyfulness."²²⁵ Such uses of a silver Venus talisman were compatible with the purposes of Joseph Smith's Jupiter talisman. Both talismans were also consistent with the purposes of the Smith family's magic parchments (see ch. 4).

It is noteworthy that two separate avenues of historical provenance in Mormonism have preserved a Jupiter medallion and a Venus-symbol medallion, both attributed to Joseph Jr. Astrologically Jupiter and Venus were linked as "friends."²²⁶ One astrological guide specified that association of Jupiter and Venus brought "friendship by favour of women, priests, or teachers."²²⁷ For this reason, a single silver talisman often had representations of both Jupiter and Venus.²²⁸ For example, an English girl in the early nineteenth century sought the love of a young man through a charm she inscribed with four magic sigils of Jupiter, three of Venus, and two of the sun as illustrated in Barrett's *Magus*.²²⁹

In ancient times the dove was "sacred to Bacchus, Jupiter, and Venus," and shortly before Joseph Smith began proposing polygamous marriage to dozens of women, a new edition of William Lilly's *Christian Astrology* noted that both Jupiter and Venus "rule[d]" over the dove.²³⁰ In English publications from 1651 to the 1780s Jacob Behmen (Boehme in German) had specified: "For *Jupiter* is Power, and *Venus* is Love-desire, which hasten towards the Sun, as towards their likeness."²³¹ In addition to the identification of the dove with Venus and Jupiter, books from the 1650s to 1839 specified: "Things under *Jupiter* [include] the Olive tree."²³² Therefore, the olive branch on Smith's dove emblem was a Jupiter symbol, just as the dove itself was a symbol for both Jupiter and Venus.

Because this Masonic pendant from a Canadian lodge had no relationship to

Joseph Jr.'s own Masonic experience, his possession of it suggests he used it as an occult charm. Even among Freemasons who showed no interest in folk magic, a Masonic Jewel was sometimes called a "Charm."²³³

The Mormon prophet did not comment publicly on the meaning of any dove-and-olive-branch symbol. Nor did the donors of this emblem report what he had said privately about it. After all, this is a man who publicly declared: "I can keep a secret till Doomsday." Despite the abundance of contemporary and reminiscent sources about him, Mormonism's founding prophet will always remain elusive: "You don't know me; you never knew my heart. No man knows my history."²³⁴

Nevertheless, every interpreter should consider the fact of Joseph Jr.'s extensive activity in folk magic, as well as the specifically occult items that he and his family possessed. Those are as important in trying to understand the Mormon prophet as his traditionally religious experiences and sermons. His early folk magic experience gives insight into some (but not all) acts of Smith's life, just as his knowledge of the Bible provides insight into some (but not all) acts of his life. In my view, he continually redefined both of those early influences as he expanded his prophetic ministry.

In view of the dozens of women whom Smith secretly married in the 1840s at Nauvoo,²³⁵ it is very likely that this pendant signified to him the occult meaning of the dove as a charm to win "the love of women." From that perspective, it is also significant that Zina Huntington was linked with this medallion ("Owned by PROPHET JOSEPH SMITH. Later belonged to BRIGHAM YOUNG"). Zina secretly married both these LDS presidents in polygamy (polyandry), despite her legal marriage to a faithful Mormon who adored her.²³⁶

Joseph Smith possessed another unusual pendant (fig. 40) which he gave to another plural wife, Eliza R. Snow. I have not found any published references about the purpose of the emblem or the meaning of its arcane symbols. Brigham Young University's multi-lingual scholar Hugh Nibley reportedly identified the emblem as dedicated to the Secretary of Heaven. Eliza R. Snow was secretary to the church's Female Relief Society at the time of her plural marriage to Smith in 1842.²³⁷ At her death, the artifact passed to her brother Lorenzo Snow, then an apostle. Serving as LDS church president at his death in 1901, the pendant went to one of Snow's wives. She passed it on to a daughter whose descendant loaned the artifact in 1969 to a specialist on the Smith family, Buddy Youngreen. A religion professor at Brigham Young University photographed the pendant, after which Youngreen returned it to Lorenzo Snow's descendant.²³⁸

According to one LDS polemicist, "Quinn offers no reasons why this piece of jewelry should be considered a 'talisman' any more than my wife's opal pendant or grandma's brooch. Why it is pertinent to his thesis remains a mystery."²³⁹ I include Joseph Smith's pendant-gift to his plural wife precisely because its inscriptions are still mysterious and (despite Nibley's statement) are unexplained by verifiable sources. Until Reed C. Durham's 1974 talk, no one knew the purpose of Joseph Smith's "silver piece" or the meaning of its inscriptions. Until the 1982 publication of research by Art deHoyos, no one knew that the Hyrum Smith family's "sacred relics" were actually occult parchments (*lamens*) for ceremonial

magic. Until the 1987 edition of this book, no one knew that Sibly's *Occult Sciences* was the source for most of the inscriptions on those magic parchments (see ch. 4). By providing an illustration of Eliza R. Snow's pendant within that context, I hope that some future researcher will discover (or remember) sources that explain its inscriptions. Whether this pendant's inscriptions are esoteric, mundane, or a truly meaningless pastiche, that historical perspective will provide more understanding of Joseph Smith's intellectual history and of what he considered worthy of giving to his secret wife.

Smith's possession of talismans was consistent with early America's heritage and contemporary practice. The New York Public Library has a three-inch-diameter metal talisman (slightly larger than the Smith-Young dove medallion). Inscribed with multiple names of God and Jesus, and with Christian occult symbolism, the talisman originally accompanied a seventeenth-century book of ceremonial magic and has a hole for a chain or ribbon.²⁴⁰

A local Pennsylvania historian wrote in the nineteenth century: "Another custom then in vogue among the Germans in [early] Pennsylvania was the wearing of *anhaengsel*, a kind of astrological amulet or talisman. They consisted chiefly of small charts upon parchment or paper, formed by astrological signs, together with hieroglyphical figures. In rare cases a thin stone or sheet of metal was used in the place of the parchment. ... So universal was the belief among the [Pennsylvania] Germans in the efficacy of the *anhaengsel* that hardly an adult or child was to be found without one."²⁴¹ Evidence indicates that thousands of Americans of Joseph Smith's time used amulets of luck, love, protection, healing, astrology, and ritual magic. As the *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* stated: "The use of amulets is almost universal ... among the less educated classes in civilized countries."²⁴² Despite the encyclopedia's elitism and cultural bias, amulets have been widespread among religious people in Western civilization,²⁴³ who were both educated and uneducated.

At this point it is useful to mention an oft-repeated argument by various critics of this chapter. "One cannot, as Quinn seems to, assume that because Joseph Smith wore an amulet he did so for the same reasons that other people in other contexts have worn amulets," claimed LDS folklorist William A. Wilson.²⁴⁴ The observation is both simplistic and wrong as an interpretative tool. That is evident by substituting a different artifact which has for its users the same purpose as every scholarly study shows that amulets have for their users. Readers can decide whether the equivalent version of Wilson's statement is true: "One cannot assume that because Joseph Smith put a lock-and-key on his front door he did so for the same reasons that other people in other contexts have put a lock-and-key on their front door." Whether for luck, to protect, to obtain love, or for other purposes—an amulet was a lock-and-key for the lives of believers in the magic world view. Modern rationalists and church apologists may not like that fact, but it has been true for millennia.

By contrast, in a culture dominated by disbelief in the otherworldly power of amulets, it is safe to conclude that esthetic appeal is the only motivation for someone today who wears a replica of an Anglo-Saxon magic amulet, for example. Without specific evidence of a person's beliefs, it is logical to con-

clude that this person shares the dominant attitude of her or his culture regarding amulets and amuletic designs. Evidence of beliefs or occult behaviors is the crucial factor. However, Wilson and other LDS apologists repeatedly separate possession of a traditionally occult artifact from the evidence of the possessor's occult beliefs and behaviors which provide the context for the meaning the artifact had for its possessor.

Joseph Smith and his parents lived in a culture whose dominant world view or "mental landscape" was in transition.²⁴⁵ They could have shared the perceptions of American contemporaries (see ch. 1) like secular rationalist Benjamin Franklin or practicing occultist Christopher Witt (both of Philadelphia area), of secular humanist Thomas Jefferson or counter-charm promoter Joshua Gordon (both of Southern plantation society), of divining rodsman and Congregational minister Joseph Avery or anti-occultist Lutheran minister Frederick Quitman. However, there is evidence from various sources that Joseph Sr., Joseph Jr., and Lucy Mack Smith (like Witt, Gordon, and Avery) viewed "reality" through a lens of folk magic and the occult. This is clear from the angry letter of Jesse Smith to his brother Joseph Sr., from affidavits by Palmyra neighbors, from statements by Palmyra convert Martin Harris for decades after 1829, from the manuscript histories by Lucy Smith and early convert Joseph Knight, and from corroborating statements of Mormon stalwarts Brigham Young and Orrin Porter Rockwell (see ch. 2). This is also evident in the contemporary statements by Illinois resident James C. Brewster in the 1840s (see ch. 7) and in the previously quoted reminiscence by "old Nauvoo Mormons."

Context is all-important in historical understanding, which is why LDS apologists and polemicists use every possible argument to separate each uncomfortable evidence from its context and from corroborating evidence they don't like. However, magic artifacts preserved by different branches of Joseph Smith's family are the smoking-gun evidence for the basic accuracy of all of the above statements (both hostile and friendly). In turn, those statements of associates provide a close-hand context. The evidence of other occultists in the Smith family's various neighborhoods extends the context outward (see ch. 4). The evidence of occult texts available in the Smith family's various neighborhoods extends the context still further (above and ch. 4). The widespread popularity of folk magic and occult texts among American contemporaries extends still further the context for the Smith family's experience (see ch. 1). The continued circulation of long out-of-print occult works in Joseph Smith's generation provides still further context. That context becomes overwhelming when exact references from those rare books appear on the magic artifacts possessed by the Smith family (see ch. 4).

It is therefore astonishingly obtuse for professional folklorist William A. Wilson to claim insignificance when "a book detailing this [or that] belief was advertised in a local paper, or was in a local bookstore or library, and thus, either directly or indirectly through his contemporaries, was available to Joseph Smith ..."²⁴⁶ Despite this Mormon's training in folklore, Wilson was not writing as a folklorist. Instead, he joined a chorus of tone-deaf apologists who subvert their own professional training to defend a faith that is actually damaged by their

polemical methods.²⁴⁷ Though mixing metaphors, I am convinced that these well-intentioned people have created a Maginot-line defense against an enemy of faith that is not the real enemy. They see themselves as “watchmen on the tower,” but they have brought into the fortress of faith their own Trojan horse filled with denials and distortions.²⁴⁸ But I digress.

U.S. museums acquired folk amulets of various kinds, but far fewer of the specially constructed talismans. As an evidence of the rapid decline of the magic world view in nineteenth-century America, even numismatists of the late 1800s did not recognize talismanic medallions. One subscriber's letter to the *American Journal of Numismatics* demonstrated this in 1877: “Can any of your readers tell me the origin, purpose or meaning of a singular medal in my possession, of which the following is a description. Obverse, a ‘magic’ square ... consisting of 9x9 spaces ... is 369. Over the square, IEOVA in a straight line; on the left, ORBHANIEL in a curved line, under the square, a character somewhat representing two capital U's, placed one upon the other, one much broader than the other, and on the top of their arms are zeros ... Was this an astrological medal?”²⁴⁹

Besides their use for visions, seer stones could double as amulets. Lucy Mack Smith stated: “Joseph kept the Urim and Thummim constantly about his person, by the use of which he could in a moment tell whether the plates were in any danger.”²⁵⁰ The Urim and Thummim as described by Smith²⁵¹ was too bulky to carry “constantly about his person.” Therefore, his mother referred either to the two stones of the Urim and Thummim or to the brown seer stone he obtained from a neighbor's well. The use of seer stones for protective purposes replicated the function of magic amulets. Lucy Mack Smith seemed to describe the protective function of a personal amulet “by which also he could ascertain, at any time, the approach of danger, either to himself or the Record, and on account of which he always kept the Urim and Thummim about his person.”²⁵²

Suspended from the neck, a seer stone had even greater resemblance to an amulet. Many of these stones had one or two drilled-holes in them (see ch. 7; figs. 10-13). Concerning the discovery of ancient “mummies” and artifacts in Kentucky caves, the American Antiquarian Society in 1820 published an illustration of a flat, oblong stone with a hole in the center about one-third the distance from one end. Its caption: “A stone ornament, supposed to have been worn on the breast, suspended by a string around the wearer's neck.” This publication was on sale nine miles from Joseph Smith's home.²⁵³ The item was a “gorget” (ch. 7).

Early Mormon convert Priddy Meeks was curious about the hole in seer stones: “I asked Brother [Hyrum] Smith [about] the use for that hole; he said the same as a watch chain to keep from losing it.”²⁵⁴ Joseph Smith's brown stone, which he used to translate the *Book of Mormon* (see ch. 5), had no holes. It was kept in a pouch made by his wife Emma.²⁵⁵ This allowed Smith to suspend the seer stone from the neck and keep it “about his person” next to the skin. Likewise, a pioneer Mormon woman kept her seer stone in a pouch, suspended from her neck (see ch. 7). When an amulet in Europe did not have holes or eyelets, it was kept in an amulet-pouch with straps to suspend it from the neck (fig. 48).²⁵⁶

None of the Smith family's occult artifacts existed in isolation. Joseph Jr. first used his various seer stones for the treasure-quest of folk magic and later for

purposes defined as religious by Mormons (see chs. 2, 5, 7). His Palmyra neighbors claimed that Joseph Sr. and Jr. also used divining rods (see ch. 2), and the original version of an LDS revelation in 1829 commended Oliver Cowdery's own "rod of nature."²⁵⁷

According to their cultural expectations, Cowdery and the Smiths required knowledge of astrology in order to use divining rods in the 1820s. For example, in his 1809 *Travels Through the Northern Parts of the United States*, Edward Augustus Kendall noted that divining rods "must be cut in a certain quarter of the moon, and must be held by a person of an approved horoscope." This was in Joseph Smith's hometown library.²⁵⁸

There were two other historical linkages for the Smith family's treasure-quest, their demonstrable interest in astrology, Joseph Smith's emphasis on the astrological importance of Jupiter, and the Mars-inscribed dagger (probably his father's) for drawing magic circles. First, the Smith family possessed magic parchments, apparently dating to the early 1820s (see ch. 4). Second, at that time Joseph Sr. and Jr. were in association with men who had more experience in the occult. Cowdery's father was also previously known for his religiously occult activity with one of these men, a "rodsman" like Oliver (see chs. 2, 4). Readers can judge the accuracy of the claim by a BYU professor of religion that this chapter "extrapolate[d] a conclusion from mere possession of the [one] artifact that Joseph must have believed in and practiced magic."²⁵⁹

Three of the Smith family's Palmyra associates in folk magic (see ch. 2) converted to Mormonism. Rodsman Alva(h) Be(a)man moved to the new church's first real headquarters in Kirtland, Ohio, where he was a prominent elder. Treasure-digger Martin Harris became a special witness of the *Book of Mormon's* gold plates and a scribe for its English translation (see ch. 5). Treasure-digger Orrin Porter Rockwell followed young Joseph to the embattled Mormon settlements of Missouri, then on to new headquarters in Illinois. There Porter joined Smith's secretive Council of Fifty in Nauvoo's theocracy.²⁶⁰ Joseph Knight and Josiah Stowell also became disciples as Joseph Smith moved spiritually from folk magic's quest for golden treasures to the *Book of Mormon's* translation of gold plates (see chs. 2, 5).

Religiously occult mentors Nathaniel Wood, Justus Winchell, and Luman Walter(s) may not have followed New York state's boy prophet on his westward trek. However, on three different occasions Brigham Young stated that a New York "astrologer" and "necromancer" knew of Joseph Smith's claims by 1827. Young said this occult expert converted to Mormonism and implied that he continued with the Mormon prophet as far as Ohio before the astrologer left Mormonism (see ch. 4). In any case, some relatives of these occult mentors definitely remained Mormons.

4.

Magic Parchments and Occult Mentors

While most evidence for the family's belief in astrology is circumstantial, the Smiths had implements of ritual magic. First was a magic dagger (figs. 43-44; ch. 3). Also among Hyrum Smith's possessions at his death were three parchments inscribed with signs and names of ceremonial magic (figs. 50-53). In occult handbooks, *lamen* was the term for such a magic parchment.

This chapter explores several related questions about these items. What was the significance of magic parchments (*lamens*) in folk magic? How common were they? How much occult knowledge was necessary to construct such an artifact? To what extent was this kind of information available in early America and in Palmyra, New York?¹ Most important, what were the meanings and purposes of the Smith family's parchments? Further, was there linkage between events of early Mormonism and the purposes of these magic parchments?

The Smiths possessed magic parchments, which may have been created by someone in the family, or by more than one of the Smiths. These items could also have been created by a person outside the Smith family. In that case, someone gave or sold the *lamens* to Joseph Sr. or to one of his sons.

Is there evidence that the Smiths were instructed by persons with occult knowledge? Did these alleged advisers have folk magic experience or occult knowledge consistent with the known activities and artifacts of the Smith family? Does independent evidence support claims that occult mentors were in association with Joseph Smith's family at particular times and places? Finally, is there evidence linking the alleged mentors to the occult *lamens*?

Occult Handbooks, Magic Parchments, and Folk Magic

Oral tradition is fundamental to folk magic, but written instructions were also necessary. Keith Thomas noted: "For some kinds of popular magic[,] books were essential. ... The most obvious was the conjuring of spirits."² Manuscript books of Christian ceremonial magic circulated throughout Europe, and some twelfth-century occult texts still survive.³ In the thirteenth century, Catholic monks translated the Arabic *Picatrix* first into Spanish and then into Latin. Now

educated Christians throughout Europe had access to this very popular "comprehensive textbook of magic, presenting it as an applied science." In medieval Europe "even minimally literate people of lower social status had some access to bookish magic."⁴ Common people were writing manuscript handbooks of magic charms in vernacular language as early as the fifteenth century. As Richard Kieckhefer has noted: "Books of magic, like books of devotion, proliferated in the expanding marketplace of privately owned and privately read texts."⁵ After the sixteenth century, printed works contained details of ceremonial magic in Latin, German, French, and English editions.

Katharine M. Briggs has observed: "The publicity given to magic in the later Renaissance brought these writings to the forefront of men's minds, and alchemy, magic, and all branches of the occult were much discussed."⁶ For example, since 1686 there were published versions of the "Key of Solomon," a famous grimoire (handbook of ceremonial magic).⁷ Of such books, one author has noted that "every physician and learned man had one hidden in some secret nook of his laboratory" by the early 1700s.⁸ Aside from books, in 1788 a single European bookseller's catalog advertised 304 manuscript works of ceremonial magic. This included hand-copies of the "Key of Solomon."⁹ In the English colonies and early United States, it was also relatively easy to obtain out-of-print occult books and magic manuscripts of European origin (see ch. 1).

W. R. Jones has written: "Because of the premium placed on the possession of authentic texts of the major conjuring manuals, some manuscripts passed from hand to hand over several generations; and one English book descended to the fourth generation of readers." He added that this "enthusiasm for reading books of magic endured into the modern period," and influenced the treasure-quest in both England and America.¹⁰ One Mormon family maintained this generational use of an occult handbook into the late nineteenth century (see below; ch. 7).

This democracy of the occult exasperated academically trained adepts. In 1828 a British astrologer complained that common people had taken over the occult. "It is notorious to observe the villainy which is practised by numerous imposters, who travel through the country, and pretend to calculate Nativities, of which they know nothing," he fumed. They also "pretend to converse with Spirits, and to have Legions of Angels at their command. Many of these detestable imposters, manufacture, and dispose of charms, Sigils and Lamens, to make their poor deluded clients rich and completely happy" (emphasis in original).¹¹ In 1828 a New York magazine noted: "We find text books of Cabala, necromancy, astrology, magic, fortunetelling, and various proofs of witchcraft ..."¹² In the 1840s it required 175 printed pages just to list the titles of Anglo-European occult works.¹³ Little wonder that people of all walks of life had access to the books themselves or to the oral tradition that resulted from such widespread circulation of occult knowledge.

Therefore, in a recent article about occult and esoteric influences on Joseph Smith, Lance S. Owens overstated the distinction between American practitioners of folk magic and persons trained in academic magic. "In summary, the treasure digger's 'magic world view,' the supernatural method to means, must be distinguished from the more complex Hermetic vision conveyed in the mix of Kab-

balah, ceremonial magic, Paracelsian medicine, Rosicrucianism, alchemical symbolism, and several esoteric brands of Masonry," Owens wrote. "And what a young Joseph Smith could have learned from a rodsman, ensconced only in a magic world view, is less important to his religious development than the kinds of ideas a Hermetic initiate might have stimulated."¹⁴ There were certainly differences in the complexity of occult ideas, but in the 1800s materials were available for the self-instruction or tutoring of both treasure-diggers and rodsmen. The literate democracy of the occult extended even to rural New York towns.

For example, in just one advertisement by the local bookstore, Palmyra's 1824 newspaper included two occult handbooks: *Fortune Teller* and *BOOK OF FATE*.¹⁵ These advertisements emphasized recently published books, and not since the 1790s was there a book title starting with the words "Fortune Teller."¹⁶ Therefore, the likeliest candidate for Palmyra's advertisement was *The Complete Fortune Teller, or, An Infallible Guide to the Decrees of Fate; Being a New and Regular System for Foretelling Future Events, By Astrology, Physiognomy, Palmistry, Moles, Cards, and Dreams*. From 1797 to 1830 it had five U.S. editions.¹⁷

The second occult handbook in this one Palmyra advertisement was more extensive. First published in 1817 at New York City, with 210 pages, *The BOOK OF FATE: A New and Complete System of Fortune Telling ... Carefully Rendered Into English, and Arranged From the Manuscripts of AN ADEPT* had a second edition (212 pages) in 1823, a year before the Palmyra bookstore advertised it. As evidence of this occult handbook's widespread popularity, its 214-page third edition (undated) was published simultaneously in New York, Philadelphia, and St. Louis. Although this occult handbook did not include instructions for ceremonial magic, its "Frontispiece" (opposite the title page) was an illustration of spirit invocation. Despite its length, this occult handbook was cheaply-bound for mass circulation.¹⁸ Thus, publishers used early American interest in ritual magic to promote divinatory books that did not actually discuss ritual magic. Palmyra's newspapers show that occult handbooks were part of the town's cultural environment in the 1820s (see ch. 6), as were occult quests for buried treasure (see ch. 2).

However, whenever LDS polemicist Louis Midgley dislikes any evidence from Palmyra's newspaper, he argues: "Is there a reason to believe that Joseph Smith read newspapers before the publication of the Book of Mormon?"¹⁹ By contrast, a BYU religion professor eagerly accepted a newspaperman's statement that "once a week he [Joseph Smith, Jr.] would stroll into the office of the old Palmyra Register, for his father's paper." Why emphasize that claim? Because reading Palmyra's newspaper would explain how fourteen-year-old Joseph Smith learned in 1820 that there were religious revivals near Palmyra and in other parts of western New York.²⁰ The *Palmyra Register* was published from 1817 to 1821.

Nine miles south of Joseph Smith's home,²¹ Canandaigua's bookstore was expanding its inventory after 1815 to compete with the 14,000 volumes claimed by another nearby town's bookstore (see ch. 6). In early America even small bookstores sold occult books printed in Britain and Europe (see ch. 1). Therefore, it is very likely that the large bookstore inventories near Palmyra included pseudo-Agrippa's *Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy* (editions to 1783), Francis

Barrett's 1801 *The Magus*, and Ebenezer Sibly's *New and Complete Illustration of the Occult Sciences* (thirteen editions from 1784 to 1826). Even though out-of-print for more than 150 years, Reginald Scot's *Discovery of Witchcraft* (1665 edition with expanded rituals) and Henry Cornelius Agrippa's *Occult Philosophy* were both available in America's rural areas to the mid-nineteenth century (see chs. 1, 7).²²

The likelihood that Agrippa's occult titles were available in Palmyra is increased by the favorable view of the local newspaper toward him. In 1827 Palmyra's newspaper gave the table of contents for a periodical that featured an article on Agrippa. This was on sale locally. In 1828 Palmyra's newspaper printed a story called "The Magician's Visiter [sic]," which treated Agrippa with respect. It repeatedly referred to him as "the philosopher" and once as "a dealer in wonders." The story described a successful act of necromancy that Agrippa performed by "chanting in a soft tone, and in a strange language."²³ Like the Smith family's treasure-digging (see ch. 2), not until young Joseph announced the *Book of Mormon* did Palmyra's newspaper condemn magic and the occult. Prior to that time, the local newspaper had advertised occult works and presented a favorable view of magicians like Agrippa.

Moreover, in a paper-bound chapbook (three editions from 1823 to 1826) Peter Buchan reprinted some of the charms from Scot's 1665 book (see ch. 1).²⁴ Chapbooks sold for a few pennies, compared with 44 cents that Palmyra's residents paid for a new hardback book in the 1820s.²⁵ In addition, Americans who were interested in the occult also managed to get access to Scot's out-of-print book. In 1845 a Massachusetts author wrote: "The following extract from a scarce work of Reginald Scot—the 'Discoverie of Witchcraft'—will give sufficient information on the use of amulets."²⁶ Twenty years later a Mormon family created a house-amulet based on Scot's book (see ch. 7), then even more rare than it was during Joseph Smith's youth. If a town's newspaper or bookstore declined to advertise or sell certain books, bookpeddlers provided the forbidden volumes to rural families in the 1820s (see ch. 1).

Neighborhood access to occult works would account for the direct citations from these texts in the Smith family's magic parchments (see below). Joseph Smith later acknowledged familiarity with esoteric literature advertised and sold in Palmyra and Canandaigua during his youth (see ch. 6).

Palmyra neighbors reported that Joseph Sr. and Jr. drew magic circles in the mid-1820s (see ch. 3). Lucy Mack Smith's manuscript history mentioned this accusation without denying it and affirmed that such activities were only part of her family's activities.²⁷ Her family also had the necessary magic dagger which Hyrum retained as Joseph Sr.'s patriarchal successor until Hyrum's own death in 1844 (see ch. 3). In addition, *Book of Mormon* witness Martin Harris and various eye-witnesses affirmed that during the 1820s Joseph Jr. acted as treasure-seer in treasure-diggings distant from Palmyra, often "in Pennsylvania, and other places"²⁸ (see ch. 2; fig. 8).

Just as Egypt was known as the center of ceremonial magic for Western civilization,²⁹ Pennsylvania was the focal point of ceremonial magic in early America.³⁰ German and English immigrants brought manuscripts and books of

magic to Pennsylvania's sectarian communities. Particularly in central and eastern Pennsylvania, village adepts used manuscripts "partly written in Pennsylvania Dutch [*Deutsch*=German], liberally interspersed with words of other Continental origins, English, with Latin and cabalistic words and phrases, and crude signs and hieroglyphics like Greek or Egyptian characters."³¹ Two of these manuscript books written by Pennsylvania Germans in the 1750s have been preserved.³²

The vast majority of manuscript books and lamens of magic collected by English and American libraries date before 1800, yet common people continued to create them. In Northampton County, Pennsylvania, during 1808-12 one family recorded magic charms in an account book.³³ Into the early 1800s adepts in Germantown (near Philadelphia) gave English-language training in the occult to students from various states (see ch. 1). To the mid-nineteenth century, some Americans fashioned manuscript handbooks of the occult, based on out-of-print English works by Agrippa, Scot, and Barrett.³⁴

Out of Pennsylvania's environment of religion and magic came early-nineteenth-century American contributions to the published texts of magic. In 1813 Johann Hohman printed an advertisement in a Reading newspaper for *Der Freund in der Noth* (The Friend in Need), a book of magic charms he recently published in that city. It was falsely designated as a 1790 publication at "Offenbach am Mayne in Deutschland" by a resident of Tyrol. Hohman borrowed the title and content from an occult manuscript that had been circulating as early as 1752 in Pennsylvania. In 1820 Hohman published his own *Der lange verborgene Freund* ("The Long Hidden [or Lost] Friend"). Reprinted the same year, by 1829 this popular handbook had five editions (one published in Ephrata).³⁵ Hohman's occult manual ("a grimoire of white magic"³⁶) was the only known source for an inscription on one of the Smith family's magic parchments (see below).

From the late 1700s to the early 1820s America provided the cultural environment for a village family to own magic parchments. After the 1820s the ordained clergy was winning its battle against folk magic. A post-1829 acquisition of the lamens would require something in the Smith family or Mormonism to suddenly encourage the Smiths with new interest in ceremonial magic. Circumstances indicate that the Smiths obtained the parchments and dagger two decades before their patrilineal custodian died in 1844.

Joseph Smith even read a book that referred to Hebrew amulets "of parchment, written over with some inscription." In multiple American editions since 1823 Jahn's *Biblical Archaeology* introduced that statement by referring to the Hebrew people's belief "in the influence of the stars, in incantations, and other magick arts." At some point, Smith consulted Jahn's book, because he quoted from it as editor of a church publication (see ch. 6).³⁷

The steel dagger involved some cost to manufacture or purchase, but parchment lamens did not require the Smiths to spend scarce cash during the 1820s. In fact, their community provided easy access to the materials needed to construct the magic parchments. Since 1819, newspapers in Canandaigua and Palmyra advertised "Parchment," "Gilt Paper," and "Gold Leaf."³⁸ One of the Smith family's parchments is "gilt" or golden (see below).

The Smith Family's Magic Parchments (Lamens)

A 1963 authorized biography of Hyrum Smith first identified them as his "Emblematic parchments" and "Relics." Like the dagger, since 1982 photographs of these magic parchments have been in print.³⁹

While these artifacts were in custody of emeritus-Patriarch to the Church Eldred G. Smith, in 1985 one of his friends publicly screened color slides of the parchments in Salt Lake City. "Orem, Utah, attorney Robert Fillerup reported having investigated the artifacts in question since 1973, when they were believed to be Masonic materials. He noted that there is no contemporary evidence, but only family tradition, to link the Jupiter talisman, the magic dagger, and the magic parchments to the Smiths. He did, however, state his belief that the involvement of the Smith family in ritual magic is clear, but that there is insufficient evidence to permit any certainty as to the degree of that involvement."⁴⁰

Because of the extraordinary character of these artifacts, their provenance (chain-of-ownership) is crucial. According to Gary Smith, a descendant of Hyrum Smith: "My father [Eldred G. Smith] has told me as well as my great-uncle (my grandfather's brother) [has told me] that all of these artifacts were brought across the plains by Mary Fielding Smith, the widow of Hyrum Smith and that when she died they went into the possession of Hyrum's oldest son (from Hyrum's prior marriage) John Smith [Presiding Patriarch in 1855]. Upon the death of John Smith in 1911 I am not clear as to whether the artifacts went directly to John's grandson, Hyrum Gibbs Smith, or whether they went to [John's son] Hyrum Fisher Smith for some period of time. In any event, it is clear to me from what I have been told that Hyrum Gibbs Smith [Presiding Patriarch in 1912] did eventually wind up with the collection earlier owned by John Smith [Presiding Patriarch until 1911]. My father then obtained these items upon the death of Hyrum Gibbs Smith [in 1932]."⁴¹ In 1969 Hyrum F. Smith's daughter also outlined the same provenance for the transfer of these "relics" from one LDS Presiding Patriarch to another.⁴² A decade later Eldred G. Smith showed me these parchments (which he described as "cabalistic") during my visit to his home. Patriarch Smith described this same chain-of-ownership that he said began with Joseph Smith, Sr.⁴³

Aside from recent concerns at the discovery of their occult characteristics, there is no reason to regard the ceremonial dagger and magic parchments as insignificant. Hyrum Smith's official biography stated that his widow and four generations of his descendants handed down these highly revered "relics" from eldest son to eldest son. The artifacts with the deepest emotional impact were clothing and personal items Hyrum had with him at Carthage Jail when he was assassinated. In addition, there were seven other items: the dagger, the three parchments, a pouch for the parchments, a "Footstool, of mother Lucy Mack Smith," and a "Chest, wooden—the first such repository for the gold plates. The name 'Alvin' is carved in the [chest] at the right of the metal lock set in wood an inch in width." Made by Alvin who died in 1823, the stool and chest had passed from Joseph Sr. to Hyrum Smith, to Hyrum's widow Mary, to Hyrum's oldest son John when he reached adulthood, and patrilineally thereafter.⁴⁴

However, the prominent Mormons who inventoried Hyrum Smith's estate exempted all items that the martyr had inherited from his father. Neither the

magic artifacts, nor the footstool, nor the chest were in the estate inventory of Hyrum's belongings, even though family sources clearly stated that these items were in his widow's possession.⁴⁵

Also absent from Hyrum Smith's estate inventory were his "1 pair [of] doe skin mocasins" and "3 aprons—1 plain white cloth, 1 cream colored doe skin with 5 green leaf painted on supposedly by Emma Smith, 1 Masonic apron—surrounded with blue, center made of silk with pictures printed on it."⁴⁶ Conferred on Hyrum Smith at his 1827 initiation into Freemasonry and into the 1842 LDS "endowment" ceremony (see ch. 6) of Joseph Smith's Anointed Quorum,⁴⁷ these "sacred relics" had passed from Hyrum's widow to Hyrum's second son Joseph F. Smith (an apostle and LDS president), and to his son Joseph Fielding Smith (also an apostle and LDS president). After his death, these artifacts went to LDS archives.⁴⁸ Likewise, allowed by the probate court to provide the official inventory of Joseph Smith's personal belongings, his widow Emma failed to report any of his belongings that she had received from Joseph's lawyer (see ch. 3).

The dagger may have belonged to Joseph Sr. before the 1820s. It was inscribed with the magic symbol for Mars, the governing planet for his year of birth. He was the only member of the family whose birth year was "governed" by Mars (see ch. 3). However, the parchments are the focus of this discussion.

Medieval manuscripts and published works to the 1800s gave instructions for fashioning these lamens. The parchments show precise knowledge of directions for ritual magic. Previously published books also explain the occult meaning of inscriptions on these lamens. This does not prove that these artifacts had the same meaning to the Smith family, but their inscriptions and purposes fit the context of early Mormon events. In fact, certain inscriptions pinpoint September 1823 as a time when one parchment was first manufactured or used. That was when Joseph Smith began his effort to obtain the gold plates of the *Book of Mormon* (see ch. 5).

Modern rationalists, Protestant evangelicals, and even many Mormons may recoil at the occult appearance of these lamens. Nevertheless, the artifacts have nothing to do with black magic. Aside from the use of common symbols in magic, the Smith family's parchments had purposes very different from the *grimoires* of Anglo-European black magic.⁴⁹

The three magic parchments possessed by the Smith family have three different purposes, all interrelated. The "Holiness to the Lord" parchment is a lamen of ceremonial magic to receive visitation from "good angels." The "Saint Peter bind them" parchment is a talisman for personal protection. The faded "Jehovah, Jehovah, Jehovah" parchment is a house-amulet.

Typical of English parchments of Christian magic (figs. 46-47),⁵⁰ a personal, God-centered emphasis characterizes the three magic lamens of the Smith family. On a barely legible parchment the comforting words of Numbers 6:24-26 ("the Lord Bless thee and keep thee") surround a large magic symbol for warding off evil spirits (fig. 53, compare figs. 54, 64-65).⁵¹ This blessing was part of divine instructions for Aaron in his conduct as high priest. Introducing and concluding the quote from Numbers are two non-scriptural phrases of praise to Deity: "Unto

God Gracious Mercy and Protection are," and "Jehovah Jehovah Jehovah and Amen Amen and Amen." In the upper corners are two more Jehovah triads.

This God-centered emphasis is also in the inscriptions of the more intricate "Saint Peter bind them" parchment.⁵² When this parchment is viewed with the Saint Peter phrase as the upper-right quadrant (fig. 51), its lower-left quadrant intensifies and personalizes the message of Numbers 6:24-26, by changing each "thee" to "me." In the upper-left quadrant are the words of Numbers 6:27, "And thay [sic] shall put my name on, the Cheldron [sic] of Israel and I will bless them, Jehovah."

The third, most complicated, lamén is the most important one in demonstrating the God-centered dimension of the parchments (fig. 50).⁵³ In the top, the right, and the left borders of the lamén are the English words, "Holiness to the Lord." This corresponds to the divine commandment regarding the headpiece of Aaron's priestly vestments: "And thou shalt make a plate of pure gold, and grave upon it, like the engravings of a signet, HOLINESS TO THE LORD" (Ex. 28:36, 39:30). This biblical provision was the antecedent for pseudo-Agrippa's instructions for invoking "any good spirit" in *The Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy* (last edition in 1783).⁵⁴

Reprinted with slight variations in the 1801 *Magus*, Barrett introduced these instructions about "the LAMEN" by affirming that "the good angels will appear unto you." He concluded the instructions: "It is also to be observed, that as often as he enters the circle he has upon his forehead a golden lamén, upon which there must be written the name *Tetragrammaton*, in the manner we have before mentioned."⁵⁵

In keeping with these instructions, the "Holiness to the Lord" lamén has gold as its background color.⁵⁶ The Palmyra newspaper's 1823 advertisement for "Gilt Paper" and "Parchment" also answered Barrett's alternative description of the golden parchment as "a gilt lamén."⁵⁷ At the bottom of the Smith family's gilt lamén are Hebrew characters forming a triad of the Jehovah Tetragrammaton (see ch. 1).⁵⁸ Another triadic inscription is in a magic alphabet or code, still not identified.⁵⁹

At the lower-right quadrant of the "Holiness to the Lord" lamén is a nonsymmetrical magic emblem of five points and seven internal compartments. This emblem combines the Jehovah designation "Tetragrammaton" (see ch. 1) with the other designation of Deity, "Adonay" (figs. 50, 55).⁶⁰ Whoever put this symbol on the "Holiness to the Lord" lamén incorrectly drew it with seven internal compartments. The writings of Paracelsus (in English) specified that the figure should have "six spaces, and outwardly five angles, wherein are written five syllables of the supreme name of God; to wit, *Tetragrammaton*."⁶¹ The maker of the Smith laméns corrected this error in the "Saint Peter bind them" parchment. It has a Tetragrammaton symbol of six internal spaces (figs. 51, 58-59).⁶²

The "Saint Peter bind them" parchment (figs. 51, 58) followed exactly the Tetragrammaton symbol as published in Ebenezer Sibly's *New and Complete Illustration of the Occult Sciences* (figs. 56, 59). This parchment did not follow the symbol in Barrett's 1801 *Magus*. Barrett instead placed the five Tetragrammaton syllables within each point of a pentagram and put the Hebrew character "Vau,

the letter of the holy name" in the center (fig. 57).⁶³ The Tetragrammaton symbol on the "Holiness to the Lord" lamens (figs. 50, 55) did not follow either Sibly or Barrett. However, placing the word "Adonay" at its center did reflect Barrett's pentagram. This symbol also reflected pseudo-Agrippa's instructions that "there must be written thereupon, in all the several Angles, some Divine name ... but in the middle of the Figure let the revolution of the name be whole and totally placed, or at least principally."⁶⁴

In fact, Sibly's *Occult Sciences* is the published source for many of the magic symbols on the Smith family's lamens. With thirteen editions between 1784 and 1826, Sibly's handbook was the most available academic work on ceremonial magic in Joseph Smith's generation.⁶⁵

In the upper-right and lower-left quadrants of the "Holiness to the Lord" parchment are two occult symbols (figs. 50, 63, 67). These appeared in Reginald Scot's famous *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (figs. 60-61, 64-65). These symbols next appeared in the various editions of Sibly beginning in 1784 (figs. 62, 66). Neither symbol was in Barrett's *Magus*. Sibly borrowed most of his illustrations for ceremonial magic from Scot, arranged them in a single chart, and made slight alterations in them.⁶⁶

There are slight variations between these two symbols in Scot and Sibly. The Smith family's lamens followed Sibly's illustrations rather than Scot's. Sibly's label for the symbol in the upper-right quadrant of the "Holiness to the Lord" lamens is: "Whosoever beareth this sign need [sic] fear no Foe." For the symbol in the lower-left, Sibly's label is: "Whosoever beareth this sign all Spirits will do him homage."⁶⁷

Final evidence of dependence on Sibly involves the use of two rare symbols and their specific names in the Smith family's parchments. On the "Holiness to the Lord" lamens (center, left) is a circle surrounded by four joined Maltese crosses (figs. 50, 68). This symbol is labeled "Pah-li-Pah" on the front (center, right) of the "Saint Peter bind them" parchment (fig. 51, and fig. 70). This name-label is upside-down with reference to the several lines of handwritten words above and below its symbol.⁶⁸ Also, at the bottom (center) of the "Holiness to the Lord" lamens is a complex magic symbol (figs. 50, 75). It also appears at the center of the reverse-side of the "Saint Peter bind them" lamens, where it was labeled "Nal-gah" (figs. 52, 74).⁶⁹

The illustrations, names, and explanations for these symbols first appeared in Scot's 1665 *Discourse concerning Devils and Spirits*. It was bound with his *Discovery of Witchcraft*. This material was not in previous editions of his works. Scot began this discussion by saying that "according to the deepest Magicians, there be seven good Angels, who do most frequently become particular Guardians, of all others, each to their respective capacities" (emphasis in original).⁷⁰

In the many reprintings his book to 1826 Sibly repeated the guardian role of these angels.⁷¹ In addition to the names and symbols of these guardian angels on the magic parchments, Joseph Jr. later referred to "my guardian angel" during a sermon.⁷² The concept of guardian angels is not in the King James Bible that Smith knew so well.⁷³ His family's magic parchments demonstrate a better source for Smith's view as LDS president.

Sibly used these "Nal-gah" and "Pah-li-Pah" names and their symbols in his discussion of "seven good angels" who "have been likewise defined, by the learned Doctors and Rabbi's [sic] who have written on this intricate subject."⁷⁴ Sibly implied that the two names came from the Cabala, but they were absent from an 1816 English-language study of the Cabala and Jewish angelology, which was republished in 1830.⁷⁵ In a modern dictionary of angelology based on centuries of books and manuscripts (including the Cabala), Gustav Davidson omitted Nal-gah and Pah-li-Pah from his comprehensive *Dictionary of Angels* for only one reason: his otherwise exhaustive bibliography overlooked Scot's *Discourse* and Sibly's *Occult Sciences*.⁷⁶ This further demonstrates that Reginald Scot and Ebenezer Sibly were the primary sources for the Smith lamens.

The names and symbols for Pah-li-Pah and Nal-gah first appeared in Scot's works, yet the parchments relied on Sibly for the symbols. Scot's Pah-li-Pah symbol used four regular crosses, the shaft of each uniformly straight (fig. 69). On the other hand, Sibly's Pah-li-Pah symbol used fitched Maltese crosses, which narrowed the shaft as an acute triangle (fig. 71). In Smith's parchments, the Pah-li-Pah symbols have obviously fitched crosses (figs. 50-51, 68, 70).⁷⁷ These angel names and symbols occur nowhere else except in Scot and Sibly.

Thus, Sibly was the only possible source for the two distinctive angel-symbols on these parchments. This dates the construction of the "Holiness to the Lord" and "Saint Peter bind them" lamens with their Nal-gah and Pah-li-Pah symbols no earlier than the first edition of Sibly's *Occult Sciences* in 1784.

There is no present evidence demonstrating that any members of the Smith family owned personal copies of Sibly's work. Nevertheless, with thirteen editions from 1784 to 1826, the book reached a wide audience. For example, LDS member James J. Talmage inscribed his name on the 1788 edition of Sibly's book, which was printed under a variant title. This volume was in the personal library of his son and remained there even after he became an apostle in the LDS church. The apostle's grandfather was also a practicing astrologer and occultist (ch. 7).⁷⁸

According to Sibly, Nal-gah is "devoted to the protection of those who are assaulted by evil spirits or witches, and whose minds are sunk in fearful and melancholy apprehensions of the assaults of the Devil, and the power of death." With this emphasis on melancholy, Sibly continued that Nal-gah's "proper office is to fortify the mind, and to lead the senses to a contemplation of the attributes of God, and the joys of heaven, the reward of all good works." Then Sibly illustrated Nal-gah's "magical character, which is worn round the neck as a preservation against witchcraft and suicide."⁷⁹ In the 1870s an English woman died with a silk amulet bag suspended on her breast (under her clothing). In the bag was a parchment inscribed "NALGAH," with the Nal-gah symbol, and "under this singular figure is the word TETRAGRAMMATON."⁸⁰ Likewise an Anglican minister reported in 1892 that his parishioners invoked "Nalgah" as one of the angel-names to use against witchcraft.⁸¹ Sibly's book, the only known printed source (aside from Scot) for that name, had been out-of-print since 1826.

The "Holiness to the Lord" lamen's use of the Nal-gah symbol (at the bottom) to combat melancholy is mirrored by the presence of the large Jupiter

astrological symbol at the top, center (fig. 50, compare with upper-center of fig. 30, also fig. 34). Joseph Smith's Jupiter talisman (see ch. 3; fig. 28a) was also a complement to the large Jupiter symbol in this parchment. Symbols of Jupiter were "to counteract excessive melancholy," and this symbol was in Albrecht Durer's Renaissance engraving, "Melencolia I."⁸²

Sibly's description links the Nal-gah symbol (and therefore the parchments themselves) to a preoccupation with melancholy in the Smith family. Joseph Sr.'s father Asael Smith solemnly instructed his children: "But above everything avoid a melancholy disposition, that is a humor that admits of any temptation and is capable of any impression and distemper; shun as death this humor which will work you to all unthankfulness against God, unlovingness to men and unnaturalness to yourselves and one another." Asael expressed his concern with the evils of melancholy in 1799 at Tunbridge, Orange County, Vermont.⁸³ C. Jess Groesbeck has also observed that "Lucy Mack Smith's family seems to have been prone to physical illness and psychological depression," and that Lucy herself "experienced a severe grief reaction, or possibly an outright clinical depression." This LDS psychiatrist added that Joseph Sr. "may well have suffered a clinical depression that hampered his ability to function." Based on their own statements in LDS sources, Groesbeck concluded that emotional depression "plagued the Smith and Mack families for several generations."⁸⁴ A father's blessing to son Hyrum showed that alcohol abuse was both a manifestation and source of Joseph Sr.'s depression: "Though he has been out of the way, through wine, thou [Hyrum] hast never forsaken him nor laughed him to scorn."⁸⁵

The Nal-gah symbol is at the bottom-center of the Smith "Holiness to the Lord" parchment directly below the abbreviation, "I.H.S." (figs. 50, 75). The oldest meaning of those initials was *In Hoc Signo*, "in this sign [thou shalt conquer]." Those were the first three Latin words in Roman emperor Constantine's conversion-vision of the cross: *In hoc signo vinces*. Medieval Christians substituted the words *Iesus Hominum Salvator*, so that I.H.S. also designated Jesus directly.⁸⁶ I.H.S. frequently appeared on magic parchments designed to help the user obtain supremacy over spirits, particularly evil spirits (figs. 46-47). These initials sometimes appeared on amulets and talismans. This emphasized the original meaning of I.H.S.: "In this sign thou shalt conquer."⁸⁷

Hyrum Smith's cane and sword are also inscribed with IHS, which his descendants have interpreted as: "I, Hyrum Smith."⁸⁸ They may also interpret the parchment he possessed at death in the same way, but the artifacts themselves indicate that those initials were not signs of personal ownership. Because swords are instruments of combat and canes double as weapons, the centuries' old "conquer" meaning of I.H.S. applies. "I, Hyrum Smith" is certainly not the meaning of I.H.S. on the "Holiness to the Lord" parchment whose only English words evoked *Iesus Hominum Salvator*. Moreover, the even older meaning of I.H.S. ("In this sign thou shalt conquer") related directly to this parchment's other symbols against thieves, witches, and evil spirits.

Just as symbols on the "Holiness to the Lord" lamen and the two-sided "Saint Peter bind them" parchment identify Sibly as a literary source for their construction, other inscriptions identify added sources. A Latin phrase and a magic symbol

on the faded "Jehovah, Jehovah, Jehovah" parchment point to Reginald Scot as one of its sources. The "Saint Peter bind them" phrase itself reflects a German-language influence that has been translated into English on this two-sided lamen.

In that regard, German was the only modern European language that Joseph Smith was interested in. By 1842 he was reciting German to his clerk and studying it 1-1/2 hours daily. It is unknown how early Smith became interested in the German language, but in 1835 he began studying Hebrew and Greek.⁸⁹ His family's parchment required some facility with German, as well as Latin. Aside from Smith's interest in the German language, Palmyra's newspaper reported that young Joseph had an occult mentor with knowledge of Latin.⁹⁰

Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft* gave a Latin "Charm to drive away Spirits that haunt any House," for inscription on virgin parchment. His illustrations (figs. 64, 65) also included the central symbol on the faded "Jehovah, Jehovah, Jehovah" parchment (fig. 53).⁹¹ This lamen followed Scot's wording (which Peter Buchan republished exactly beginning in 1823): "*omnis spiritus laudet Dominum: Mosen habent & prophetas: Exurgat Deus & dissipentur inimici ejus.*" However, instead of the ampersands found in Scot's and Buchan's handbooks, the Smith parchment used Maltese crosses and capitalized "Ejus."⁹² Therefore, like the "Holiness to the Lord" lamen, the "Jehovah, Jehovah, Jehovah" parchment followed Sibly's use of Maltese crosses. A magic manuscript and two English occult publications of 1780 and 1823 repeated the instructions for this amulet. The 1823 book translated the charm's Latin phrases: "All that has breath, praise the Lord" (Ps. 150:6), "They have Moses and the prophets" (Luke 16:29), and "Let God arise, and let all his enemies be scattered" (Ps. 68:1).⁹³

Scot presented the Latin charm long before his illustration of the symbol against evil spirits.⁹⁴ He did not instruct that the words should surround the circular emblem, but such practice was standard in magic manuscripts that used the "Exurgat Deus" or "omnis spiritus" phrases.⁹⁵ Scot's book described a charm with "this titling in red letters."⁹⁶ The Smith family's faded "Jehovah, Jehovah, Jehovah" parchment has the Latin phrase in black letters surrounded by red letters of the English words. Other magic manuscripts had the circular talisman surrounded by red Latin words, with the non-Latin words in black.⁹⁷

Forty years after this parchment was among Hyrum Smith's possessions at his death, another Mormon family used the same source to create its house-amulet against witches and evil spirits (see ch. 7). Both families used the Jehovah triad. The black triangle, or bell-shaped portion, of the symbol against spirits is based on Scot's *Discovery of Witchcraft*. In both parchments (figs. 53-54), the black-bell-shaped portion is huge compared to its minimal appearance in Scot (figs. 64-65). From 1784 to 1826, thirteen editions of Sibly's occult handbook increased the size of this black-bell-shaped portion of the symbol (fig. 66), but it was still much smaller than its appearance in the Smith parchment and the Utah house-amulet. Thus, Mormonism's founding family and a later Mormon family both had magic parchments based on a common source, undoubtedly published but still unidentified.⁹⁸

By contrast, LDS apologists and polemicists have ridiculed the claim that the Smith family used instructions published 160 years earlier.⁹⁹ These apologists

choose to ignore the verified circulation in America of Scot's out-of-print *Discovery* for more than a hundred years. In fact, his instructions also continued in oral tradition and hand-made copies into the nineteenth century (see ch. 1). As an indisputable Mormon example, this Utah pioneer family created its house-amulet according to Scot's instructions 200 years earlier (see ch. 7). In addition, from 1784 to 1826 Ebenezer Sibly reprinted Reginald Scot's illustrations and many of the instructions for ritual magic in Scot's 1665 edition. Starting in 1823, three editions of Buchan's chapbook of magic also made some of Scot's occult instructions cheaply available to common people in England and the United States (above, and ch. 1).¹⁰⁰

The symbol at the bottom right corner shows that this "Jehovah, Jehovah, Jehovah" lamen (fig. 53) was based on Scot's *Discourse*. In his discussion of the first of the seven good angels, Scot presented this symbol as Jubanladace's "Character to be worn as a Lamin [sic]."¹⁰¹ As illustrated in Scot (fig. 76), two of three crosses in the complex symbol were the distinctive pommy-type, with a straight shaft and the three arms of each ending in distinct knobs. In the third cross (on the left), the three arms were narrow and without knobs. When Ebenezer Sibly published the only known work to duplicate Scot's discussion of these angels, Sibly changed all three crosses on the Jubanladace symbol to fitched Maltese crosses (fig. 78).¹⁰²

The Smith lamen (figs. 53, 77) followed Scot's *Discourse* (fig. 76) in the pommy crosses of the Jubanladace symbol, not the fitched Maltese crosses of Sibly's more recent work (fig. 78). In Scot's symbol, an arrow touched the end of the horizontal cross on the right. In Sibly the arrow did not touch the base of the cross. Again, despite apparent bending of the base in this cross of the faded Smith parchment, the arrow touched the end of the cross, as in Scot (figs. 76-77).

Therefore, Sibly and Scot were two indisputable sources for the occult inscriptions on the Smith family's magic parchments. The "Holiness to the Lord" and "Saint Peter bind them" lamens were based on Sibly's illustrations of the second and third of the seven good angels. The "Jehovah, Jehovah, Jehovah" lamen was based on Scot's illustration of the first of these angels. The first two parchments could have used any edition of Sibly from 1784 to 1826. By contrast, the faded Smith parchment was based on Scot's 1665 instructions or a more recent duplicate of them. However, a recent publication of this in someone else's book would not be necessary in view of early America's widespread circulation of Scot's out-of-print handbook (see ch. 1, and above).

The faded parchment's dependence on Scot could mean it was created even a century before the other two. If so, how did magic artifacts of such different origins end up in the possession of Joseph Smith's family? Again, the more logical answer is that Americans of Smith's generation had widespread access to Reginald Scot's books. Because of that reality, Joseph Sr., Joseph Jr., or one of their like-minded occult friends examined Sibly's much-published handbook and Scot's earlier book (or a recent copy) to inscribe the three lamens at about the same time.

The identity of each lamen's inscriber remains obscure, but the purposes of the magic parchments match the circumstances of the elder and younger

Joseph Smith. Certain symbols addressed Joseph Sr.'s long struggle with depression (melancholy). All three parchments aided generally in Joseph Jr.'s treasure-quest and specifically in the coming forth of the *Book of Mormon*.¹⁰³ If neither Joseph Sr. nor Jr. created the family's magic artifacts, then someone else inscribed these occult lamens with a remarkable knowledge of what the two Joseph Smiths needed.

Scot said that the symbol of the angel Jubanladace should "be worn as a Lamin." Sibly expanded this to "a lamin round the neck, for a preservative against putrid infection and sudden death." Sibly added that the Nal-gah and Pah-li-Pah symbols should also be worn around the neck.¹⁰⁴ Consistent with these instructions, Hyrum Smith's descendants have handed down the three parchments accompanied by a leather pouch, with straps (fig. 49). Including its straps, the Smith family's pouch has the same dimensions as traditional magic-pouches designed to hold amulets and suspend them from the neck (fig. 48).¹⁰⁵ As previously noted, this was how a woman wore her own "NALGAH" parchment amulet thirty years after the Smith brothers' martyrdom.

As part of a charm-curse against one's enemies, the second-most complex Smith lamen has the introductory words: "Saint Peter bind them, Saint Peter bind them" (fig. 51, top right). As far as can be determined, this magic phrase was not in any English manuscript or book prior to the death of Joseph Smith. Binding evil spirits to prevent them from attacking a person was a major concern of ritual magic. However, the prayers to bind the spirits were directed to Deity, not to Saint Peter.¹⁰⁶ I have located only one invocation directed to Saint Peter as part of ritual magic. This was a German text instructing readers that while hammering nails in constructing a magic circle, "at each stroke of the hammer the magician must say, 'Peter, bind it.'"¹⁰⁷ The purpose is to hind a nail, not a spirit or person.

Only in German charms against thieves is there a parallel to the Smith lamen's use of a Saint Peter formula. According to Germanic magic traditions, some evil men once attempted to steal the infant Jesus, and Mary called out: "St. Peter, bind!" By this command, the thieves were rooted to the spot.¹⁰⁸ Versions of the Saint Peter charm against thieves were in European manuscripts and printed works since the early 1600s, and in a Pennsylvania German manuscript of charms in 1816.¹⁰⁹

In 1820 two Saint Peter charms against thieves were in Hohman's *Der lange verborgene Freund* ("The Long Hidden [or Lost] Friend"), published in Pennsylvania. Readers were to use the charm "if they would steal anything of mine, in the house, in the chest, in the meadow and acre, in wood or field, in tree, and plant, and garden, or wherever they would steal anything of mine."¹¹⁰ This American book of magic was not printed in English until 1855. The German edition of 1820 was published over a hundred miles from the Pennsylvania-New York border of the Susquehanna River, where teenage Joseph was a treasure-seer periodically from about 1822 to 1826 (see ch. 2).

Nonetheless, one commentator made this observation about Hohman's occult handbook: "The wide circulation it has had since it was first published in this country, in 1820, would startle the uninformed."¹¹¹ That distribution included Pennsylvania minister J. W. Early who made his own complete manuscript

transcription of Hohman's "Long Hidden [or Lost] Friend." Early estimated that Hohman's book soon circulated to "the larger portion of the country east of the Mississippi."¹¹²

A survey of English charms against thieves (both manuscript and published) has not yielded any example of the Saint Peter formula.¹¹³ Therefore, this Smith lamens's use of "Saint Peter bind them" indicates an indebtedness to someone familiar with German magic lore. This also shows that the Smiths obtained or created this magic lamens no earlier than 1820, when the charm was widely circulated by Hohman's handbook.

In 1823 there was another publication, *Albertus Magnus, bewaehrte und approbierte sympaterische und natuerliche egyptische Geheimnisse fuer Menschen und Vieh*. Despite its claim for publication in Brabant, this book was actually printed in Pennsylvania. Known as "Egyptian Secrets," this work had the "St. Peter bind" formula in its charms "For Cunning Thieves," "To Fasten a Thief," and "To Fix a Thief." None of these charms (and little of the book's content) came from any of the editions of the *Book of Secrets* (allegedly by Albertus Magnus) published in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹¹⁴ Whoever fashioned the "Saint Peter bind them" parchment was familiar with the 1823 "Egyptian Secrets" or Hohman's "Friend" (five editions, 1820-29), all published in Pennsylvania.

The Smith family's "Holiness to the Lord" lamens has a central purpose that is specific in magic literature. Based on pseudo-Agrrippa's *Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy*, Barrett's *Magus* instructed: "Now the lamens which is used to invoke any good spirit must be made after the following manner. ... there must be written the divine names, as well general as special. And in the centre of the lamens draw a hexagon or character of six corners, in the middle thereof write the name and character of the star, or of the spirit his governor, to whom the good spirit that is to be called is subject. ... But if we should call only one [spirit], nevertheless there must be made four pentagons, wherein the name of the spirit or spirits, with their characters, are to be written."¹¹⁵ Required "to invoke any good spirit," the "Holiness to the Lord" lamens properly has a pentagram in each of the four corners (fig. 50). At its center is the name of the angel Raphael within a twelve-cornered (rather than six-cornered) figure (fig. 79). This figure, including the name Raphael, was part of Barrett's illustration (fig. 80) and instructions for invoking spirits.¹¹⁶

Another symbol shows that this "Holiness to the Lord" parchment was for invoking "good spirits" in connection with treasure-seeking. Directly to the right of the Raphael figure and above the Tetragrammaton figure are three crosses (figs. 50, 55). These faintly drawn crosses could refer to the crucifixion at Golgotha, yet Scot specified that three crosses were used for treasure-seeking. First, he specified that "there must be made upon a hazell wand three crosses" as part of "the art and order to be used in digging for monie, revealed by dreames." Later in his discussion, Scot illustrated a shield-symbol with three crosses at the top to summon a spirit "to tell thee of hidden treasures that be in anie place, he will tell it thee: or if thou wilt command him to bring to thee gold or silver, he will bring it thee." Scot presented this shield-symbol with three crosses at its top, a Latin phrase, and one cross below the Latin.¹¹⁷

A century after Scot's last printing, Sibly's 1784 *Occult Sciences* altered Scot's instructions for the crosses. Sibly changed part of the Latin phrase and dropped the fourth cross. He put only three crosses in a line at the top of this symbol which was above the Tetragrammaton symbol in his chart of illustrations for the ritual magic of summoning a spirit (fig. 56).¹¹⁸ The "Holiness to the Lord" lamén followed these changes by Sibly, which was the verified source for other symbols on this parchment. The three crosses on the "Holiness to the Lord" parchment seem to refer to Scot's and Sibly's motif for treasure-seeking and incantation. All the other surrounding symbols on the lamén are from previously printed occult handbooks. The specifically religious references are restricted to the outside border.

In fact, the angel-symbols from Scot's *Discourse* verify that all three of the Smith family's parchments were for treasure-seeking. Immediately before Scot's chapter that discussed Jubanladace, Nal-gah, and Pah-li-Pah, the last paragraph of the preceding chapter stated: "When *Treasure hath been hid*, or any secret thing hath been committed by the party; there is a magical cause of something attracting the starry spirit back again, to the manifestation of that thing. *Upon all which, the following Chapters do insist more largely and particularly.*"¹¹⁹ Therefore, the three Smith parchments adopted the names and symbols of Jubanladace directly from Scot's *Discourse* that gave information about good angels necessary for successful treasure-seeking conjurations. The Smith laméns used Sibly's later version for the treasure-angels Nal-gah and Pah-li-Pah.

Using the name "Raphael" in the Smith family's parchment was significant. The King James Bible did not mention Raphael, who was a prominent angel in the Apocrypha.¹²⁰ Since 1821, Richard Laurence's translation of the pseudepigraphic *Book of Enoch* had also specified: "Raphael, [is] one of the holy angels who presides over the spirits of men" (emphasis in original).¹²¹ Barrett illustrated a magic parchment inscribed with Raphael's name.¹²² Pseudo-Agrippa and Barrett also stipulated: "And in the centre of the Lamén ... let there be written the name and character of the Star, or of the Spirit his governor."¹²³

In fact, the name Raphael in the central figure may be a key to dating the construction of the "Holiness to the Lord" parchment. Books of astrology (including Barrett's 1801 handbook) had long specified that Raphael was the angel governing the planet Mercury.¹²⁴ Due to its previously discussed use of Sibly's illustrations for Nal-gah and Pah-li-Pah, the Smith "Holiness to the Lord" lamén dates no earlier than Sibly's 1784 *Occult Sciences* and no later than its possession by Hyrum Smith in 1844. Therefore, Mercury (and its angel Raphael at the center of the Smith lamén) had application to this planet's ruling years of 1788, 1795, 1802, 1809, 1816, 1823, 1830, 1837, and 1844.¹²⁵

Beyond identifying one of those years as the origin of this lamén, the use of Mercury's angel Raphael may also provide more precise dating within each of those years. In sequence with other planets, Mercury ruled 30 January-B February, 20-29 April, 4-13 July, 12-21 September, 21-30 November each year.¹²⁶ This central inscription suggests that one of those time periods was significant for the "Holiness to the Lord" lamén. In other words, this magic lamén may have been constructed during one such period in the above years. Or it was intended for use

during one of those times. Further precision emerges from the two Sibly symbols on this lamén.

Sibly's Pah-li-Pah symbol and another magic symbol on the "Holiness to the Lord" parchment also pertain to purification. Sibly's *Occult Sciences* described Pah-li-Pah as "one of the celestial powers, whose peculiar office it is to guard and forewarn such as are virgins and uncontaminated youth, against all the evils of debauchery and prostitution; and to elevate the mind to a love of virtue, honor, and revealed religion." Sibly added that this symbol of four joined Maltese crosses "is worn about the neck of virgins as a protection from all the assaults of evil demons, and is said to be infallible against the powers of seduction" (emphasis in original).¹²⁷

The Pah-li-Pah symbol of holiness is complemented by the magic symbol in the upper-left quadrant of the same lamén (fig. 50). It is a Maltese cross with the divine references Omega and "Agla" on a tree-like structure (fig. 81). Omega, the last letter of the Greek alphabet, is used as part of a designation for Jesus Christ, "I am ALPHA and OMEGA, the first and the last" (Rev. 1:11). Joseph Smith's generation regarded "Agla" as "the cabalistic name of God."¹²⁸ AGLA was an acronymic name of Deity, derived from Ateh Gibor le-Olam Adonai, "Thou art mighty forever, O Lord."¹²⁹ This tree-like symbol was not in any of the pre-1830 occult handbooks and chapbooks I have examined.

However, variations of the symbol appeared in occult manuscripts. A seventeenth-century English manuscript of magic had a nearly identical symbol with the inscription: "He that beareth this signe about him, shall be holier in every neede and necessity" (fig. 82).¹³⁰ In the mid-1700s Conrad Beissel ("the Magus on the Cocalico") led Pennsylvania's Ephrata commune of Rosicrucians, who inscribed a variant of this symbol. In this Ephrata manuscript of the late-1700s, AGLA appeared within two hearts on a tree-like structure. Just as the Smith's "Holiness to the Lord" parchment had three crosses below one of Reginald Scot's magic signs (figs. 50, 64-67), the Ephrata manuscript had three crosses at the bottom of its AGLA-tree.¹³¹ Beissel, "being both *Rosenkreutzer* and *Philadelphian*[,] took in brethren of both secret orders" (emphasis in original). This included initiated "adepts" in Rosicrucianism from Maryland and Pennsylvania.¹³²

Although Ephrata's celibate membership declined after Beissel's death, the "celibate orders" continued until 1814. In that year the commune legally incorporated, and "the secular congregation of the married householders" grew in size. In 1814 construction also began at a second, more thriving cloister in Franklin County, Pennsylvania. In the early 1830s the *Encyclopaedia Americana* commented on "the few that remain, in the convent" at Ephrata, but noted the "large body" living in Franklin County. "Several [celibate] sisters still survived" at "the parent cloister" of Ephrata in 1835, the same year the second commune was large enough to legally incorporate.¹³³

Beyond Ephrata, one author has noted that by the early 1800s "Rosicrucianism was a way of thinking" for some Americans, not a "society or fraternity with a list of members recorded in a book, who met secretly in lodges ..."¹³⁴ As Christopher McIntosh noted: "Increasingly, whenever we find groups of people

interested in the Hermetic-Qabalistic tradition we can expect Christian Rosenkreuz and his brotherhood to come up in discussion." Likewise, Margaret C. Jacob observed that Rosicrucianism was "an intellectual tradition that bore fruit at various critical times in European history." Harry W. Fogarty noted that Rosicrucianism "was less an identifiable Rosicrucian brotherhood than an adherence to Rosicrucian beliefs." Antoine Faivre commented that Rosicrucianism was one of the occult "streams" that "survived" after the Renaissance "as a Form of Thought," and Hugh Ormsby-Lennon commented on the pervasiveness of Rosicrucianism's "ethos and mythos" in England.¹³⁵ Rosicrucianism was also part of the "ethos and mythos" of sectarian Pennsylvania into the early 1800s. By 1823 those ideas had been present for two decades in the Palmyra area through a periodical published by a Rosicrucian and on sale in Canandaigua, nine miles from Smith's home (see ch. 6).

Even if not actually printed, the tree-like AGLA symbol on the Smith family's magic parchment was in circulation among the Rosicrucian sectarians in Pennsylvania. There are also published examples for AGLA's use as an inscription in nineteenth-century charms and incantations against evil spirits.¹³⁶

The Pah-li-Pah symbol (on the "Holiness to the Lord" and "Saint Peter bind them" lamens) helps to narrow further the time period in which these parchments were constructed or employed by someone in the Smith family. As described by Sibly (the known source for the Pah-li-Pah symbol), it applied to only one kind of person: "virgins and uncontaminated youth."¹³⁷ Thus, these two lamens were designed to be used by an unmarried, pure young man or woman in summoning and communicating with a divine spirit. These lamens had no application within the Smith family after the last son Don Carlos married in 1835 or the last daughter Lucy married in 1840.¹³⁸ But those dates are too late because the central purpose of the "Holiness to the Lord" parchment was to enable such a pure youth to summon and communicate with a divine spirit as part of a treasure-quest.

The treasure-quest was the primary focus of only one of the Smith children—Joseph Jr. in the early 1820s. Neighbors reported seeing Alvin Smith participating in treasure-digging, and Mormon believer Martin Harris made a similar statement about his brother Hyrum. However, Joseph was the only Smith son so actively involved in the treasure-quest (see ch. 2).

Internal dating for the "Holiness to the Lord" parchment provided only one year during this period—1823. When Joseph Smith's history discussed that year, he singled out September when he prayed to be purified of his sins. As a result, an angel appeared and instructed him about buried gold (see ch. 5).¹³⁹ That was one of the times during the year provided by symbols in the same parchment.

To challenge the exact correspondences of the Smith family's magic parchments with various circumstances of early Mormonism, FARMS polemicist William J. Hamblin has argued: "Based on the evidence of these artifacts alone, it is just as plausible to speculate ... that neither Joseph nor anyone associated with him had any idea what they were 'really' made for."¹⁴⁰ Looking at "these artifacts alone"—in isolation from any other evidence—is exactly what is necessary to dismiss their significance. However, when the artifacts are linked with their uses

according to occult handbooks and with the context of Joseph Smith's life and circumstances, Hamblin's polemical dodge is not plausible.

In the footnote to the above statement, Hamblin also demonstrated his desperation to disassociate Joseph Smith and his family from these magic parchments. These artifacts allegedly "were not used by the Smith family but were confiscated by them from other saints who are known to have been condemned for practicing magic," Hamblin suggested. "Such items could have been put in a trunk, forgotten, and rediscovered decades later by another generation [of the Smith family] who had no idea where they had originally come from or what they had been used for."¹⁴¹

First, Hamblin willfully ignored the fact that Joseph Smith destroyed occult artifacts that he regarded as evil. Despite his reverence for seer stones of divine purpose (see ch. 2), Smith instructed that a prominent Mormon's seer stone be "Broke to powder" because Smith regarded the stone as "of the Devil" (see ch. 7).¹⁴² Hamblin's review cited specific pages from my first edition, and the book described this incident.

Second, Hamblin's proposal requires readers to believe that the Mormon prophet and patriarch would expose their families to evil influence by haphazardly storing artifacts of "condemned" magic in their homes. To the contrary, Joseph Smith and Hyrum Smith retained what they valued, not what they abhorred.

Occult Advisers and Mentors

As previously discussed, folk magic and the occult involved training, practice, and inner "gifts" to be an adept. Academic magic required occult texts, hundreds of which were available in English by the 1800s (see ch. 1, and above). Folk magic's universal source of instruction was the occult's oral tradition which summarized centuries-old writings for all classes of people. Many people gained occult knowledge from both directions.¹⁴³ Aside from verbal transmission of occult knowledge, some adepts also furnished practical training to interested persons.

Early America's occult mentors were as geographically diverse as its people's interest in the occult. In the 1780s South Carolina's Joshua Gordon instructed plantation owners about ceremonies of magic healing and charms against witchcraft.¹⁴⁴ Philadelphia's local history described Christopher Witt as a Christian occultist: "a skilful physician, and a learned religious man. He was reputed a magus or diviner, or in grosser terms, a conjurer. He was a student and a believer in all the learned absurdities and marvellous pretensions of the Rosicrucian philosophy." Into the early 1800s Witt's disciple ("Doctor Fraley, a witch doctor") continued this instruction for Germantown's occult students, both Pennsylvanians and visitors from out-of-state. Fraley's specialty was using "a diviner's rod (a hazel switch) with a peculiar angle in it" for the treasure-quest.¹⁴⁵ After sixteen years as divining rodsman who aided treasure-seekers in Maine, another man moved to New York to practice his skill in the town of Palmyra. Palmyra's newspapers made no reference to this rodsman at any time. In its article about this folk diviner of Palmyra, the national magazine did not refer to Mormonism

or Joseph Smith in any way. Based on an interview thirty-six years later, the article noted that in 1813 this "Old Rodsman" left Palmyra.¹⁴⁶ That was just a few years before the Smith family arrived there from Vermont.

In an 1830 parody of the *Book of Mormon*, newspaper editor Abner Cole named a man who allegedly gave occult instruction to the Smiths in the 1820s. Palmyra's newspaper claimed that "the Idle and slothful said one to another, let us send for Walters the Magician, who has strange books, and deals with familiar spirits. ... And the Magician led the rabble into a dark grove, in a place called Manchester [adjacent to Palmyra], where after drawing a Magic circle, with a rusty sword, and collecting his motley crew of latter-demallions, within the centre, he sacrificed a Cock (a bird sacred to Minerva) for the purpose of propitiating the prince of spirits. ... And he took his book, and his rusty sword, and his magic stone, and his stuffed Toad, and all his implements of witchcraft and retired to the mountains near Great Sodus Bay, where he holds communion with the Devil, even unto this day" (emphasis in original).¹⁴⁷ Cole was not reporting rumors. From 1820 through 1823 he had owned the land on which Walter(s) conducted this treasure-digging (apparently in 1822-23).¹⁴⁸

Palmyra neighbor Lorenzo Saunders (b. 1811) said that he watched Joseph Smith, Sr., dig at the direction of "one Walters who pretended to be a conjurer." Saunders said this dig began "after he [Walter(s)] had gone through with a certain movements [sic] & charged them \$7. I seen the old man dig there day in a[nd] day out; he was close by. I used to go there & see them work." Careful not to overstate what he had witnessed, Lorenzo added: "Joseph Smith never did work [there]," and specified: "I never saw Jo Smith digging."¹⁴⁹ But Lorenzo Saunders did see Joseph Sr. digging for treasure with Luman Walter(s) during a several-day period.

Alva(h) Be(a)man's daughter Artemisia, wife of Apostle Erastus Snow, gave a detailed account of Luman Walter(s) and his association with her father in the treasure-quest during the 1820s in Manchester, New York. Wife of Mormon benefactor Thomas L. Kane, Mrs. Elizabeth Kane's diary recorded what Artemisia said: "A man named Walters [—] son of a rich man living on the Hudson [River,] South of Albany, [New York—] received a scientific education, [and] was even sent to Paris. After he came home he lived like a misanthrope, he had come back an infidel, believing neither in man nor God." Be(a)man's daughter added that Walter(s) "was a sort of fortune teller" who told prospective clients: "My fee's a dollar." She said that he "was sent for three times to go to the hill Cumorah to dig for treasure. People knew there was treasure there. [Alva(h)] Beman was one of those who sent for him. He came. Each time he said there was treasure there, but that he couldn't get it; though there was one that could. The last time he came he pointed out Joseph Smith, [Jr.] who was sitting quietly among a group of men in the tavern, and [Walter(s)] said There was the young man that could find it, and cursed and swore about him in a scientific manner: awful!" (emphasis in original).¹⁵⁰

Newspapers referred to this conjuror's "magical book."¹⁵¹ The Palmyra newspaper also showed there was sufficient local interest in magic in 1824 to advertise two occult handbooks (*Book of Fate and Fortune Teller*) at the same time

(see above). Such circulation of occult texts in Palmyra explains why the Smith family's parchments manifest direct indebtedness to Sibly, as well as to Scot, Agrippa, and Barrett. The references to "implements of witchcraft" possessed by a Palmyra "Magician" were consistent with the Smith family's possession of these magic parchments, as well as the ceremonial dagger inscribed according to Barrett's *The Magus* (see ch. 3).

Decades later Lorenzo Saunders reminisced about "the time the big hole was dug in the hill [between 1822 and October 1825]." He said: "I heard Willard Chase say that he was duped" by Walter(s) in this treasure-dig.¹⁵² This was not the Hill Cumorah (connected with the coming forth of the *Book of Mormon*) but was Miner's Hill, named after the family which later owned the property.¹⁵³ Rather than being "duped," other Palmyra residents regarded Walter's activities as beneficial, and for decades western New Yorkers continued to "consult Dr. Walters."¹⁵⁴

The 1830 newspaper described the role of Walter(s) as "the acts of the magician, [and] how his *mantle* fell upon the *prophet* Jo. Smith Jun." Less than a year later, editor Cole gave more details of the Walter(s)-Smith connection: "it is equally well known that a vagabond fortune-teller by the name of Walters, who then resided in the town of Sodus, and was once committed to the jail of this county for *juggling* [conjuring], was the constant companion and bosom friend of these money-digging imposters [Joseph Sr. and Jr.]" (emphasis in original).¹⁵⁵ Later town histories specifically identified "Luman Walters of Pultneyville" as one of those associated with the Smith family's treasure-seeking.¹⁵⁶ Pultneyville was in the Sodus Township, New York, and (as previously noted) there is eye-witness testimony that Walter(s) engaged in the treasure-quest with Joseph Smith, Sr.

Luman's family spelled the surname Walter, which civil records used most often. When the Palmyra newspaper caricatured him as a "magician," the 1830 census listed "Luman Walters" as a resident of Sodus.¹⁵⁷

Walter's exact date of birth was unrecorded, but his obituary and tombstone show that he died at age seventy-two (b. 1788). This was only a year older than the census report of "L Walter" just before his death in June 1860 as an Ontario County "Physician" born in Connecticut. A birthdate in 1788 is also consistent with his age as stated in earlier census reports.¹⁵⁸

Walter(s) was not a traditional physician. The obituary described him as "an eccentric but somewhat successful practitioner in the medical profession," and a local history noted that "Dr. Luman Walter ... was not a member of the Ontario County Medical Society, and he is not mentioned in the list of homeopathic physicians."¹⁵⁹ Most significant, a history of the Walter family reported that "family legend is that Luman Walter was a clairvoyant."¹⁶⁰ This echoed the occult reputation in Palmyra, even in the use of the term "clairvoyant."

The town's Episcopal minister described Smith's activities as a treasure-seer as "the *clairvoyance* of Joe" (emphasis in original).¹⁶¹ An interviewer of Martin Harris also wrote that young Joseph "had a stone, in which, when it was placed in his hat, and his face buried therein, so as to exclude the light, he could see as a clairvoyant."¹⁶²

After the Smiths moved from the area, Walter(s) continued his occult practices. "Fortune tellers are consulted as to the future," wrote a western New Yorker. In order to "pry into hidden mysteries" many people "will consult Dr. Walters."¹⁶¹

Court records cannot verify Cole's 1830 claim about Walter's imprisonment "for juggling" in "this county" of New York. Before 1823 Palmyra was in Ontario County, whose very complete court records make no mention of Luman Walter(s). Wayne County's records of arrests and court actions for this period are incomplete, but there is no reference to Walter in the surviving record of the county's criminal actions for this period.¹⁶⁴ On the other hand, civil records of Sodus for 1829 show that "Luman W Walters" was a defaulted debtor in a civil case. As such he may have been temporarily imprisoned on 3 December.¹⁶⁵

However, charged with that same crime of juggling, in August 1818 Luman Walter(s) escaped from jail in Hopkinton, Hillsborough County, New Hampshire. A hundred-year-old statute outlawed "using any subtle Craft, Jugling ... Physiognomy, Palmestry ... [to] discover where lost or stolen Goods may be found."¹⁶⁶ The deputy sheriff announced: "A TRANSIENT person, calling himself LAMAN WALTER, has for several days past been imposing upon the credulity of people in this vicinity, by a pretended knowledge of magic, palmistry, conjuration, &c. and a corresponding conduct." Sentenced to jail, Walter succeeded in escaping custody and "made his escape."¹⁶⁷ Although "transient" in New Hampshire, Walter hurried back to his home in Vermont. Long before Mormonism existed, New Hampshire newspapers described Walter(s) in the same way as Palmyra's newspaper in 1830.

Walter's residence in Pultneyville/Sodus was not very from Palmyra. Pultneyville was 16.8 miles northeast from the town of Palmyra, which was 19.2 miles from Sodus.¹⁶⁸ According to Palmyra's newspaper, the town was an additional six miles north of Manchester Village.¹⁶⁹ In other words, about twenty-five miles separated Luman Walter's home in Pultneyville/Sodus from the Smith family's home in Manchester. Early Mormon James C. Sly is an example of the easy access between those two places. Sly was born and raised in Sodus but traveled to Manchester for his marriage ceremony in 1829.¹⁷⁰

By contrast, polemicist Hamblin has tried to make this distance into a huge obstacle against any interaction between Smith and Walter(s): "The Walter of history lived in Sodus, New York, almost a two-day journey (25 miles) from Palmyra ..."¹⁷¹ To the contrary, Joseph Smith's diary showed that he and companions later took a trip in which they rode horseback thirty-six miles on one day and thirty-three on another. They were certainly not over-exerting their horses during this journey which lasted two weeks through New York state.¹⁷² Walter(s) "the Magician" was several hours away from Palmyra/Manchester by horseback, and he obviously stayed there overnight while directing Joseph Sr. and others in treasure-quests on Abner Cole's property.

Walter(s) also lived about thirty miles northeast from Brigham Young's home in Mendon, New York. The round-trip distance may have been the basis for Young's later description of "a fortune-teller, a necromancer, an astrologer, a soothsayer." This unnamed man in western New York "to get the plates, rode

over sixty miles three times the same season they were obtained by Joseph Smith." Young added that "this fortune-teller, whose name I do not remember, was a man of profound learning. He had put himself in possession of all the learning in the States,—had been to France, Germany, Italy, and through the world." Brigham Young was a personal acquaintance of this occult practitioner: "I never heard a man who could swear like that astrologer."¹⁷³ Lucy Smith also remembered that this "conjurer" had traveled "sixty or seventy miles."¹⁷⁴ Be(a)man's daughter also said "fortune-teller" Walter's "swore." (see above)

Of his direct acquaintance with this "necromancer," Young stated that "I never heard such oaths fall from the lips of any man as I heard uttered by a man who was called a fortune-teller, and who knew where those plates were hid."¹⁷⁵ His use of "fortune-teller" matched the description of Walter(s) by Cole and by Be(a)man's daughter, while Lucy and Saunders both used "conjurer." It seems clear that both Young and Lucy referred to Luman Walter(s).

Young's narrative of personal acquaintance was very close to non-Mormon Clark Braden's account of neighborhood reports about Luman Walter(s): "While acting in his primitive, super-natural capacity as water-witch and money-digger, [Joseph] Smith made the acquaintance of a drunken vagabond by the name of Walters, who had been a physician in Europe. This person had learned in Europe the secret of Mesmerism or animal magnetism."¹⁷⁶ Mesmerism is usually equated with hypnotism, yet Brigham Young's office journal referred to "Mesmerism, and other systems of necromancy &c."¹⁷⁷ Thus, European travel links Walter's reputation with Young's sermon about this "necromancer."

For ship arrivals in the United States, the passenger lists exist only after September 1819.¹⁷⁸ By that time, Walter(s) was already an experienced practitioner of the occult, as his 1818 arrest demonstrated. Foreign travel sometime in the period 1809 to 1819 was a likely prospect for an independent young man who waited until he was thirty-one to marry. A year after he escaped New Hampshire's accusation against his "pretended knowledge of magic," Walter(s) was in Vermont for his wedding in November 1819.¹⁷⁹ As a newly married husband, European travel was less likely. Even though there is one reference to "L. Walter" as an arriving passenger in New York City (either 1821 or 1827), existing records of arriving vessels and their passenger lists cannot verify the date or that this was the Luman Walter living in Vermont in 1821 and in western New York after that date.¹⁸⁰

The previous sources agree that Luman Walter(s) was an expert in the occult. However, non-Mormons claimed that Walter(s) instructed Joseph Sr. and Jr. before the young man obtained the gold plates in 1827, while Mormons claimed that the unnamed "conjurer" was in league with Smith family's enemies in 1827.

Both claims may be true. Mormon and non-Mormon sources agree that in 1827 Joseph Smith broke with his former treasure-digging associates to be sole custodian of the *Book of Mormon* plates. As a result, his former colleagues turned on him, seeking to obtain the gold treasure by violence or intrigue. *Book of Mormon* witness Martin Harris explained: "The money-diggers claimed they had as much right to the plates as Joseph had, as they were in company together. They

claimed that Joseph had been a traitor, and had appropriated to himself that which belonged to them."¹⁸¹

In addition to statements by the Smith family's New York neighbors about Walter(s), Vermonters said that Joseph Sr. had an occult instructor in that state. Based on interviews "with more than thirty old men and women who were living here in 1800," local historian Barnes Frisbie wrote: "A man by the name of Winchell, as he called himself when he came here [to Middletown, Rutland County] ... commenced using the hazel rod and digging for money, which was in the spring or early in the summer of 1800." Winchell's followers included "several families in the north-east part of Wells," including the father of Oliver Cowdery. The local historian claimed that upon his arrival in Rutland County, Winchell stayed with William Cowdery. "I have been told that Joe Smith's father" was "one of the leading rods-men." These Vermonters also claimed that Winchell "afterwards went to Palmyra, New York ... early enough to get Joe Smith's father to digging for money."¹⁸²

Before that, however, the Wood family's doomsday-prediction for January 1802 put this group into conflict with Middletown's unbelievers. This resulted in the so-called "Wood Scrape," when the local militia fired their weapons to disperse Vermont's "Fraternity of Rodsmen" (see ch. 2).¹⁸³

Nathaniel Winchell moved to Rutland just before 1800, yet his kinsman was apparently the man involved. In 1802 civil authorities "warned out" Justus Winchell from Middletown, as allowed by Vermont laws against transients who were "*not of a quiet and peaceable behaviour*." Nathaniel Winchell had no sons named Justus, and no one in Nathaniel's immediate family could be "warned out" because the law applied only to residents of less than one year.¹⁸⁴

Three obscure sources give crucial support for the Vermonter statements, even though Mormon apologists have dismissed these claims as unreliable.¹⁸⁵ First, in a private letter of 1829 Jesse Smith condemned his brother Joseph Sr. for possessing "a wand or rod."¹⁸⁶ The Vermonters had no access to this letter. Second, that same year Oliver Cowdery visited the Smith family in Palmyra where he first met Joseph Jr., who announced a revelation about Cowdery's experience as a rodsman with a "rod of nature" (see ch. 2). This 1829 revelation was printed in the 1833 *Book of Commandments*, nearly all copies of which were destroyed when a mob burned the printing office before the book was bound. Mormons retained the only surviving sheets and specially bound them.¹⁸⁷ The Vermonters had no access to this revelation because all references to Cowdery's rod were dropped when the document was reprinted in the *Doctrine and Covenants* from 1835 onward.¹⁸⁸ LDS apologists claim that Vermonters invented the rodsman-accusations against the Cowdery family, yet apologists have not explained how the Vermonters accurately linked the divining rod with the Cowderys. Third, postal announcements in Palmyra newspapers also verify that a man named "Justus Winchell" was in town from 1819 to the early 1820s.

In October 1819 the *Palmyra Register* reported that "Justus Winchel [sic]" had an unclaimed letter in the town's post office.¹⁸⁹ Residents said that in 1819-20 the Smiths began digging for treasure.¹⁹⁰ Only a delay in picking up mail provided evidence for Vermonter claims that sometime in the early 1800s Winchell "went

to Palmyra, New York . . . to get Joe Smith's father to digging for money." Tax rolls show that he was not a permanent resident,¹⁹¹ yet Winchell visited often enough to receive mail at Palmyra from 1819 to 1824. In July 1824 another Palmyra newspaper gave notice that "Justus Winchell" had unclaimed mail.¹⁹²

Post office notices verify Vermonter claims that Winchell went to Palmyra "early enough to get Joe Smith's father to digging for money." It is certain that these residents of Vermont in the 1860s did not read through the postal announcements published in Palmyra forty years earlier. This is an evidence of independent corroboration that LDS apologists and polemicists have not acknowledged since the first edition of this study.

Because neighbors from different states provided names for two men who allegedly instructed the Smith family in occult practices, it is necessary to examine these men more closely. This, of course, involves verifying whether their geographical movements allowed the kind of personal association that Winchell and Walters allegedly had with Joseph Sr. and Jr. This examination also includes kinship linkages involving these men, other occult practitioners in Vermont and New York, and other early Mormons.

Kinship, Folk Magic, Occult Mentors, and Early Mormons

In view of the 1830-31 published statements from Palmyra about the link between Smith and "Walters the Magician," it is strange that there was no reference to him in Howe's 1834 *Mormonism Unveiled*. The reason seems to have been the background of Mormon apostate Philastus Hurlbut, who gathered most of the information at Palmyra for Howe's anti-Mormon expose.¹⁹³

First, Hurlbut's parents raised him with beliefs typical of the magic world view. His wife wrote: "My husband Doctor Philastus Hurlbut was born Feb 3d 1809 in Chittenden Co Vt near Lake Champlain. His parents named him Doctor because he was the seventh son."¹⁹⁴ Concerning the long-standing folklore about a seventh son, a mid-nineteenth-century author noted: "Among the occult powers exercised, or thought to be exercised, by certain members of the human race, none have been more widely credited [i.e., believed] than those supposed to reside in seventh sons."¹⁹⁵ Joseph Smith also demonstrated that belief with a notation about his own "7th Son" in the family Bible.¹⁹⁶

Second, Hurlbut's family may have been related to the family of New York "magician" Luman Walter(s). Hurlbuts were living in Winchester, Litchfield County, Connecticut, where Luman Walter was born before his family's "removal to Burke, Vt., after 1798."¹⁹⁷ The father of Philastus is presently unknown,¹⁹⁸ but some members of the Hurlbut family also moved from Winchester to Burke, Vermont, about the same time as the Walter family did.¹⁹⁹

Third, Philastus Hurlbut may have been related to the Winchell who was reputed to be an occult mentor to Joseph Sr. Members of the Hurlbut family married into the Nathaniel Winchell family at Turkey Hills (now East Granby) and Windsor, Hartford County, Connecticut. This was also in the neighborhood of the Walter families. The Winchell family would later be involved in the Wood Scrape. By the time these familial and neighborhood associations were in place

in Connecticut, the Winchells moved "not long after the beginning of 1786, to Vermont."²⁰⁰

A Walter(s)-Winchell-Hurlbut family connection began in Connecticut. It coalesced around Joseph Smith's family in Vermont, where Winchell was involved with the Wood Scrape. Members of Walter(s)-Winchell families followed the Smiths into New York, and were reputed to be linked with both Joseph Sr. and Jr. there. Members of the Walter and Hurlbut families even entered the LDS church. Philastus Hurlbut gathered almost all of the information about the Smiths in New York for Howe's book, yet he may have had too many personal connections with folk magic to mention neighborhood claims of a Walter(s)-and-Winchell association with the Smith family.

As previously noted, residents of Middletown (Rutland County) claimed that a man named Winchell was involved in activities of religious folk magic with William Cowdery, Nathaniel Wood, and Joseph Smith, Sr. After his excommunication from the Congregational church at Middletown in 1789, Wood taught that "himself and his followers [were] modern Israelites or Jews, under the special care of Providence." Middletown residents added that the quiet activity of these dissenters ended in 1799, when a visitor named Winchell introduced the divining rod to the neighborhood: "He was a fugitive from justice from Orange county, Vermont, where he had been engaged in counterfeiting. He first went to a Mr. Cowdry's [sic], in Wells ... the father of Oliver Cowdry, the noted Mormon." According to these neighbors, "Winchell made the acquaintance of the Woods; and they then commenced using the hazel rod and digging for money, which was in the spring or early in the summer of 1800." Based on his interview with more than thirty old-time residents, local historian Frisbie added that the Wood group now gained converts among "several families" in nearby Wells and Poultney (which were 7.4 miles apart): "I have been told that Joe Smith's father resided in Poultney at the time of the Wood movement here, and that he was in it, and one of the leading rods-men" (also see ch. 2).²⁰¹ Winchell allegedly left Orange County at the time Asael Smith and his son Joseph definitely lived there. The county's criminal records do not refer to Winchell, who may have left the county to avoid a formal indictment.²⁰²

Eight months after the Wood incident, the September 1802 warning out of Justus Winchell was consistent with a newspaper report that Middletown put gradual pressure on the Wood Scrape's participants to leave.²⁰³ Likewise, not until 1803 did Nathaniel Jr. (one of the principal rods-men in the Wood movement) resign as justice of the peace in Middletown, and Ezra Wood "with his family" were warned out in May.²⁰⁴ In "the Fall of 1803," Nathaniel Wood's sons began preparations for his extended family to move to a part of New York state's St. Lawrence County, later in Jefferson County. After the first arrivals in March 1804, many of the participants in the Wood family's "Fraternity of Rods-men" moved to Jefferson County in 1805.²⁰⁵

This effort of the Vermont towns to force the Wood families to move away also linked with Samuel Lawrence (later an associate of Joseph Jr. in the treasure-quest). In the 1800 census, Samuel Lawrence (b. between 1775 and 1784) lived in Andover (Windsor County). The Palmyra Lawrence's birthdate is presently

unknown, but the New York census showed he was born between 1780 and 1790. At the time of the Wood movement, Joseph Jr.'s associate Samuel Lawrence was no older than his early twenties, compatible with the age of Andover's Lawrence.²⁰⁶ Although the 1800 census listed young Lawrence as a resident of Andover, its town leaders regarded "Saml Lawrence & family" as "transient Persons." Some members of the Wood family were also transients there after the Wood Scrape, and in 1806 the town warned out the families of James Wood and Warren Wood.²⁰⁷

One early New York convert to Mormonism called Lawrence "a Seear" in the treasure-quest, meaning that he used a seer stone (see ch. 2).²⁰⁸ If Windsor County's young Samuel Lawrence was the same as Smith's associate in Palmyra (which seems likely), then he may have learned divination from Vermont's "Fraternity of Rodsmen." Therefore, his move from Vermont to the Smith's neighborhood in New York was part of a pattern demonstrated by the Wood Scrape's Justus Winchell and another rodsman, Oliver Cowdery.

Justus Winchell (b. 1755), son of Lydia Hurlbut (whose relation to Philastus, if any, is unknown), was Nathaniel's first cousin.²⁰⁹ After moving from Hartford County, Connecticut, Nathaniel Winchell settled in Rutland by the time of the 1800 census. He was 17.1 miles from Oliver Cowdery's father in Wells and 10.9 miles from Middletown. The Wood family of Middletown was 6.4 miles from Wells.²¹⁰

Justus Winchell was born in Dutchess County, New York, and settled in Washington County, New York. That was adjacent to Rutland County, Vermont. Shortly before 1800 the movements of Justus Winchell were elusive enough that he was absent from the 1800 census for New York, Vermont, or any other adjacent state. His virtual disappearance from the censuses of 1800-20 as a head of household is consistent with the shadowy Winchell described in connection with the Wood Scrape. With the extended family of his first cousin Nathaniel Winchell living in Rutland, it is understandable why Justus Winchell visited the Vermont county adjacent to his own residence. Middletown was only twenty-five miles from the birthplace of a child born to Justus in 1795 in New York.²¹¹ Regarding the neighborhood claim that Winchell came to Rutland County from Orange County, Vermont, Justus Winchell's absence in the censuses makes it possible that he traveled from New York to various parts of Vermont before he was warned out of Middletown in 1802.

After the Wood Scrape, Winchell apparently was in St. Lawrence County (Jefferson County as of 1805), New York, a few years after the Wood families settled there in 1804-1805. In December 1813 a minister from there wrote to two merchants in Poultney, Vermont. He referred to the Winchell these men already knew in Rutland County: "Col. Winchell who was married in Augst last to Leita Coates, was in Sept'r or Oct'r married to another woman in Adams; indited and sent to jail, broke out, catched, and now chained to the floor."²¹² Marriage and criminal records are not available in these New York counties for this time and place,²¹³ and family records provide no further information about this case of bigamy on Winchell's part. Adams was only eight miles from the Woodville

settlement founded by Nathaniel Wood and other family participants in Vermont's Wood Scrape.

The first three Smith children were born in Tunbridge (Orange County) in 1798, 1800, and 1803.²¹⁴ Yet Rutland County residents claimed that Joseph Sr. resided in nearby Poultney "at the time of the Wood movement here." His residence in Tunbridge does not eliminate him from prior association with Justus Winchell, since local tradition held that Winchell moved from Orange County to Rutland County. If Joseph Sr. made a similar move about the time of the Wood Scrape, such a joint relocation would be consistent with claims about a Winchell-Smith connection in the Wood movement of 1800-1802. This may explain why Justus Winchell followed Joseph Sr. from Vermont to New York in 1819. A census tells nothing about traveling or about residence in between census years.

BYU's Richard L. Anderson has argued that such a "claim is empty" because family tradition, Vermont birth records, and the U.S. census "place the Prophet's father fifty miles away as a young married farmer in Tunbridge, Vermont."²¹⁵ These sources give data on Joseph Sr.'s residence before and after the Wood movement, yet they do not describe his travels. He may have visited Poultney or Middletown while the Wood movement was developing from the spring of 1800 to January 1802.²¹⁶

Moreover, the census of 1800 creates additional questions about the Smith family's location during the time of the Wood Scrape. A Joseph Smith family is listed in both areas. The sketchy 1800 census (begun in August) should have listed an adult male, an adult female, and two males under the age of ten for Joseph Sr.'s household in Tunbridge.²¹⁷ Instead, it listed the male head of household as under twenty-six years of age (Joseph Sr. was twenty-nine), one female from twenty-six to forty-five (Lucy was twenty-four or twenty-five), only one male under the age of ten, and two females under the age of ten. No historical records support this alleged presence of these added females in Joseph Sr.'s household in 1800. The 1800 Vermont census also listed a Joseph Smith household in Poultney with one male twenty-six to forty-five years old (accurate for Joseph Sr.), one female twenty-six to forty-five years (still inaccurate for Lucy), still only one male under ten, with three females under ten, and two females ten to twenty-six years old.²¹⁸ This was as inaccurate for Joseph Sr.'s family as the added females in the Tunbridge 1800 enumeration.

To challenge evidence supporting Vermonter claims that Joseph Sr. was a rodsman who resided in Poultney during the Wood Scrape, Anderson ignores huge inconsistencies in the census report of the family at Tunbridge. Apologists must assume that the census described the "right" Joseph Smith family at Tunbridge, despite the erroneous ages, deletion of a male child, and erroneous addition of two female children.²¹⁹ However, those same standards increase the likelihood that the "right" Joseph Smith family lived at Poultney in 1800, because of increased age accuracy and despite the erroneous introduction of five female children. Either option requires setting aside standard expectations in genealogical research about someone with the most common name in America. In addition, the 1800 census gave ages only within intervals of 10-25 years.

Despite family tradition and births which locate Joseph Sr.'s family in Vermont, the 1800 census does not identify the same family that Lucy Mack Smith described for that time period. In its reported Smith families for the area, the census showed two or five more females than actually existed in the family of Joseph Smith (b. 1771) at that time and general locality. A logical conclusion is that he was not same Joseph who headed those families. Due to his children's birth information, Joseph Sr. was undoubtedly living in the general vicinity of Tunbridge. That would certainly not exclude temporary residence near Poultney. If this move occurred at the time of the census, the same Smith family could have been enumerated twice. That still does not explain the errors in the description of children. None of the civil data add up exactly, and the most conservative writer on this matter concludes that the 1800 census did not list Joseph Sr.'s family.²²⁰

As for Vermonter claims that the Wood Scrape's Winchell lived for a long time in the Palmyra area, both Justus Winchell and his son Justus Jr. match the description. In 1815 Justus Winchell, Jr., (b. 1787) was living at Canandaigua, thirteen miles from Palmyra. In 1817 he was at Gorham, twenty miles south of Palmyra and 15.5 miles from Manchester. Between 1820 and 1830 the younger Justus Winchell lived at Parma and Chili, about thirty miles from both Manchester and Palmyra and in a different county from either. Winchell Sr. may have resided with his son during these years, but on 27 November 1823 the father was back in Wayne County when he died at Wayne, New York. This was twenty-one miles from Palmyra.²²¹

The July 1824 newspaper's postal notice did not specify "Sr." or "Jr." after the name Justus Winchell. The unclaimed letter arrived at the Palmyra Post Office during the period after the mail notice of 31 March 1824, which did not list Winchell.²²² Therefore, because Justus Winchell had been receiving mail at Palmyra since 1819, one of his correspondents may have intended the letter for Justus Sr., unaware that he had died six months earlier.

Because Luman Walter was still residing in the area in 1830, it is understandable why the neighbors identified only him as an occult mentor for the Smiths, without mentioning the long-dead Justus Winchell. Nevertheless, the residence of Justus Jr. thirty miles from Palmyra would also qualify as a round trip consistent with Lucy Smith's statement that her neighbors "had sent sixty or seventy miles for a certain conjuror, to come and divine the place where the plates were secreted."²²³

There is no evidence that Justus Winchell, Sr. (b. 1755), Justus Winchell, Jr. (b. 1787), or any member of their immediate family joined the Mormons. Instead, the family of another Justus Winchell (b. 1759 in Brunswick, Germany) had both geographic and religious association with Joseph Smith's family. Having immigrated to America at the age of eighteen, this German-American Justus Winchell settled by 1787 in Hebron, Washington County, New York. This was same county where American-born Justus Sr. had been living for a decade.

More stable than his American-born counterpart, this Justus Winchell remained in Hebron for the births of all his children from 1787 to 1805. Due to this German immigrant's continuing residence in New York, it is more likely that it was the American-born Justus Winchell who was "warned out" of Middletown.

Sometime after 1820 the German-American Justus Winchell moved to Rose, Wayne County, 24.8 miles from Palmyra. His daughter Ada Winchell joined the LDS church with her husband Albert Clements, one of the members of the Mormon para-military unit called "Zion's Camp." This Winchell-Clements couple continued their association with Mormonism in Ohio, Illinois, and Utah.²²⁴

The Congregational church was yet another link between the Winchells, Woods, Walters, Cowderys, Smiths, and other participants in the folk magic of Vermont and New York. Nathaniel Wood (b. 1729) was a Congregational minister in Norwich, Connecticut, and was a leader of the Congregational church in Middletown before he broke with its minister and formed his "Fraternity of Rodsmen" there.²²⁵ Oliver Cowdery's grandfather was a deacon in the Congregational church in Vermont.²²⁶ This background was consistent with the claim that Oliver's father, William, was interested in Wood's activities in forming a schismatic Congregationalist group six miles away. Joseph Sr. was a member of the Universalist society in Vermont, but Congregationalism was part of his family heritage. That was also true of his wife Lucy.²²⁷ Prior to his arrival in Rutland County, Nathaniel Winchell participated with the Hurlbuts in the Congregational church in Turkey Hills (near Windsor), Connecticut, and Hurlbut families were also living in Rutland County at the time of the Wood Scrape.²²⁸ It is reasonable to expect that Winchell was acquainted with Nathaniel Wood in Vermont, given their residence in the same county, their common religious affiliation, and their similar migrations from Connecticut to Rutland County.

Similar residence and migration patterns alone do not establish personal associations. However, civil and family records demonstrate that the leaders of Vermont's Wood Scrape originated in Connecticut and that the Wood Scrape's rodsman Winchell and "Walters the magician" of Palmyra originated in adjacent neighborhoods in Connecticut. In those same neighborhoods there were familial connections with three other associates of Joseph Smith in New York's folk magic: the Orrin Porter Rockwell family, Samuel Lawrence, and Alva(h) Be(a)man.

Orrin Porter Rockwell's family of Manchester/Palmyra were among the earliest converts to Mormonism. By both Mormon and non-Mormon accounts, the Rockwells participated with the Smiths and others in treasure-seeking (see ch. 2). Porter's grandfather was "one of the well-known Rockwell family of Windsor, Conn."²²⁹ In Connecticut, the Rockwells shared the same close neighborhood and Congregational association as the Winchell, Walter, and Hurlbut families. In New York, Caroline Rockwell married a son of Grove Lawrence, apparently a first cousin of another Palmyra treasure-seer, Samuel Lawrence.²³⁰

Grove's uncle and aunt, James Lawrence and Lois Fuller, may have been the parents of Samuel F. Lawrence (born ca. 1780-90), another New York associate of Joseph Smith in treasure-seeking and drawing magic circles.²³¹ Even early convert Martin Harris said that Samuel Lawrence joined in "this company" with "Joseph Smith, jr., and his father, and his brother Hiram Smith. They dug for money in Palmyra, Manchester, also in Pennsylvania, and other places."²³²

Treasure-digging in Palmyra was an extension of kinship between the Rockwells and Lawrences extending back to the Connecticut neighborhood of Luman Walter's family. Family connections through migration can explain why

Luman Walter, Samuel Lawrence, and Porter Rockwell's family all joined the Smiths in treasure-digging in the 1820s. Samuel Lawrence of Palmyra had the first name of James Lawrence's father and a middle initial corresponding to the maiden name of the Connecticut Lawrence's wife. Grove (therefore a first cousin of Samuel Lawrence) married in the same church in Norfolk, Litchfield County, Connecticut, where a Congregational minister in 1796 baptized Luman Walter's second cousin George Walter.²³³

George Walter was among the early converts to Mormonism, and in 1835 an LDS bishop visited with "br elder Walters" in Grove, New York, about sixty miles from Palmyra. George Walter later moved to church headquarters in Kirtland, Ohio.²³⁴ While Luman Walter's residence required a round trip to come close to the sixty miles claimed for the "conjurer" by Smith's mother and Brigham Young, his second cousin's home was almost exactly that distance as a one-way trip.

In addition to Luman's cousin George Walter who joined Mormonism in New York, other cousins of Luman Walter from Connecticut apparently followed the Wood family into Jefferson County, New York, after the Wood Scrape. Walter's distant cousins then joined the LDS church and also settled with the Mormons at Kirtland.

Seba Ives was born in 1776 at New Hartford, Litchfield County, Connecticut, and was the third or fourth cousin of Luman Walter through common Tuttle ancestors. Erastus Ives (second cousin once-removed to Seba) was born in Torrington, Litchfield County, and moved to Watertown. This was twenty miles from the settlement which the Wood clan founded after the Wood Scrape in Vermont, Jefferson County, New York. There his daughter Julia Ives was born before her conversion to Mormonism and marriage to John Pack.²³⁵

Hyrum Smith's first wife Jerusha Barden and her father were born in that same Congregationalist community at Norfolk, Connecticut, where Luman Walter's Mormon cousin was christened. Prior to Jerusha's birth, her father also fellowshipped with Luman Walter's cousins and possibly with Samuel Lawrence's family.²³⁶ Aside from a Vermont reference, there is no information about the early residence of Samuel Lawrence or his father, yet records show that Grove Lawrence moved from Litchfield County, Connecticut, to Oneida County, New York, about the same time that several members of the Walter clan moved from Litchfield County to Vermont.²³⁷ In fact, a local history observed: "Some of the first families locating in Palmyra came from Litchfield Co., Connecticut."²³⁸

It may also be significant that the wife of Alva(h) Be(a)man came from Hartford County, Connecticut,²³⁹ near the residences of the Walter(s) and Winchell families. It was her husband who sent for the "conjurer" to make the sixty-mile trip to locate the gold plates in 1827. A New York rodsman and money-digger, Alva(h) Be(a)man may have had an original association with Luman Walter(s) and Justus Winchell through his wife Sally Burttis Be(a)man. This would explain why Alva(h) asked Walter(s) to use magic conjuration (see above and ch. 2).

Two of these Winchell-Walter(s) connections linked with Emma Hale and her husband Joseph Smith, Jr. Through kinship extending back to their common ancestor Thomas Tuttle, Luman Walter apparently was either a third

cousin to Emma's mother Elizabeth Lewis or a fourth cousin of Emma herself.²⁴⁰ A third- or fourth-cousin relationship was significant to Smith who told his sixth cousins Orson and Parley Pratt in the 1830s that their "fathers and his all sprang from the same man a few generations ago."²⁴¹ Elizabeth Lewis was born in 1767 at Litchfield, near the Walter family. She later moved to Wells, Vermont, where she married Isaac Hale in 1789. Her parents and siblings lived in Wells during the activities of the Wood clan's Fraternity of Rodsmen there and in Middletown.²⁴² Nathaniel Winchell lived in Rutland, 17.1 miles from the Cowderys and Hales in Wells.²⁴³

The early Mormon family of Jabez Carter had kinship connection to Luman Walter and geographic proximity to the Vermont Wood Scrape. In 1795 Jabez Carter and Rebecca Dowd (or Doud) named their first child Luman, and this was not by coincidence. Rebecca's second cousin married Susan Walter, a second cousin of Luman. All the families originated in Connecticut, and obviously were in touch with each other even after they moved from Connecticut. The Carters named their first son Luman in Vermont, and the Douds gave their third son the same unusual name. From 1795 to 1807 most of the children of Jabez Carter and his brother Gideon Carter were born at Benson, Rutland County, Vermont, 17.8 miles from the Wood Scrape at Middletown. The two brothers remained in Benson, yet their adult children (including Luman Carter) joined the LDS church in New York and moved with the Mormons to Ohio in the 1830s.²⁴⁴

The above connections of Luman Walter with the Doud and Hale families may also link Walter with Joseph Smith's treasure-digging along the New York-Pennsylvania border of the Susquehanna River. Russell C. Doud was one of the treasure-digging workmen on sites he claimed Joseph Smith designated about 1822 along the river in Broome County, New York and Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania (see ch. 2).²⁴⁵ The published history of the Doud families is incomplete for the branch of the family that moved to that area of the New York-Pennsylvania border. Russell Doud apparently was the third cousin once-removed of Luman Walter's namesake Luman Doud, whose mother Susan was Walter's second cousin. Across the river in Harmony, Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania was also the residence of Walter's kin, Elizabeth Lewis Hale whose husband Isaac signed a treasure-digging agreement with Joseph Sr. and Josiah Stowell in the fall of 1825. The Hales boarded Joseph Jr. as part of that treasurequest (see ch. 2).²⁴⁶

Thus, there were two different family connections that linked Harmony, Pennsylvania with Palmyra in the 1820s. Josiah Stowell had a son living in Palmyra and was a partner in treasure-digging in and around Harmony (see ch. 2).²⁴⁷ Known in Palmyra as a treasure-digger, Luman Walter(s) had cousins in Harmony and nearby.

Early Mormon Joseph Coe, an original member of the Kirtland high council in 1834, had a third cousin Abner Coe who was a neighbor of Luman Walter's parents in Winchester, Connecticut. When the Walter family moved "to Burke, Vt., after 1798," they sold their farm to Abner Coe. Two years later Coe joined the Walter family in Burke. His son Miles Coe settled in Newark, Vermont, where Luman Walter's first child was born in May 1821. Three of Miles Coe's children

married nephews or nieces of Luman Walter. "About 1835 [Miles Coe] removed to Ohio where he lived some years."²⁴⁸

Early New York convert William W. Phelps was linked to both the Winchells and Walters through marriage. His third cousin twice-removed married Nathaniel Winchell's sister (first cousin to Justus Winchell, Sr.) in the common ancestral home of the Winchells and Phelps at Windsor, Connecticut. At Norfolk in 1788 Luman Walter's first cousin once-removed married Joel Phelps, who was either the first cousin or third cousin of William W. Phelps's father. A fourth cousin of W. W. Phelps also married the widow of Luman Walter's second cousin.²⁴⁹

On the basis of geographic movements, Royal Barney, Sr., was one early Mormon who may have had direct acquaintance with the Woods. Due to community pressure in the aftermath of the Wood Scrape of January 1802, Nathaniel Wood and his extended family moved from Vermont to Jefferson County, New York, where they established Woodville in 1803. In the spring of 1804 Royal's uncle Edward Barney moved his family from Vermont to Ellisburg, adjacent to the Wood clan's settlement. Royal apparently accompanied his uncle to Ellisburg, where Royal Sr.'s children were born prior to their conversion to Mormonism in the 1830s.²⁵⁰

Milton Backman's study of the LDS population of Kirtland in the 1830s lists fifteen other early Mormons who originated in the adjacent counties of Litchfield and Hartford, Connecticut, where the Winchell and Walter families flourished. The only prominent Mormon leader in this group was Wilford Woodruff. A Walter(s) association is also possible for LDS general authority Jedediah M. Grant's mother, Athalia Howard. She was born in Litchfield, Connecticut, and her maiden name was the same as that of Luman Walter's first wife Harriet Howard. General authority Lyman R. Sherman's mother, Asenath Hurlbut, had origins with the Connecticut Hurlbuts, who were neighbors of the Walters and Winchells. According to their birth places, a Winchell-Walter association is also possible for Benjamin Winchester (the grandfather of one of Smith's plural wives), for Smith's clerk Joseph C. Kingsbury, and for the wives of early Mormon leaders Salmon Gee, Zera Pulsipher, and Lyman Wight. Other Mormons of the 1830s with these Connecticut origins are lesser-known in Mormon history.²⁵¹

The familial connections of the Winchell-Walter families with early Mormons often involved distant-cousin relationships. However, distant kinship was important to early Mormons and to early Americans generally. In a "family meeting" at LDS church headquarters in 1845, Brigham Young said: "When we come to the connections we discover that we all sprung back to the settlement of New England about 200 years ago. It is but a little more than that time when Father Smith, the Goddards, Richards, Youngs and Kimballs were all in one family—as it were. We are all relations. It is only three generations back that Brother Joseph Smith's family were related to this family." Mormon kinsfolk at that meeting were as distantly related as fifth and sixth cousins.²⁵² By that standard, such kinship as Luman Walter's third or fourth cousin relationship to Smith's wife was close indeed. Even more so for Walter's second and third cousin relationships to early Latter-day Saints George Walter and Julia Ives.

Before Joseph Sr. moved in 1816 from Vermont to New York,²⁵³ he was in close geographic proximity with the Luman Walter(s) family, and possibly in personal contact as well. The 1800 Vermont census listed Luman's father, married brother, and two uncles in Caledonia County. The 1810 census reported that "Mrs. Anne Walter" lived in Royalton, Windsor County. That was where Joseph Sr.'s siblings had married and died since 1800, and where two of Joseph Jr.'s brothers were born in 1810 and 1811. The Anne Walter at Royalton was apparently the widow of Enos Walter, who was listed in Caledonia County in the 1800 census, but not listed anywhere in the 1810 census. Since all the other persons named Walter in Caledonia County in 1800 were Luman's close relations, Enos and Ann Walter were probably also relatives of Luman Walter.²⁵⁴

Because Luman was not a head of household during these censuses, it is not clear where he resided. The first specific record of him in Vermont is his 1819 marriage at Andover, where Samuel Lawrence had been living as a "transient" at the time of the Wood Scrape. Walter may have been living in Andover when the town warned out members of the Wood family in 1806. With a relative in Royalton where Joseph Smith lived in 1810, and with Walter's future wife at Andover in the same county, Luman could have easily met the Smiths in Windsor County before their temporary move to New Hampshire in 1812. They then moved to Norwich, Windsor County, prior to Joseph Sr.'s late-1816 arrival in Palmyra.²⁵⁵ An original association of Luman Walter as a folk magician with the Smiths in Vermont would therefore have been an introduction to his similar moves to New Hampshire (where he was arrested for occult activities) and to New York where he was alleged to be their associate in folk magic.

Sometime between the birth of his child in Vermont in 1821 and the 1822-23 treasure-digging on Abner Cole's property in Manchester, Luman Walter(s) settled in Pulneyville/Sodus, New York. The census and Braden (above) described him as a physician, most of whom had some knowledge of Latin. In 1830 Cole also claimed that Luman Walter(s) had a Latin book.²⁵⁶ Thus, Walter(s) possessed the necessary knowledge to understand the Latin in the Smith family's "Jehovah, Jehovah, Jehovah" magic parchment (fig. 53) and in its sources (Scot and Sibly). However, the handwriting on the Smith family's lamens does not seem to match Walter's handwriting twenty years later.²⁵⁷ In any event, the inscriptions do not match the available handwriting of any member of Joseph Sr.'s family, but there is no handwriting sample for Alvin Smith. The handwriting does not match any of Smith's scribes nor any other known document of early Mormonism.²⁵⁸

Richard L. Anderson dismissed allegations of a possible Winchell-Walter(s) connection with the Smiths and Cowderys in the Middletown Wood Scrape and at Palmyra because "Walters has the wrong name, lives in the wrong town, and does not fit Frisbie's contention that the man went to Ohio with the Mormons."²⁵⁹ To the contrary, his family history specifies that Luman Walter was "a clairvoyant who moved to Ohio."²⁶⁰ At best, Anderson oversimplified the existing evidence, which actually requires major revisions of views expressed by Anderson and other authors.

Using the same term that Abner Cole and Be(a)man's daughter used for Walter(s), Brigham Young verified that a "fortune-teller" actually did convert to

Mormonism "at the commencement of this church." Speaking from personal acquaintance with this occult practitioner, he said that this unnamed necromancer eventually left Mormonism because he had too much experience with "the perverted priesthood."²⁶¹ Thus, an apparently sincere Mormon conversion was the outcome for "a fortune-teller, a necromancer, an astrologer, a soothsayer" who lived in western New York and in 1827 "rode over sixty miles three times the same season they [the gold plates] were obtained by Joseph Smith."²⁶²

In his three sermons about this astrologer and necromancer, Brigham Young did not say whether they met in western New York or in Ohio. Nevertheless, Luman Walter(s) fits Young's description and undoubtedly was the necromancer "at the commencement of this church" who told Brigham Young: "the devil has too fast hold of me, I cannot go with you ..."²⁶³ That last phrase could refer to Young's geographic move in 1833 from western New York to Kirtland, Ohio.²⁶⁴ However, his sermon used this fortune-teller as an example of temporary conversion, and the "cannot go with you" was immediately followed by the words "but the rest slide off,"—a reference to apostasy rather than to travel.

There were no lists of baptized Mormons until the mid-1830s, and such lists were haphazard and incomplete. Therefore, it is impossible to exclude western New York's Luman Walter(s) as a temporary convert in 1830-33. Brigham Young was definite that a highly experienced astrologer and necromancer was among Joseph Smith's early converts, and as an 1832 convert Young knew this occult expert well enough to comment on his profanities.²⁶⁵ Luman Walter's cousin George definitely did convert in New York and followed the Mormons to Ohio. Luman was living in western New York at the time of the federal census in 1830 and 1840, yet family history reported that he "moved to Ohio." Joseph Smith moved with his New York followers to Ohio in 1831, and Luman Walter(s) apparently also did so on a temporary basis. For more than a century Brigham Young's sermon has given LDS historians good reason to accept the accuracy of a Palmyra resident's statement that "Luman Walters, of Pultneyville" was among those who "made a profession of belief either in the money-digging or gold bible-finding pretensions of Joseph Smith, Jr."²⁶⁶

Current evidence requires only minor corrections in statements by nineteenth-century neighbors about the Smith family's occult mentors. Vermonters and New York neighbors named the man with whom they were most acquainted, Winchell and Walter(s) respectively. The two groups of neighbors were unaware of the complex associations that Winchell of the Vermont Wood Scrape and Walter(s) the Palmyra magician sustained to each other, to the Smiths, and to other early Mormons. As Vermonters claimed, Winchell of the 1802 Wood Scrape was visiting Palmyra at the same time the Smiths were involved in treasure-digging there from 1819 to the early 1820s. In addition, the Palmyra magician Walter(s) was apparently a third or fourth cousin of Joseph Smith's wife and had previously spent time near the Smiths in Vermont and New Hampshire.

Contrary to previous historians' assumptions, the available evidence increases the likelihood that Justus Winchell and Luman Walter were occult mentors to the Smiths during the early 1800s, as described by neighbors in

Vermont and New York. By the 1820s Justus Winchell was receiving mail in Palmyra, 17-19 miles from Luman Walter (depending whether his residence was closer to the town of Pultneyville or Sodus).²⁶⁷ Winchell's death excluded him from joining with the Mormons in Ohio. However, a family history said that Luman Walter(s) "moved to Ohio," and Brigham Young affirmed that a necromancer and astrologer from western New York was an early Mormon believer. In addition, early Mormon converts included neighbors of the Winchell and Walter families from Connecticut, plus relatives and in-laws of both men. LDS converts included Luman Walter's second and third cousins, as well as his neighbor James C. Sly. Current readers can evaluate polemicist Louis Midgley's claim that this chapter presented merely "bizarre speculation about Luman Walter (or Walters)."²⁶⁸

Linkage of Mentors, Magic Parchments, and Early Mormonism

The Hebrew inscriptions within the twelve-cornered figure may provide the identity of the person(s) who constructed the "Holiness to the Lord" parchment. The figure was only in Barrett's 1801 *Magus*, and the same Hebrew characters come from his discussion of "the divine names corresponding with the numbers of the planets" (figs. 79-80).²⁶⁹ Buchan's 1823 handbook also advised putting Jupiter's character (similar to the number 4, with an open top) "on a piece of parchment." Then "set down the number of the figurative letters in your name."²⁷⁰

At the upper-center of the "Holiness to the Lord" lamén is a large Jupiter character (fig. 50, compared with upper-center of fig. 30, also fig. 34) that is directly above the twelve-pointed figure. Following Barrett, the Hebrew word Adonay is at the center of this twelve-pointed figure, under the English word Raphael. Barrett gave Adonay a numerical value of 65. Directly above is the Hebrew character Vau with a numerical value of six. Directly above it are Barrett's two Hebrew characters for Hod with a value of nine.²⁷¹ Continuing around the figure clock-wise are Graphiel with a value of 325, another two-character Hod with a value of nine, Kedemel with a value of 175, Doni with a value of 64, and El Ab with a value of 34. The magic numerical equivalents of these Hebrew names in the central figure add up to 687. According to Buchan's 1823 occult handbook (which was based on Agrippa, Scot, and Barrett), this should be "the number of the figurative letters in your name," meaning the creator and/or user of the magic parchment.

Agrippa's *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* assigned a number to each letter of the Roman alphabet. As an extension of the Cabala, this facilitated the numerological significance for the names of persons written in Roman alphabet languages such as Latin, German, and English.²⁷² With Agrippa's system, no connection whatever emerges between the numerical equivalent of the figure on the lamén and the names of any of the angels or spirits that are mentioned within this context of ritual magic or in early Mormonism.

The numerical sum of the Smith lamén's central figure does not correspond to the magic number for the first name or combined names within the Smith family. This includes Joseph, Joseph Sr., Joseph Jr., "Joe," Lucy, Alvin, Hiram, Hyrum, and William (or Bill) Smith. The other children were too young or were

not mentioned in the various accounts of the Smith family's activities in folk magic.

Nor is there an exact numerical equivalence between the Smith lamens' figure and the names of those associated with the Smiths in folk magic. This includes Alva(h) Be(a)man, Jacob Chamberlain, Willard Chase, Oliver Cowdery, William (or Bill) Cowdery, Abra(ha)m Fish, David Fish, Isaac Hale, William (or Bill) Hale, Oliver Harper, Martin Harris, Peter Ingersoll, Joseph (or Joe) Knight, Samuel (or Sam) Lawrence, George Proper, Joshua Stafford, William (or Bill) Stafford, Josiah Stowel(l) or Stoal(l), Luman Walter(s), Justus Winchell, Nathaniel Winchell, and any combination of Or(r)in Porter Rockwell (see ch. 2, and above). The number in the Smith family's magic parchment also fails to match the numerical equivalent for Sidney Rigdon, sometimes accused of associating secretly with Joseph Smith before his 1829 translation of the *Book of Mormon*.²⁷³

Nevertheless, the Smith lamens' equivalent of 6B7 is very close to Agrippa's numbering for Justus Winchell of Vermont's divining-rod Wood Scrape and Luman Walter of Palmyra's folk magic. In Agrippa's system, the name "Justus" has a value of 689, while "Luman Walter" has a magic value of 697. Of Smith's associates in Palmyra's treasure-quest, only "Joshua Stafford" (695) is closer than Walter. Stafford's full name would equal 687 only by misspelling his first name as "Josua." No names of Smith family members come close to the magic value at the center of the "Holiness to the Lord" parchment.

The magic numbers for the names of Justus and Luman Walter each exceed the magic sum of the central figure, yet they do so with a numerological twist. Justus exceeds the magic value by two, and Luman Walter exceeds the magic value by ten. That is a total of twelve, the number of corners in this magic figure. This "Holiness to the Lord" lamens of the Smith family may therefore have used the Hebrew characters and the twelve-pointed figure to acknowledge both Winchell and Walter.

This does not precisely identify the creator of this magic parchment. However, it offers linkage between a magic artifact belonging to the Smith family and the names of the two men identified as occult mentors of the Smiths in Vermont and Palmyra. In September 1823 the Wood Scrape's rodsman and treasure-digger Justus Winchell was still alive and receiving mail in Palmyra. According to one eye-witness, about this same time "conjurer" Luman Walter(s) was also participating in treasure-digging with Joseph Smith, Sr.

In his brief discussion of the Smith family's magic parchments, Richard L. Anderson observed: "In leaving money digging behind [after 1827], Joseph Smith also outdistanced the magical milieu of his teens." Anderson implies that those lamens were significant to Smith only up to 1827.²⁷⁴ Without discussing the lamens, LDS historian Richard L. Bushman has likewise concluded that "the Smiths shed their involvement in magic after Joseph retrieved the plates of the *Book of Mormon*" in 1827.²⁷⁵

The "magic milieu" of the Smith family included seer stones, astrology, a talisman, a dagger for drawing magic circles of treasure-digging and spirit invocation, as well as magic parchments for purification, protection, and conjur-

ing a spirit. It is one thing to demonstrate that such beliefs and artifacts were consistent with early America's environment. It requires a different kind of analysis to determine to what extent such magic beliefs and possessions were consistent with what Joseph Jr. and his family described as their most important experiences.

In other words, were magic beliefs and artifacts incidental to the crucial experiences of those who apparently possessed them? Anderson also claimed that if these beliefs and instruments of magic had even limited importance to Joseph Smith, this significance ended entirely after 1827. I will test Anderson's two hypotheses by analyzing the extent to which that "magical milieu" fit with Joseph Jr.'s early visions and the coming forth of the *Book of Mormon*. Covering the period 1820 to 1830, those were the events of greatest importance to this young man. They became the basis of his prophetic call.

5.

Visions and the Coming Forth of the *Book of Mormon*

Even according to friendly sources, both religion and magic were part of Joseph Smith's early visions and his efforts to obtain gold plates buried by ancient people. As the young man progressed from village seer to prophetic translator of long-lost scriptures, he continued to use the visionary stone from his previous treasure-diggings.

Thus far, non-Mormon reminiscences decades later have provided the only evidence of a religious revival during 1819-20 at Palmyra, New York. Still, two of the town's newspapermen remembered the same location for this revival in Palmyra.¹ However, there is contemporary evidence that in 1819 and 1820 communities surrounding Palmyra and adjacent Manchester did witness the sometimes convulsive revivals associated with the Second Great Awakening.² In addition, the editor of a newspaper at Lyons, New York, (13.8 miles east from Palmyra) later said that prior to 1823 "there had been various religious awakenings in the [Palmyra] neighborhood ..."³

Some neighbors also said that in "1819 or '20, they [the Smith family] commenced digging for money for a subsistence." Other neighbors specified that during "the spring of 1820" Joseph Jr. was extremely active in the treasure-quest.⁴ He repeatedly described his religious fervor at this time. The neighborhood reports indicate there was an overlay of folk magic on Smith's religious revivalism in spring of 1820. They made these affidavits years before the Mormon prophet specified this time-period in any publication about his first vision.

The Smith family's Palmyra neighbors did not add that they themselves were money-diggers (see ch. 2). William Stafford, Willard Chase, Henry Harris, Barton Stafford, and Joshua Stafford each specified that they first associated with the Smith family in 1820 when the Smiths were preoccupied with treasure-digging.⁵

By early 1820, when nearby revivals were stressing the sinful nature of humanity,⁶ fourteen-year-old Joseph Smith was probably experiencing sexual maturity.⁷ At the same time, as a treasure-scrayer he was expected to remain "a pure virgin, a youth who had not known woman, or at least a person of irreproachable life and purity of manners."⁸

Clearly, this was a great burden on the young adolescent who later wrote that he prayed vocally for the first time that spring to obtain a forgiveness of sins. After

uttering that prayer in "the wilderness" near his home, Smith claimed that "a pillar of fire ~~light~~ above the brightness of the sun at noon day come down from above and rested upon me. I was filled with the spirit of god and the Lord opened the heavens upon me and I saw the Lord. He spake unto me saying, 'Joseph my son thy sins are forgiven thee.'"⁹ This divine conferral of forgiveness was an intensely personal experience for young Smith, as were similar theophanies of other young seekers during the revivals in early America. LDS historians Richard L. Bushman, James B. Allen, and Glen M. Leonard have acknowledged that Smith's vision of Deity was commonplace at the time.¹⁰ Bushman further commented that Smith understood his vision "in terms of his own needs and his own background." He explained: "Standing on the margins of instituted churches, they [the Smiths] were as susceptible to the neighbors' belief in magic as they were to the teachings of orthodox ministers."¹¹

Joseph Jr.'s conversion experience distanced him even farther from organized clergy, yet his vision of Deity did not propel him into a religious ministry of any kind. This theophany contained no command to preach repentance or tell anyone of the experience. As a young man, he confided the experience to a few, but Smith's first vision implied no divine calling, no church, no community of believers, and certainly no ecclesiastical hierarchy. He asked forgiveness of his youthful sins in 1820, which God granted in vision. Inwardly satisfied, the teenager's life remained much the same.¹² Smith quite naturally continued to pursue his customary activities of farm work and treasure-seeking (see ch. 2).

For example, a generation ago Brigham Young University's religion professor Ivan J. Barrett discussed young Smith's next "three years of waiting" in terms of "searching for buried treasure." Quoting a description of the treasure-quest from Palmyra's newspaper, Barrett noted: "People of all classes were affected by the urge to find treasure." He added: "Excitement over the possibilities of Indian treasure or Spanish gold was at a feverish pitch during the adolescence of Joseph Smith."¹³

Smith's narratives are vague about the events between his first vision and 1823, when he made a second appeal for divine forgiveness. His earliest narrative cryptically records: "There were many things which transpired that cannot be written." However, this account adds: "I fell into transgression and sinned in many things which brought a wound upon my soul."¹⁴

Of those sins, Joseph Smith once made an extraordinarily candid reference to his sexual struggle from 1820 to 1823. He wrote about "the weakness of youth and the corruption of human nature, which I am sorry to say, led me into divers temptations, to the gratification of many appetites offensive in the sight of God."¹⁵ Joseph apparently made a similar acknowledgement in New York about the sexual struggle which caused him to seek purification again in 1823. Referring to "the spirit, who, from the beginning, has had in keeping all the treasures, hidden in the bowels of the earth" (emphasis in original), a Palmyra newspaper claimed: "And he said unto me, Joseph, thou son of Joseph, hold up thine head; do the crimes done in thy body fill thee with shame?"¹⁶ Despite its sarcasm, his neighborhood newspaper accurately reflected Smith's official account of his mid-teens: "I betook myself to prayer and supplication to Almighty God for

forgiveness of all my sins and follies ..."¹⁷ For the first time since 1820 Smith was again seeking purification.

The earliest Mormon accounts stated that Smith's 1823 epiphany was the nocturnal visit of a spirit. "In the early part of the winter of 1828, I made a visit to Martin Harris and was joined in company by Jos. Smith, sen. and his wife," began the statement five years later of Abigail Harris, sister-in-law of Martin's wife. "They told me that the report that Joseph, jun. had found golden plates, was true," then she added that the gold plates were "revealed to him by the spirit of one of the Saints that was on this continent, previous to its being discovered by Columbus."¹⁸

Beginning in 1829, newspapers reported similar statements of young Smith's encounter with a spirit, adding that this occurred in a dream. Rochester newspapers reprinted a report from the *Palmyra Freeman* in August 1829: "In the autumn of 1827, a person by the name of Joseph Smith, of Manchester, Ontario Co., reported that he had been visited *in a dream by the spirit* of the Almighty and ... After having been thrice thus visited, as he states, he proceeded to the spot" (emphasis added). A week later the Rochester *Gem* reported that this statement's source was the *Book of Mormon's* special witness Martin Harris, and added this significant phrase: "He states that after a *third visit from the same spirit in a dream* he [Smith] proceeded to the spot."¹⁹

Cousins of Smith's wife also reported "the statement that the prophet Joseph Smith, jr. made in our hearing, at the commencement of his translating his book, in Harmony [in 1828-29], as to the manner of his finding the plates, was as follows ... He said that by a dream he was informed" by a "ghost."²⁰ During his 1830 interview in Manchester with Fayette Lapham, Joseph Sr. also referred to the Moroni visit as "a very singular dream" about "a valuable treasure, buried many years since."²¹

In Ohio during November 1830, Mormon missionaries Parley P. Pratt and Ziba Peterson preached with special witnesses Oliver Cowdery and Peter Whitmer, Jr.: "This new gospel they say was found in Ontario Co., N.Y. and was discovered by an Angel of light, appearing *in a dream* to a man by the name of Smith." This was in a letter written at the time of their preaching.²² Referring to this same visit of the prominent Mormons, the *Ohio Star* reported: "In the fall of 1827, a man named *Joseph Smith* of Manchester, Ontario county, N. Y. reported that he had three times been visited in a dream, by the spirit of the Almighty ..." (emphasis in original). Like the previous letter, this described what "they preached."²³

Why did the earliest Mormon accounts call the 1823 experience "a dream," while official narratives later used the word "vision"? First, the Bible itself equated vision and dream (Job 7:14), and American publications often made the same equation. Josiah Priest's *The Wonders of Nature and Providence, Displayed* (editions of 1825 and 1826 at Albany) was in Smith's neighborhood library. It stated: "but apparition in dream may be as really an apparition as if the person who saw it was awake ... Certainly dreams in those days were another kind of thing than they are now. ... They knew it was God that spoke, and [they] gave heed to the vision or apparition of God to them."²⁴ From 1802 to 1817, six American editions of a 1793

book by Malcolm Macleod described the conversion experience "received in a dream" by a minister as "he saw in a vision."²⁵

The Smith family's three magic parchments (lamens) also used the names and symbols of spirits/angels from Reginald Scot and Ebenezer Sibly (see ch. 4). Their books described these angels as appearing to men "sometimes by dreams in the night, and sometimes by appearing outwardly."²⁶

In 1832 Joseph Jr.'s earliest autobiography shows that at one point he vacillated between regarding the 1823 experience as a dream or as a vision of literal appearance. "I supposed it had been a dream [sic] of Vision," he wrote. "But when I consid[er]ed I knew that it was not."²⁷ Since Martin Harris and other early believers were describing this experience as a dream in 1829-30, it may have been after 1830 that Smith reconsidered how to describe his 1823 epiphany.

Equally significant, the thrice-repeated night vision of 1823 was consistent with the American treasure-quest. In 1792 a Vermont resident "dreamed three times in one night that he saw a pot of money deposited under a log," and two years later people of the same town "and neighboring towns were excited by ... an omen of some hidden treasure, revealed by a mysterious supernatural agency [when another resident] ... dreamed one night that a man came to him."²⁸ An 1822 newspaper article in New Hampshire described a treasure-digging incident with the comment: "The leader of the 'visionary gang,' is said to be a substantial farmer in the neighborhood, who *dreamed* for three successive nights that much treasure was deposited there" (emphasis in original).²⁹ In its section on "The Money Diggers," the popular *Tales of a Traveller* (nine U.S. imprints, 1824-37) commented on "a golden dream" repeated three times: "A dream three times repeated was never known to lie." This book by Washington Irving was on sale in Palmyra. A book in 1835 even identified thrice-repeated treasure-dreams as one of the *Traits of American Life*.³⁰

More important, Smith's early Mormon followers linked treasure-seeking with his religiously defined visions of September 1823. Aside from telling newspapers that the experience was a thrice-repeated dream, in the "autumn of 1827" Martin Harris also explained to Palmyra's Episcopal minister that Joseph Smith acted as treasure-seer earlier in that evening of September 1823. In support of this non-Mormon report, decades later Harris continued telling Mormons faith-promoting testimonies about Palmyra treasure-digging.³¹

Brigham Young also spoke "of the circumstances which I personally knew concerning the coming forth of the plates, from a part of which the *Book of Mormon* was translated." Then he reverted to folk vernacular, referring to the plates five times in the next ten sentences as "that treasure" or as "the treasure." His sermon did not repeat this single reference to the gold "plates."³² In its 1986 edition of the first official nineteenth-century Mormon biography of Joseph Smith, the LDS church's publishing company also titled the chapter about the discovery of the gold plates as "Cumorah's Treasure."³³

By 1830 Smith and his followers were emphasizing that the otherworldly messenger was an angel named Moroni. According to Mormon belief, he had lived on the American continent anciently as a soldier, prophet, historian, and final custodian of the ancient records written on gold plates. This claim caused one

critic to write in June 1830 that "Jo. made a league with the *spirit*, who afterwards turned out to be an angel" (emphasis in original).³⁴ Some Mormons like Martin Harris continued to use both spirit and angel designations in 1831: "He told all about the gold plates, Angels, Spirits, and Jo Smith."³⁵ The change from "spirit" to "angel" is significant for two reasons.

First, there was a crucial difference in how the words "angel" and "spirit" applied to heavenly beings. It was not customary to use "angel" to describe a personage who had been mortal, died, and was returning to earth to deliver a message to someone. Nine editions of Daniel Defoe's pseudonymous book on apparitions stated from 1727 to 1840: "The apparitions I am to speak of are these. 1. The appearance of angels. 2. Of devils. 3. Of the departed souls of men."³⁶ Six American editions of Macleod's work from 1802 to 1817 reaffirmed this distinction between "angels" and "disembodied spirits."³⁷ In later years, Mormon theology included the existence of resurrected mortals sent by God as angels to humankind.³⁸ This was foreign to Smith's Judeo-Christian heritage and not part of his 1823 world view.

Second, the visit of a spirit messenger to a human was common in magic and familiar to folk perceptions. For more than a century, there were published reports of departed souls returning to communicate messages to living persons. Joseph Glanvil's *Sadducismus Triumphatus: Or, A Full and Plain Evidence, Concerning Witches and Apparitions* devoted about 150 pages to modern narratives of spirit visitations. His book had six printings from 1681 to 1726. Richard Baxter published *The Certainty of the World of Spirits* in 1691, with reprints in 1834 and 1840. Daniel Defoe's catalog of ancient and modern apparitions went through nine editions from 1727 to 1840. *Visits from the World of Spirits* was published in 1791, and from 1802 to 1817 there were six American printings of Malcolm Macleod's 1793 English publication about modern apparitions.³⁹

Smith's official history described the 1823 visitor: "He had on a loose robe of most exquisite whiteness. ... I could discover that he had no other clothing on but this robe, as it was open, so that I could see into his bosom." This messenger instructed him to translate "a book deposited, written upon gold plates, giving an account of the former inhabitants of this continent, and the sources from whence they sprang." This experience ended when "he ascended until he entirely disappeared."⁴⁰

Smith's description echoed the widely published vision of Henry Bell. "My self yet awake, there appear'd unto me an Ancient Man, standing at my Bed-side array'd all in White, having a long and broad white Beard, hanging down to his Girdle [belt]." Bell continued that before "he Vanish'd away out of my sight," this personage said: "Will not you take time to Translate that Book which is sent to you out of Germany?" For decades Bell's vision was in the preface to all printings of his English translation of Martin Luther's *Table Talk*. John Aubrey included this vision with the "Collection of Hermetic Philosophy" in his *Miscellanies* (three editions from 1696 to 1784 and available in New York by 1813). Bell's experience also appeared in various collections about spirit visits.⁴¹

Even after Smith and his followers consistently described the 1823 visits as appearances of an angel, both believers and non-believers referred to the context

of magic beliefs about thrice-repeated dreams in the treasure-quest. In 1835 Oliver Cowdery's official history denied the Moroni experience was a dream, but referred to the common belief in thrice-repeated dreams as support for the actuality of Joseph Jr.'s experience: "Was he deceived? Far from this; for the vision was renewed twice before morning."⁴² In January 1831 a Palmyra newspaper interpreted the Moroni visit as consistent with "the pretended science of alchymy [sic] ... and other ancient impostures—legends, or traditions of hidden treasures, with the spirit, to whom ignorance had formerly given them in charge—tales of modern 'money diggers'" (emphasis in original).⁴³ An Englishman's travel book (one British and two U.S. editions in 1833) noted that Moroni's night visit, "as is usual in such cases, was thrice repeated, with denunciations of heavy punishment in case of disobedience."⁴⁴

When comparing accounts of the 1820 vision with the 1823 visions, both Mormons and non-Mormons have commented on the contrast in details. None of Smith's known narratives of his first vision were precise about dates: "the 16th year of my age," "I was about 14 years old," and "my fifteenth year." Smith even required Cowdery to change his age at the first vision from "15th year" to "17th" in the first published history. The most detailed dating in the final version of official history is still less than wholly satisfying: "in the spring of Eighteen hundred and twenty."⁴⁵ Like many people today, Joseph Jr. was confused by the distinction between stating his age ("fourteen years old") and its equivalent year-of-life ("fifteenth year," which begins on one's fourteenth birthday).⁴⁶

Joseph Smith did not specify 1820 for his first vision until he dictated his history in 1838.⁴⁷ He may have depended on the affidavits in the 1834 *Mormonism Unveiled* to specify the date. The affidavits of his Palmyra neighbors (see above) claimed that in 1820 the Smith family was engaged in treasure-digging. Ironically, this anti-Mormon book may have augmented Smith's own memory of the circumstances which led to his first vision.

By contrast, Smith was very specific about the date and time of his 1823 visions. His earliest autobiography gave the day, month, and year for these experiences. The first published history even gave the hours: "On the evening of the 21st of September, 1823 ... [Joseph Jr.] supposes it must have been eleven or twelve, and perhaps later," he began praying "to commune with some kind of messenger." A few years after this published account, Smith precisely described the final moments of what happened on 22 September: "when almost immediately after the heavenly messenger had ascended from me the third time, the cock crew, and I found that day was approaching so that our interviews must have occupied the whole of that night."⁴⁸ On 22 September 1823 sunrise occurred at 5:59 a.m. in this part of New York.⁴⁹ Smith's prayer-visitation therefore occurred between Sunday night at 11:00 and Monday morning's sunrise at 5:59 a.m.

Palmyra's Joseph Smith was not the only one who valued the date of 22 September "to commune with some kind of messenger." In his *Complete System of Occult Philosophy*, Robert C. Smith quoted from the recent experience of three of his occult proteges in London. "On the night of September 22, 1822, we resolved upon invoking the spirits of the moon, and accordingly, having prepared the circle, and used the necessary ceremonies and incantations ... to urge

the spirits more powerfully to visible appearance ... (our ceremonies began at midnight) ..."⁵⁰ Within traditional magic lore, details of Smith's 1823 visitation were consistent with ritual magic's requirements for successful encounters with otherworldly beings.

In Joseph Smith's generation, those who subordinated magic to religion also regarded such invocation as a spiritual quest. In 1823 Peter Buchan's occult handbook stated: "Now, Magic, subordinately to Religion, teaches the social cultivation of those principles or beings, which are the medium of communication between God and man ..." Buchan regarded this as "spiritual magic."⁵¹

Non-Mormons sometimes described Moroni's visitation as necromancy (communication with the dead). In occult terms, this was sciomancy or psychomancy (communication with the visible spirit of a deceased person, usually called a "ghost").⁵²

By all Mormon accounts, Smith met with this personage who was once a human in possession of gold plates. Moroni buried his treasure long ago to conceal it from those who were about to kill him.⁵³ This was consistent with Scot's *Discourse* on which one of the Smith family lamens was based (see ch. 4): "Astral Spirits of men departed, which (if the party deceased was disturbed and troubled at his decease), do for many years, continue in the source of this world ... When Treasure hath been hid, or any secret thing hath been committed by the party; there is a magical cause of something attracting the starry spirit back again, to the manifestation of that thing."⁵⁴

If a treasure-guardian of concealed gold was once mortal, American folklore usually described this being as a previously murdered man. In mortal life, this spirit (ghost) had direct connection with the treasure.⁵⁵ This was certainly consistent with the way Mormon sources described the visitor Moroni. Therefore, an evangelical Protestant magazine editorialized about "the angel (ghost!) that discovered the plates to him."⁵⁶

Furthermore, Smith's experience with this spirit on 21-22 September 1823 fits the internal dating of his family's magic parchment. Designed to enable a pure youth to contact a good spirit, the "Holiness to the Lord" parchment's inscriptions indicate that 12-21 September was one of the periods it was constructed. Also the inscriptions show that 1823 was one of only nine years the lamen could have been inscribed (see ch. 4). Finally, for those who shared a magic world view, the times and seasons of Smith's September 1823 visitation fulfilled instructions for spirit incantation by Scot, Agrippa, pseudo-Agrippa, Sibly, Erra Pater, Barrett and other occult works in frequent circulation in early America (see chs. 1, 4).

One letter's phrasing indicates that Joseph Smith knew the textual format of prayers for magic incantation. In July 1832 Smith wrote: "and now I conjure and exhort mine accusers and the hypocrite in Zion in the love of Christ yea in the name of Jesus of Nazareth."⁵⁷ The LDS president's conjuration of his enemies echoed Reginald Scot's conjurations of evil spirits: "I conjure and exorcize thee thou distressed Spirit," "Also I conjure thee spirit N. by these holie names of God ... *Jesus + of Nazareth*," and "in the name of Jesus of Nazareth ... I conjure thee spirit."⁵⁸ In arguing that there was "no justification for [Quinn's] inferring magic from Joseph Smith's use of the verb 'to conjure,'"⁵⁹ Stephen D. Ricks and Daniel

C. Peterson did not inform their readers that Smith's commanding rhetoric used two phrases from a conjuration by Scot, who was the verified source for one of the Smith family's magic parchments (see ch. 4).

Smith began praying late Sunday night on 21 September 1823 "to commune with some kind of messenger." Astrological guides specified that Sunday night was the only night of the week ruled by Jupiter.⁶⁰ Jupiter, Smith's ruling planet, was the most prominent astrological symbol on his family's golden lamen ("Holiness to the Lord") for summoning a good spirit (upper-center of fig. 50, compared with upper-center of fig. 30, also fig. 34).

Pseudo-Agrippa's *Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy* also specified that "the Lord's day" was the occasion for a person "to receive an Oracle from the good spirits." This text continued that the humble supplicant should place "upon his forehead a golden lamen, upon which there must be written the name *tetragrammaton*."⁶¹ As instructed by occult handbooks, the syllables of Tetragrammaton were inscribed within compartments of a symbol on the Smith family's golden lamen (figs. 50, 55). In terms of digging for treasure, 21 September was also the last night of mild weather in 1823 that conformed to the date references in the central figure of this parchment for magic incantation. The next applicable period was the last week of November (see ch. 4).

Cowdery wrote that Smith began praying earnestly "to commune with some kind of messenger" that Sunday night about "eleven or twelve."⁶² Reginald Scot's instructions specified that spirit conjurations should begin "about eleven a clock at night." His writings were the basis for the Smith family's "Jehovah, Jehovah, Jehovah" parchment (see ch. 4). He also described a particular conjuration "at 11 a clock at night; not joyning to himself any companion, because this particular action will admit of none ... providing beforehand the two Seals of the Earth, drawn exactly upon parchment." Smith's "Holiness to the Lord" parchment has those two seals (figs. 50, 60-67). Scot explained why it was necessary for the earnest petitioner to inscribe those two symbols: "but if he desires it, they will engage to bring him the most pretious [sic] of their Jewels and Riches in twenty four hours; discovering unto him the way of finding hidden treasures and the richest mines."⁶³

In fact a treasure-quest was the context Martin Harris described for Smith's prayer that September night. Joseph Jr. had served as treasure-seer earlier that evening, according to a non-Mormon's report of an interview with Harris in the "autumn of 1827."⁶⁴ In fact, Smith's prayer "to commune with some kind of messenger" may have been in response to that evening's unsuccessful effort to locate treasure.

Smith's prayer on 21 September 1823 occurred once the moon reached its maximum fullness the previous day and just before the autumnal equinox. This information was in the almanac published at Canandaigua, nine miles south of his home.⁶⁵

The full moon was the preferred time for treasure-digging.⁶⁶ Scot also specified: "And in the composition of any Circle for Magical feats, the fittest time is the brightest Moon-light."⁶⁷ An occult book printed in New York in 1800 also stated: "Dreams are most to be depended on by men at the full of the moon."⁶⁸

It was also significant that Smith's experience occurred at the autumnal equinox. Sibly's *New and Complete Illustration of the Occult Sciences* specified that the equinox was the time when the planetary hours of invocation corresponded most closely with the common hours of the clock.⁶⁹ This was because the planetary hours of invocation began at sunrise which occurred at different times. In the magic world view, the equinox was a time when the earth could be expected to experience the introduction of "broad cultural movements and religious ideas."⁷⁰

Aside from the almanac printed nine miles from Smith's home, in the early 1800s books for young children also informed them about the equinox. For example, a child's book known to be popular among early Mormons stated: "On the 22d of September, the sun again crosses the celestial equator. This is called the autumnal equinox."⁷¹

In the occult sciences, an individual planet and its angel governed different hours of each day during the week. In a chart of "Angels and Planets ruling SUNDAY," Francis Barrett's 1801 *The Magus* specified that Mercury and Raphael ruled over the twelfth hour of Sunday night (eleven to midnight). This also appeared in many other occult guides, including Buchan's 1823 handbook and Erra Pater's *Book of Knowledge* published in 1794 at Canaan, New York and in 1809 at Albany.⁷² Barrett's hook was the source for Joseph Smith's Jupiter talisman (see ch. 3). Erra Pater's book was sold in the New Hampshire town where Hyrum Smith later attended school near Joseph Sr.'s residence, and had multiple printings into the early 1800s.⁷³

Therefore, published guides specified that the hour and day of Joseph Smith's 1823 prayer "to commune with some kind of messenger" was ideal for the invocation of spirits. The magic angel of that hour was Raphael, whose name was inscribed at the center of the Smith family's lamens to commune with a good spirit (center of fig. 50, also figs. 79-80). Robert Smith's occult handbook also specified that Raphael meant "the vision of God" (emphasis in original).⁷⁴ The appearance of treasure-spirits at 11 p.m., the hour before midnight, also continued in popular folklore through the mid-nineteenth century. For example, a man found a treasure of gold pieces from instructions "given him by a spectre, which appeared to him at eleven o'clock at night."⁷⁵

According to Joseph Jr., the messenger Moroni departed early the next morning near sunrise (5:59 a.m., according to the almanac). The messenger had communicated to him in three separate appearances since 11 p.m. In magic, the Moon ruled Monday morning from midnight to 1 a.m., Saturn from 1 a.m. to 2 a.m., Jupiter from 2 a.m. to 3 a.m., Mars from 3 a.m. to 4 a.m., the Sun from 4 a.m. to 5 a.m., and Venus from 5 a.m. to 6 a.m.⁷⁶ In ceremonial magic, the hour of the Moon was "especially suited to the conjuration of spirits, works of necromancy," the hour of Saturn was "good for communion with spirits," the hour of Jupiter was especially "favourable both to ordinary and extraordinary experiments," the hour of Mars was "good for communion with spirits," the hour of the Sun was "favorable both to ordinary and extraordinary experiments not included in those already mentioned." The hour of Venus—the hour of the messenger's final visit to Smith before sunrise—was "good for communion with

spirits."⁷⁷ There is exact correspondence between instructions for the successful magic invocation of spirits as compared with the hours during which Cowdery and Smith said he communicated with the messenger on Sunday night and early Monday morning.

Requirements of magic invocation even correspond to the time Smith's visitation ended. He said the messenger ascended just before sunrise.⁷⁸ Pseudo-Agrippa's *Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy* specified that spirit conjuration must end "before the rising of the sun."⁷⁹

Nonetheless, Mormon apologists insist that all of the above correlations are irrelevant. Writing for the Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies (FARMS), BYU's professors dismiss as mere coincidence the avalanche of linkages involving Joseph Smith's 1823 experiences, the magic implements of his family, the published works upon which those artifacts were based, and the details of books available in the Smith family's neighborhood. Instead of acknowledging that out-of-print occult works were in wide circulation throughout the early United States (see ch. 1), LDS polemicists instead retreat to a rhetorical dodge: "Could Joseph, or anyone else for that matter in the 1820s, have had access to all the rare books from which Quinn draws?"⁸⁰ In fact, newspaper advertisements and library holdings prove access, even if they don't prove possession or page-turning. Readers must decide whether it is academically legitimate (or consistent with faith) to inflate standards of evidence to "prove" something "faith-promoting," while throwing out those standards in order to dismiss unwelcome evidence.

All Mormon accounts agreed that sometime during the daylight hours of Monday morning, Joseph Smith went to the nearby hill (fig. 2) in Manchester, where he discovered gold plates buried by ancient Americans. A resident of Manchester (apparently Orsamus Turner) later wrote: "'Mormon Hill' had been long designated 'as the place in which countless treasures were buried;' Joseph the elder, had 'spaded' up many a foot of the hill side to find them, and Joseph Jr. had on more than one occasion accompanied him."⁸¹ Young Joseph walked alone to that hill on 22 September 1823, when the moon was in its second day in Aries, according to Canandaigua's almanac.⁸² Astrological guides specified that this was a day "good to find out treasures hid," and "conduceth to the finding of treasures."⁸³ Both Mormon and non-Mormon sources agreed that Joseph Jr. used his brown treasure-seeking stone to discover the gold plates on this occasion.

In 1833 one Palmyra resident testified that Smith told him "he looked in his stone and saw them in the place of deposit."⁸⁴ Willard Chase stated that Smith told him in the fall of 1827 that without the stone he found in the Chase well "he would not have obtained the book."⁸⁵ In 1851 Orsamus Turner remembered the Smith family saying "it was by looking at this stone in a hat, the light excluded, that Joseph discovered the plates ... It was the same stone the Smiths had used in money digging, and in some pretended discoveries of stolen property."⁸⁶ In 1877 the man who typeset the *Book of Mormon* claimed that Smith told him that "by the aid of his wonderful stone he found gold plates on which were inscribed the writings in hieroglyphics."⁸⁷

Mormons also substantiated the claim that Smith found the plates by

means of the stone he used for treasure-seeking. During an 1859 newspaper interview, Martin Harris stated: "Joseph had a stone which was dug from the well of Mason Chase, twenty-four feet from the surface. In this stone he could see many things to my knowledge. It was by means of this stone he first discovered these plates. ... When Joseph found this stone, there was a company digging in Harmony, Pa., and they took Joseph to look in the stone for them, and he did so for a while." Harris repeated his assertion later in the same interview.⁸⁸ In confirmation, Hosea Stout recorded in February 1856: "President [Brigham] Young exhibited the Seer's stone with which The Prophet Joseph discovered the plates of the *Book of Mormon*, to the Regents [of the University of Deseret (Utah)] this evening. It is said to be a silicious granite dark color almost black with light colored stripes."⁸⁹

Smith's earliest autobiography described his experiences during the day of 22 September 1823. After a daylight visit of the messenger as Smith began farm work, "Then I immediately went to the place and found where the plates was deposited as the angel of the Lord had commanded me and straightway made three attempts to get them. Then being exceedingly frightened I supposed it had been a dream of Vision but when I consid[e]red I knew that it was not. Therefore I cried unto the Lord in the agony of my soul, 'Why can I not obtain them?' Behold the angel appeared unto me again and said unto me, 'You have not kept the commandments of the Lord which I gave unto you. Therefore you cannot now obtain them' ... For now I had been tempted of the adversary and sought the Plates to obtain riches and kept not the commandment that I should have an eye single to the glory of God."⁹⁰ Revisions of this account by Smith in 1838 and officially published in 1842 omit four important details from the above: the three unsuccessful attempts, Smith's fear, his failure to keep a certain commandment, and his desire to obtain riches by visiting the hill Cumorah.⁹¹

Other early sources affirmed these details which Smith omitted after his earliest narrative. LDS religion professor Richard L. Anderson observed that Willard Chase's statement "contains more parallels to Mormon sources than any other affidavit" from Palmyra residents, and "his 1833 affidavit contains a fairly informed point of view mixed with hostility toward the Smith family."⁹² Chase referred specifically to Smith's "fright," the three attempts, and the rebuke for not having "obeyed your orders." Chase did not specify what those orders were and makes no reference to the desire for riches.⁹³ Convert Joseph Knight's 1833 history referred to the three attempts, to Smith's setting the plates to one side in order to look in the hole for "something else" in violation of the commandment "to take the Book and go right away." Knight referred to Smith's astonishment when the plates disappeared as a result of his disobedience, but did not mention the desire for wealth or Smith's fear.⁹⁴

Cowdery's history detailed the three attempts and Smith's desire to look in the hole for something that "would still add to his store of wealth." Cowdery did not specify how Smith had "not kept the commandments of the Lord." Nor did he mention Smith's fear.⁹⁵ Lucy Mack Smith's 1845 manuscript and published history both discussed her son's "pecuniary" motivations "to secure some imaginary treasure" during his visit to the hill. She also referred to the three attempts

and reported that he was “alarmed” when the plates disappeared because he disobeyed the command “not to lay the plates down.”⁹⁶ Finally, his brother William Smith referred to Joseph’s desire to use the plates “for the purpose of making money,” described their disappearance on the hill during the 1823 visit, and that Joseph “was overpowered” from touching them again because he had set them on the ground. “The angel then appeared to him,” and said the young man could not have the gold plates at this time.⁹⁷

Joseph Smith’s earliest autohagiography was vague about the source of his “being exceedingly frightened.” All other Mormon sources referred to “astonishment” rather than fear, yet Cowdery’s history added an important detail. It was the appearance of Moroni on the hill that astonished Smith.⁹⁸ Why was he surprised? The messenger had already appeared to him three times during the night and once the next morning immediately before his appearance on the hill.

Joseph Jr.’s autobiographies and other traditional Mormon sources are silent about the specific cause of his fear or the reason he was astonished at the appearance of Moroni on the hill. One non-Mormon source provides an answer. Willard Chase’s 1833 affidavit specifically identified the source of that fear: “He saw in the box something like a toad, which soon assumed the appearance of a man, and struck him on the side of his head.” While publishing Chase’s testimony in *Mormonism Unveiled*, E. D. Howe rephrased it to read: “looked into the hole, where he saw a toad, which immediately transformed itself into a spirit” (emphasis in original).⁹⁹ The conventional assessment has been that Chase told the traditional story “with a tone of strong ridicule and the peculiar addition of a toad,” that he was only reporting Joseph Sr.’s retelling of events, and that his account was little more than second-hand hearsay.¹⁰⁰

Significantly, Cowdery’s narrative also reported hearsay of what Joseph Jr. said privately. Therefore, apologist complaints about hearsay evidence must equally apply to Mormonism’s first published history, which was exclusively hearsay about these events. That is, unless LDS apologists really think their readers believe that standards of evidence, like music accordions, should be expanded and contracted at will.

Like the Palmyra neighbors, Cowdery also described a folk magic context for the events of September 1823 on the hill. Joseph Jr. “had heard of the power of enchantment, and a thousand like stories, which held the hidden treasures of the earth.”¹⁰¹ Cowdery’s use of the word “enchantment” is one of many smoking-gun evidences of magic in early Mormon history. This 1835 history verified the already published affidavit of Smith’s father-in-law that the young man used the word “enchantment” to explain why he failed to find buried treasures: “he said the enchantment was so powerful that he could not see” with his seer stone.¹⁰² BYU’s Anderson claims that “Chase and the non-Mormon sources add the stage props of magic and money digging to the first Cumorah visit,”¹⁰³ but Smith’s first published history introduced those contexts to the faithful.

Aside from this reference to “enchantment,” Cowdery explained that Smith was prevented from obtaining the gold treasure by a thrice-repeated “shock [that] was produced upon his system.”¹⁰⁴ This even used the 1820s wording that

treasure-seekers could be "instantaneously struck, without attaining their object, as with an electric shock."¹⁰⁵

Is it possible that Joseph Smith also described an amphibian in the hole that day? According to folk magic tradition, "When they go to diggin' they say there's *always something in the hole*," and "Spirits [as treasure-guardians] frequently take the form of animals" (emphasis in original).¹⁰⁶ Until the first edition of this book, Mormon writers dismissed the toad-description as a ridiculous invention by Willard Chase whose 1833 affidavit criticized the Smiths. Until this book's first edition, apologists acknowledged no other source to support his account.¹⁰⁷

For more than one hundred years, a corroborating source (friendly to Smith's reputation) was available to researchers. This Palmyra neighbor also claimed that Smith was startled by an amphibian-like creature when he first visited the hill in September 1823. This 1884 interview was in a collection which BYU scholar Richard L. Anderson once described as the "most comprehensive" investigation ever made into the New York origins of Mormonism. He added that these interviews contained "*informed statements about the Prophet [which] will produce a substantial favorable judgment*" (emphasis in original).¹⁰⁸ Anderson's 1970 article did not volunteer to his LDS readers that this collection contained an "informed statement" by a separate eye-witness that young Joseph Smith claimed there was an amphibian with the gold plates.¹⁰⁹

As a historian from the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (RLDS), William H. Kelley traveled as far as New York in the mid-1880s to collect reminiscences about the Smiths from any Palmyra neighbor still living. Some were first interviewed by Philastus Hurlbut fifty years earlier. Kelley recorded a statement by Benjamin Saunders as part of an interview with Benjamin's brother Lorenzo in September 1884. This gave independent verification of Chase's statement that Joseph Sr. described a toad-like appearance of Moroni to his son in September 1823. Without the statement of Benjamin Saunders, I would not even mention Chase's 1833 reference to the toad (which I laughed at in disbelief the first time I read it decades ago).

Neighbor Benjamin Saunders was sixteen years old at the publication of Cumorah's ancient records. His entire statement of 1884 defended the Smiths. He reported that the Smiths were good workers, of good morals, that Joseph Sr. was not an exceptional drinker and was a hard worker. He denied that any of the Smith family was guilty of stealing, that Joseph Jr. ever got drunk, or that the Smiths were profane in speech. He affirmed that he had no knowledge that Sidney Rigdon was in the Palmyra neighborhood before 1830. Thus, Benjamin Saunders undercut the effort of many anti-Mormons (including his brother Lorenzo) to attribute authorship of this ancient book to the modern Rigdon. Benjamin testified that Lucy Mack Smith was a good housekeeper and housewife, that Martin Harris was a respectable person before the new scripture's publication and also afterwards. Benjamin Saunders added that Oliver Cowdery had a good reputation, that the Smiths were good neighbors and devoted friends in time of need, and that the Smiths were never quarrelsome. In fact, the only hint of criticism was Benjamin's statement that he did not accept Smith's prophetic claims because they "did not look consistent to my idea." It is no wonder that anti-Mormon Philastus

Hurlbut omitted Benjamin Saunders from affidavits he gathered for the 1834 *Mormonism Unveiled*: "He came to me but he could not get out of me what he wanted; so went to others."¹¹⁰

No non-Mormon was more friendly to Joseph Smith's Palmyra experience than Benjamin Saunders, even though he referred to him as "Joe." The prophet apparently preferred that nickname as a boy, and Benjamin was a teenager when he last saw Joseph. Current Mormons bristle when anyone calls the Mormon prophet "Joe," yet even Martin Harris used the nickname. In casual conversation decades later Harris still said "Joe" when referring to the young seer he had known in Palmyra.¹¹¹ There was no disrespect in Benjamin's use of "Joe" for his childhood friend. In this regard, BYU's Richard L. Anderson has often quoted Orlando Saunders as another friendly Palmyra neighbor: "They were very good people; young Joe (as we called him then) has worked for me, and he was a good worker; they all were."¹¹²

This is what Benjamin Saunders said about the coming forth of the *Book of Mormon*: "I heard Joe tell my Mother and Sister how he procured the plates. He said he was directed by an angel where it was. He went in the night to get the plates. When he took the plates there was something down near the box that looked some like a toad that rose up into a man which forbid him to take the plates. ... He told his story just as earnestly as any one could. He seemed to believe all he said."¹¹³ Benjamin's reference to the "night" indicates that the first three sentences of his account describe Smith's obtaining the plates in 1827. Saunders continued with a description of the daytime discovery of the plates in 1823, but the above statement may be amalgamated answers to more than one question. Because Kelley did not always list his questions, Saunders may not actually have mixed up the two visits to the hill.¹¹⁴ Instead, Saunders seemed to be responding to Kelley's question about Smith's obtaining the plates in 1827 and then to a follow-up question about the discovery of the plates in 1823.

That relatively minor issue of chronological reference does not diminish this document's significant account of Joseph Jr.'s early testimony. This friendly non-Mormon corroborated the hostile claim concerning Smith's visit to the hill in September 1823. Joseph Jr. referred to an amphibian-like creature which seemed to transform itself into an otherworldly personage of human appearance.

As historical evidence, the statement of Benjamin Saunders was not a second-hand source. He was not reporting "hearsay," unless LDS apologists are willing to equally apply that dismissive term to reminiscences they approve of. The best example is the testimony by Utah Mormons about Brigham Young's public "transfiguration" into the appearance of Joseph Smith—about which there are no specific accounts until decades later.¹¹⁵

Benjamin Saunders reported what he himself witnessed Joseph Jr. testify of. Since three members of the Saunders family were present, Benjamin undoubtedly heard this statement at his home after the neighborhood rumors in 1827 that Smith had found gold. BYU's Anderson acknowledged this: "No doubt Benjamin remembered the general conversation and Joseph's bruised hand. That physical detail requires a date of 1827, when Benjamin was thirteen."¹¹⁶ At the time of hearing this unusual testimony, Benjamin Saunders was therefore about the same

age of Joseph Smith at his first vision. "The Mormon sources reflect or quote Joseph Smith," Anderson has written.¹¹⁷ Well, so does Benjamin Saunders, who said: "I knew young Joseph just as well as I did my own brothers."¹¹⁸

Apologists find no reason to question this seventy-year-old's positive memory of the Smith family half-a-century earlier. They even cite Benjamin Saunders when his reminiscence conforms to traditional LDS accounts.¹¹⁹ In fact, after dismissing Benjamin's statement as "the memory of an apathetic observer—a memory six decades old," Anderson's article later quoted the positive view of the Smith family by "a New York neighbor [who] was only twelve when Alvin died." Only by consulting the source-notes does the reader discover that this unnamed source was Benjamin Saunders, whose credibility Anderson previously spent paragraphs attacking—only because of the toad-reference.¹²⁰ This is a double standard.

In assessing "a memory six decades old," Anderson acknowledged that Benjamin accurately remembered such a minor detail as Joseph Smith's bruised hand. However, this BYU professor of religion claimed that this completely favorable memory of the Smiths was incapable of accuracy about a very unusual statement by Joseph Jr. To the contrary, by applying the standards of evidence equally, there is no reason to doubt the honesty of Benjamin Saunders in his report of the one unusual statement Smith made in his presence. As a Mormon believer and rationalist, I am continually amazed by the convenient exceptionalism in LDS apologetics.

For rationalists in the 1800s and now, an amphibian-human transformation was no more bizarre than claiming to converse with an angel who was once an ancient resident of North America. Equally strange to the average rationalist, Mormons claim that in September 1823 God's messenger offered to hand over sacred gold to a seventeen-year-old boy who had spent years searching for buried treasure (see ch. 2).

Nonetheless, it is certainly reasonable for Anderson to raise the possibility that even Benjamin's honest memory was "contaminated by Willard Chase's version of the story." Chase was brother-in-law to Saunders, and Chase's statement about the toad-like transformation was in print fifty years before Benjamin's interview.¹²¹

Nonetheless, content analysis does not support Anderson's claim that the Chase affidavit had "contaminated" Benjamin's memory or statements. Aside from the toad-reference, there was no point of similarity in the statements by Chase and Benjamin Saunders. More important, Benjamin's statement disagreed markedly with several negative statements about the Smiths by Lorenzo Saunders. There was greater probability of memory contamination by his brother Lorenzo than by Willard Chase, yet Benjamin's statement showed no contamination by his brother's emphatic views. BYU's Anderson did not acknowledge any of that evidence, nor did he acknowledge that every other aspect of Benjamin's statement was favorable to the Smiths and their Palmyra converts. In an essay about "Controlling the Past," LDS author Hugh Nibley once wrote: "A subtle and very effective form of censorship is the *silent treatment*" (emphasis in original).¹²²

The Benjamin Saunders interview gives every evidence of being an inde-

pendent account of his favorable memories of the Smith family. Various comparisons show that Benjamin's memory was not contaminated by the content and often negative point of view in earlier statements by his brother-in-law Willard Chase or his brother Lorenzo.¹²³ Benjamin Saunders was a second witness that the Smiths (whom he thoroughly liked and admired) made statements in the mid-1820s about a toad-like transformation with reference to Moroni and the gold plates.¹²⁴

Both Joseph Smith, Jr. (according to Benjamin Saunders), and Joseph Smith, Sr. (according to Willard Chase), referred to the presence of an amphibian at the time of the angel's appearance on the Hill Cumorah. Still, there is no need to conclude that a metamorphosis actually occurred. Amphibians such as frogs, toads, and salamanders were extremely common in the moist soil of New York and New England. An early history of Vermont listed eight types of frogs, two kinds of toads, and eight types of salamanders that were native to the state.¹²⁵

While the Smith family lived in Vermont, Samuel Williams also published his *Natural and Civil History of Vermont*. It stated as fact: "At Windsor, a town joining to Connecticut river, in September, 1790, a living frog was dug up at the depth of nine feet, from the surface of the earth ... A more remarkable instance was at Burlington, upon Onion river. In the year 1788, *Samuel Lane*, Esq. was digging a well near his house. At the depth of twenty five or thirty feet from the surface of the earth ... were found to be frogs ... Being exposed to the air, they soon became active." The naturalist then merged this account with folk belief: "From the depth of earth, with which these frogs were covered, it cannot be doubted but that they must have been covered over in the earth, for many ages, or rather centuries." Thus, in editions of 1794 and 1809, a Vermont naturalist asserted that it was possible to dig a hole and find living amphibians that were centuries old. Windsor, the site of the first report, was about twenty miles from the various residences of the Smith family during this period.¹²⁶

In the 1820s newspapers reprinted similar reports from the western New York newspaper at Lockport, located by the Erie Canal. "In preparing a stone taken from the canal for a jamb to a fire place, a living toad was found immured [i.e., entombed] in the solid rock," the newspaper began in 1822. "As the growth of stones must be extremely slow, it is not improbable the animal had been imprisoned for centuries!"¹²⁷ Palmyra's newspaper reprinted another report from Lockport's newspaper, which got the story from Vermont: "While some workmen were splitting staves [i.e., logs] in the town of Royalton, in this state, last week a live frog was found in the timber, six inches from the outside. The tree was perfectly sound, excepting the space occupied by the frog ..." Surrounded by thirty rings of the tree's annual growth, "the frog appeared lively" (emphasis in original).¹²⁸

Near the Smith family's residences in both Vermont and New York, these publications demonstrate the popular belief that amphibians could remain alive while entombed for decades, even centuries. There is no reason to doubt that Joseph Sr. and Jr. reported the presence of a living amphibian when the young man looked into a newly opened hole on the hill.

However, it is useful to explore the connections he and others may have

made between seeing an amphibian at a treasure-site and the appearance of an otherworldly personage. Regarding the world view of the American treasure-quest in which the Smiths had participated for years, John Gager's comment has special relevance: "The social world in which we live determines our experience of what is real."¹²⁹ Within that perspective, one author has observed that if young Joseph Smith "found a toad (or a frog, or something of the kind) in the place where he had looked for the treasure, he would have intuitively identified it as the guardian spirit of the treasure ..."¹³⁰

Significantly, neither Willard Chase nor Benjamin Saunders reported that Smith saw a toad. Chase testified that it was "something like a toad," and Saunders noted that it "looked some like a toad." Giving an anti-Mormon summary of Chase's testimony, E. D. Howe stated flatly: "he saw a *toad*" (emphasis in original).¹³¹

My conclusion is that Willard Chase and Benjamin Saunders misunderstood what the Smiths originally said about the amphibian in two separate conversations. Chase "may simply have misunderstood what was told him," acknowledged BYU's Anderson, who then suggested that Joseph Sr. used a "reptile image" in telling Chase about Satan's appearance to the younger Joseph. Anderson published this in August 1987, after Mark Hofmann had admitted to forging the so-called "Salamander Letter" (see my Pref. and Intro.). Writing for the official LDS magazine, this BYU religion professor was not trying to support the Hofmann document.¹³² Instead, despite his claims to the contrary, Anderson thus acknowledged the basic accuracy of statements by Willard Chase and Benjamin Saunders that they heard the Smiths use a "reptile image" in describing the Moroni appearance of 1823.

In the Anglo-American occult tradition, the toad has always been associated with Satanism, black magic, sorcery, and witchcraft.¹³³ The toad has only an evil meaning in the magic world view, a perception to which Joseph Smith and his family were demonstrably attuned (see chs. 2-4). To such people, it would be an evil "omen" to confront an ordinary toad just before the appearance of an other-worldly visitor.¹³⁴

Worse, if anything changed from the appearance of a toad to the appearance of a person, that thing was an evil spirit, or a witch, or a bewitched person.¹³⁵ Thus, if a toad were a treasure-guardian, as Howe suggested, it would necessarily be "a devil, in the shape of a gigantic toad."¹³⁶

Joseph Smith, Sr. (and Jr.) would certainly not use a satanic "reptile image" to describe a divine messenger. By the same token, it is understandable why Howe wanted to remove all ambiguity from Chase's affidavit by affirming that the messenger first appeared as a toad. LDS historians have simply dismissed these statements by Chase and Saunders as ridiculous. Such knee-jerk dismissal ignores eye-witness testimony and consistency of evidence with a magic world view. The two statements reflect what the Smiths expressed in magic vernacular, but which their neighbors misunderstood or incorrectly remembered as a toad.

The salamander was only other amphibian that could appear in human or spirit form, according to the magic world view of this time.¹³⁷ In that context, Joseph Sr. and Jr. undoubtedly used the word "salamander" or one of its

equivalent descriptions from the occult traditions clearly in evidence on the Smith family's magic parchments.¹³⁸ A salamander symbol is on the "Holiness to the Lord" lamen to aid communication with a good spirit (see below and ch. 4).

Initially, naturalists classed the salamander as a lizard in animal typologies. In folk sayings the words "salamander" and "lizard" were also interchangeable.¹³⁹ In German lore, divine messengers could appear as lizards.¹⁴⁰

An 1821 article in the *North American Review* associated reptiles with a divine messenger of "brilliant light." Concerning one of his visions, Emanuel Swedenborg wrote: "I perceived a kind of mist about my eyes, and the floor of my chamber was covered with hideous reptiles. They soon disappeared, the darkness was dissipated, and I saw clearly in the midst of a brilliant light, a man."¹⁴¹ This magazine was on sale near the Smith family's residence.¹⁴²

In 1808 Swedenborg was of sufficient interest locally that Canandaigua's newspaper gave a front-page report of his conversion narrative, and Palmyra's newspaper specified in 1830 that "the Lord manifested himself to him by a personal appearance."¹⁴³ Because of this interest in Swedenborg by residents of the Canandaigua-Palmyra area, his association of reptiles and visions undoubtedly was known there. In 1825 Robert C. Smith's *Complete System of Occult Philosophy* affirmed that "these elementary spirits" who "taught Baron Swedenborg [were] of the *highest order*" (emphasis in original).¹⁴⁴

In occult and religious texts, the salamander was the elemental spirit of fire which could manifest itself in human form. This view persisted in occult writings for centuries after its publication in the writings of alchemist Paracelsus (1493-1541), and regular encyclopedias were publishing it before Joseph Smith's time.¹⁴⁵ Renaissance sculptor Benvenuto Cellini even wrote that, as a child, he and his father saw in the fireplace a living salamander "running around merrily in the very hottest part of the fire."¹⁴⁶ By Smith's time, the salamander was a reference for anything hot or fiery, and Webster's 1828 dictionary referred to the common "story of its being able to endure fire."¹⁴⁷ As of 1824, Webster's dictionaries were on sale in Palmyra.¹⁴⁸ Utah folklorists have also found that these ideas continued among Mormons more than 400 years after the death of Paracelsus. For example, a woman (b. 1887) affirmed at Provo in 1963: "When ashes gather and are not removed from the hearth, the salamanders will soon take over."¹⁴⁹

These persistent views about salamanders of fire corresponded to a newspaper's report of an interview with Benjamin Saunders. Smith allegedly said that "the place seemed on fire" just before he saw the "enormous toad" which became a "flaming monster with glittering eyes."¹⁵⁰ This was a hostile third-hand version of Benjamin's friendly account, yet the newspaper story provided an important new detail from his narrative. Fiery appearance was consistent with the magic view of the salamander as the elemental spirit of fire.¹⁵¹

Aside from polemical use of "monster" in the newspaper report, its references to "flaming" and "glittering eyes" were consistent with how Smith described his visions. A decade after he last saw Benjamin Saunders, Smith still used such words as "fire," "flame," "brightness of the sun," "brilliant," and "lightning" for the eyes, face, and general appearance of Moroni and other heavenly visitors.¹⁵²

For nearly 300 years before Smith's birth, Anglo-European writers had

expressed the belief that fiery salamander spirits could communicate with humans. This belief intensified during the generation of Joseph Sr. and his sons.¹⁵³ Two of these accounts of communication by elemental spirits and salamanders (M. G. Lewis, *Tales of Wonder*, and Walter Scott, *Poetical Works*) were on sale in Canandaigua and Palmyra during the early 1800s, and Joseph Smith owned a five-volume edition of Scott's *Poetical Works*.¹⁵⁴ Palmyra hookstores also repeatedly advertised Alexander Pope's complete poems, the most famous of which proclaimed: "The sprights of fiery Termagants in Flame/ Mount up, and take a Salamander's Name." Pope explained that this was a Rosicrucian doctrine.¹⁵⁵ William Godwin summarized the view of Joseph Smith's generation: "But that for which they [the Rosicrucians] principally excited public attention, was their creed respecting certain elementary beings ... such as peopled the fire were salamanders ... and the whole race was subordinate to man, and particularly subject to the initiated."¹⁵⁶ Apostle Dallin H. Oaks told a meeting of LDS church educators: "A being that is able to live in fire is a good approximation of the description Joseph Smith gave of the Angel Moroni."¹⁵⁷

In fact, as LDS prophet, Smith preached: "Spirits can only be revealed in flaming fire or glory." He added: "God Almighty Himself dwells in eternal fire."¹⁵⁸ A century before Smith's first vision of Deity, the most famous English work on elemental spirits stated: "As for the *Salamanders*, the inflamed guests of the region of fire, they serve the Philosophers ... Our fathers, the Philosophers, speaking to God face to face."¹⁵⁹ According to this well-established view, those who had already seen God were entitled to visits by fiery salamanders as divine messengers. After Joseph Smith's 1820 face-to-face vision of God, his cultural heritage predisposed him to expect a visitation from "*Salamanders*, the inflamed guests of the region of fire." The salamander symbolized divinity.¹⁶⁰

In this regard, an important publication appeared nine years before the 1823 revelation about these ancient records from Moroni whose "countenance [was] truly like lightning."¹⁶¹ In 1814 E. T. W. Hoffmann published "The Golden Pot." Praised as Hoffmann's "masterpiece" by a history of the occult, this German story described a talking salamander-archivist who commissioned a young man to translate ancient records.¹⁶²

The mysterious record-keeper had "sprung from the wondrous race of the *Salamanders* ... Spirits of the Elements." This spirit personage instructed the young hero to transcribe "a number of manuscripts, partly Arahic, Coptic, and some of them in strange characters, which belong not to any known tongue." Appearing in human form, this salamander-archivist had preserved these characters for unnumbered years. The story included an incantation at eleven p.m. on the September equinox and use of a stone for revelations. There was also a dramatic scene where the custodian of these records used his power to conquer "Satanic arts."¹⁶³

Long before this, Paracelsus had written that fiery salamander spirits were guardians for "hidden treasures that must not be revealed yet."¹⁶⁴ Similar beliefs extended from ancient Jews to medieval Germans to Aztecs in Mexico.¹⁶⁵

According to neighbors, Joseph Jr. said he was frightened by the appearance of an amphibian or reptile as he looked upon the treasure of the gold

plates for the first time in 1823. In particular, the friendly account by Benjamin Saunders requires serious consideration that Smith referred to this in 1827. Due to the magic world view that demonstrably influenced the Smith family (see chs. 2-4), it is more likely that the toad-like creature described by neighbors was their version of Smith's reference to a salamander. In fact, the messenger's name Moroni was associated with ritual magic and the salamander. There were also other antecedents, which I discuss here.

As a surname, Moroni is fairly common in Italy today.¹⁶⁶ Few Italians lived in the United States during the early years of the nineteenth century, but since colonial times Americans had surnames Morone, Moroney, Morony, and Moroni.¹⁶⁷ In its various derivations, Moroni as a surname refers to a man "with a dark or swarthy complexion."¹⁶⁸ In this regard, FARMS writer Robert F. Smith noted that the "dark" association in the etymology of the name Moroni was "due to the dark color of the salamanders in Normandy."¹⁶⁹

This emphasis on dark skin also connects with a magic incantation of spirits. The first metal plates mentioned in the ancient record were brass (1 Nep. 3:3), and an eighteenth-century book of Rosicrucianism stated that the number one, "engraven in Brasse, ... bringeth a Spirit, in the shape of a black man standing, and cloathed in a white Garment, girdled about, of a great body."¹⁷⁰ Moroni was the name for such a swarthy man or dark-complexioned man.

"Maron" was connected to the religion of ancient Egypt, well-known by the 1820s as the source of ceremonial magic for Western civilization.¹⁷¹ An eighteenth-century book on mythology, *Bell's Pantheon*, identified Maron as a servant of the Egyptian god Osiris. A brother of early Mormon apostles Orson and Parley P. Pratt owned a copy of "The Pantheon."¹⁷² Maron was one of the holy names for conjuration according to the "Key of Solomon." To the 1800s this handbook of ceremonial magic was widely circulated as a manuscript and rare book.¹⁷³ Smith's earliest autobiography (1832) spelled the angel's name as "Maroni."¹⁷⁴

However, similar names had only non-magic meaning in published literature available in the early 1800s. A book in Smith's hometown library listed "Maronaea" as an ancient city of Thrace.¹⁷⁵ In addition, an encyclopedia on sale near Smith's home also identified "Maroni" as a river in Guinea, "Morona" as a river in South America, and "Morrone" as a town near Naples, Italy.¹⁷⁶

The published name "Moron" was close to the 1823 angel's name, and its meaning was linked with the fact that Moroni "exceedingly frightened" Joseph Smith on the hill. "Moron" was a dangerous type of salamander. Oliver Goldsmith's 1774 *History of the Earth* explained that Moron was the name of a venomous salamander. Goldsmith's work had seventeen British imprints to 1832, ten American printings from 1795 to 1835, and was advertised for sale in the New Hampshire town where Hyrum Smith attended school. Palmyra's newspapers advertised Goldsmith's collected works, and Smith's local library had an abridged copy of his *History*.¹⁷⁷ Alexander von Humboldt's study of the New World stated that some North American Indians used a similar name, "Imoron," to designate a being that poisons.¹⁷⁸ Published in 1814 at London, Humboldt's important work was printed in the United States in 1815. The full study was on sale in Palmyra by 1818, the year of its second edition in Eng-

land, which published a third edition in 1822. An abridgment of Humboldt's study was in Smith's local library.¹⁷⁹

"Moron" also had other meanings, most of which had coincidental similarity to Joseph Smith's experience. Since 1798 the American edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* identified Moron as a town of Spain. In 1828 a Boston publisher printed an English-Spanish dictionary which defined "Moron" as "sm[all]. Hill, hillock," a fair description of the hill where Joseph Smith unearthed the gold plates. By the 1820s there were also New Yorkers with the surname Moron, which derived from Arabic for "to hide, bury."¹⁸⁰

Echoing Samuel Sandmel's caution about "parallelomania" decades earlier, FARMS writer William J. Hamblin has recently warned about "the dangers of assuming that parallel equals causality" or direct borrowing.¹⁸¹ The discussion here demonstrates that exact or close parallels exist for *Book of Mormon* names in everything from contemporary American surnames, to reference books available in the Palmyra area during the 1820s, to previously published occult works, to ancient Near Eastern texts. Singling out one type of parallel as more important is interpretation, not proof.

If Smith saw a salamander on the hill, rather than a toad, this was consistent with magic associations concerning the name Moroni and occult traditions concerning the salamander. For early nineteenth-century Americans, the messenger's name Moroni had several echoes. A simple anagram of Moroni, "Imoron" was a widely published word for a being which poisons, while a poisonous salamander was "Moron" in scientific texts. Centuries before salamander had this scientific name of "Moron," occult texts used this animal to illustrate the elemental spirit of fire. "Maron" was also a name of magic invocation.

This connection may also be reflected in symbols on the Smith family's "Holiness to the Lord" magic parchment. Scot's *Discovery* reported: "But if Astral Spirits as Faries [sic], Nymphs, and Ghosts of men, be called upon, the Circle must be made with Chalk, without any Triangles; in the place whereof the Magical Character of that Element to which they belong, must be described at the end of every Name." Then Scot illustrated a symbol for the element of fire (the salamander's element). This symbol of the sun appears on the upper-left hand corner of the Smith family parchment under the word "Holiness" and immediately precedes the undeciphered, nine-character magic code (fig. 50).¹⁸² The "Holiness to the Lord" lamen also had two symbols against evil spirits (figs. 50, 60-67; ch. 4), and the salamander served as an amulet against Satan and evil spirits (fig. 83).¹⁸³

This also links with a bloodstone amulet which may have originally belonged to Joseph Smith (see ch. 3). In addition to the prevention of bleeding, the bloodstone was used since ancient times as a lizard amulet in connection with ritual magic performed between 19 and 25 September.¹⁸⁴ That was the time-period during which Moroni appeared to Joseph Smith. Medieval magic books also recommended the bloodstone to protect against malignant spirits during performances of ritual magic.¹⁸⁵ In addition, from 1784 to 1826 Sibly's *Occult Sciences* specified that the bloodstone belongs to Jupiter.¹⁸⁶ That was the founding prophet's ruling planet (see ch. 3).

Directly under the golden lamen's undeciphered inscription is the large

Jupiter symbol from astrology (upper-center of fig. 50, compare with upper-center of fig. 30, also fig. 34). English editions of the *Arbatel of Magic* from 1665 to 1783 stated that one of the spirits "governeth those things which are ascribed to Jupiter ... to cast open treasures: he reconcileth the spirits of the Air, that they give true answers" (emphasis in original).¹⁸⁷ A manuscript version of this occult handbook rendered this last sentence as "the fiery spirits."¹⁸⁸ In view of all this evidence about the salamander, a Mormon reviewer concluded that "we have every right to incorporate it into our history" of the *Book of Mormon*. "Apparently a little animal did appear [to Joseph Smith on the hill in 1823]. The toad and frog possibilities are less than satisfactory."¹⁸⁹

At the center of the "Holiness to the Lord" parchment (3/4 toward the bottom) is a cross within a circle (fig. 50, faint appearance in photo). This cross is squared (i.e., the vertical shaft is the same length as the horizontal bar). This is the form of the Rosicrucian cross, but the symbol can also signify death or earth.¹⁹⁰ The intent was most likely a cross, since it is directly above the Christ-reference "I.H.S." (see ch. 4). Combined with its symbols of Jupiter, the fiery salamander, and Christ, this lamén used a Rosicrucian cross which links the other three.

Early American Rosicrucianism aligned the salamander with Joseph Smith's astrological birth sign of Saturn and his governing planet of Jupiter (see ch. 3). In the late 1700s a member of the Rosicrucian Ephrata commune drew a picture of a man wearing a religiously occult garment featuring the salamander (fig. 84). The astrological symbol for Saturn was on the man's crown, and the symbol for Jupiter on his forehead. On the left breast of his garment, surrounded by flames, was the Sacred Heart of Jesus with a stick figure of an ascending bird. That was either the Christian dove-symbol of the Holy Ghost or the mythological Phoenix-symbol of resurrection. On the garment's right breast was a stick figure of a four-footed reptile. This was obviously a salamander, which figured prominently in the Rosicrucian philosophy of elemental spirits that the Ephrata commune mixed with its Christian mysticism.¹⁹¹ Located in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, these Rosicrucian mystics lived only four miles from Peter Whitmer, Sr.¹⁹² His five sons later became special witnesses of the *Book of Mormon* (see ch. 7).

Finally, the salamander version of Smith's experience also has archetypal parallels. So far as is known, the fourth-century-B.C. "Story of Setnau" was not translated from Egyptian into a European language until 1867. In this story, Setnau is directed to find a book of magic in a gold box, contained in successively larger boxes of declining preciousness. As an archetypal parallel to the three Moroni visits in 1823, Setnau takes three days and nights to discover the gold box after receiving instructions about its location. He finds that the book in the gold box is guarded by a serpent, a scorpion, and unnamed reptiles. He overcomes these guardians by killing the serpent three times. Setnau reads the writings of the book, uses that knowledge to obtain power over the heavens, and takes the book from its golden hiding place. He copies its writings onto a separate papyrus, which he then swallows.¹⁹³

Another source provided context for Smith's 1823 meeting with a previously human messenger who was both record-keeper and treasure-guardian. Almost a

century before Smith's experience, William Warburton published a massive study of religion and the occult: "MAGIC was of three kinds: 1. The Magic of Invocation, or Necromancy. 2. The magic of Transformation, or *Metamorphosis*. 3. And the Magic of divine Communication, or *Theurgy*." This study had six separate English printings from 1738 through 1837, plus inclusion in three editions of the author's complete works from 1788 through 1841.¹⁹⁴ Smith's experience with Moroni had all three characteristics of this magic paradigm (conceptual viewpoint).

All official and unofficial, traditional and nontraditional, friendly and unfriendly sources agreed that Smith was not able to obtain the gold plates on 22 September 1823. Instead, he returned to the hill on exactly the same day each year until 1827. None of these accounts explain why the visits must occur each year on exactly the same day. Magic tradition gives an explanation: "Should nothing result [from the attempt at necromancy], the same experiment must be renewed in the following year, and if necessary a third time, when it is certain that the desired apparition will be obtained, and the longer it has been delayed the more realistic and striking it will be."¹⁹⁵ The specific day continued to coincide with the autumn equinox. Thus Smith visited the Hill Cumorah annually from 1823 to 1827 to fulfill his quest "to commune with some kind of messenger."¹⁹⁶

Both Mormon and non-Mormon sources agreed that in September 1823 Moroni required Smith to bring his oldest brother, Alvin, to the hill the next year in order to obtain the gold plates. Their friend Joseph Knight recorded Smith's description of his meeting on the hill in 1823: "Joseph says, 'when can I have it?' The answer was the 22nd [sic] Day of September next if you Bring the right person with you. Joseph says, 'who is the right Person?' The answer was 'your oldest Brother.' But before September [1824] Came his oldest Brother Died. Then he was Disappointed and did not [k]now what to do."¹⁹⁷ This requirement is absent from Smith's own narratives.

However, non-Mormon neighbor Willard Chase agreed with Knight. Chase reported that Joseph "then enquired when he *could* have them, and was answered thus: come one year from this day, and bring with you your oldest brother, and you shall have them. This spirit, he said was the spirit of the prophet who wrote this book, and who was sent to Joseph Smith, to make known these things to him. Before the expiration of the year, [Smith's] oldest brother died" (emphasis in original).¹⁹⁸ Of this matter, BYU's Anderson has acknowledged: "Despite his sarcastic distortions, Willard Chase evidently reported the instructions [of the angel] concerning Alvin correctly."¹⁹⁹ Fayette Lapham also remembered that Smith's father told him in 1830 that "Joseph asked when he could have them; and the answer was, 'Come in one year from this time, and bring your oldest brother with you; then you may have them.' During that year, it so happened that his oldest brother died."²⁰⁰

Benjamin's brother Lorenzo Saunders was asked: "Did you ever hear Joe give an account of finding the plates?" He replied: "Yes. He gave the account in my father's house. He said he was in the woods at prayer and the angel touched him on the shoulders and he arose, and the angel told him where the plates were and he could take his oldest Brother with him in a year from that time and go and get them. But his oldest Brother died before the year was

out."²⁰¹ No document explains why Moroni in September 1823 required Alvin's presence the next year.²⁰² However, believer Joseph Knight verified the accuracy of the three New Yorkers about this matter.

According to neighbors, prior to 1823 Lucy and Joseph Sr. both said they looked to their first son, Alvin, as the family seer. Even though Joseph had the theophany, he was the third son. Orsamus Turner first met the Smiths in Palmyra about 1819-20 and later commented: "Their son, Alv[in], was originally intended, or designated, by fireside consultations, and solemn and mysterious out door hints, as the forth coming Prophet. The mother and father said he was the chosen one; but Alv[in] ... sickened and died." Turner is one of the non-Mormons who verified Joseph Jr.'s claim for an 1820 revival. J. H. Kennedy likewise said that Lucy Mack Smith had "announced the advent of a prophet in her family, and on the death of Alv[in], the first born, the commission that had been intended for him was laid upon Joseph."²⁰³

By 1822 Joseph Jr. was a treasure-seer in New York and in Pennsylvania (see ch. 2), yet the Palmyra neighbors also identified his brother Alvin as a treasure-seer.²⁰⁴ Their mother observed that "Alvin manifested, if such could be the case, greater zeal and anxiety in regard to the Record [of the *Book of Mormon*] that had been shown to Joseph, than any of the rest of the family."²⁰⁵ On 19 November 1823 Alvin Smith suddenly died.²⁰⁶ This required Joseph Jr. to shoulder the primary responsibility for his family's treasure-quest.

Given the messenger's requirement for the second visit to the Hill Cumorah, the intensity of the Smith family's despair over Alvin's death less than two months later is understandable. Alvin's last words to his brother Joseph were to "do everything that lies in your power to obtain the Record. Be faithful in receiving instruction, and in keeping every commandment that is given to you. Your brother Alvin must leave you."²⁰⁷

Alvin's final charge underscored the dilemma his brother now faced. Joseph was commanded to meet the angelic treasure-guardian at the hill the next 22 September 1824 and to bring Alvin with him. Smith had been violently jolted three times and severely chastised for disobeying instructions during his first visit. Knight wrote that now Smith "did not [k]now what to do."²⁰⁸ One can only imagine the turmoil young Joseph experienced during the ten months between the death of his eldest brother in November 1823 and his next solitary visit to the hill.

Smith's autobiographies and formal histories gave no details of the visits to the hill between 1824 and 1826. He may have hoped to obtain the plates in September 1824 even though he did not bring Alvin. The day was a stinging disappointment. According to Smith's account, the messenger told him in 1823 "to come again in one year from that time. I did so [in 1824], but did not obtain them."²⁰⁹ Knight wrote: "But when the 22nd Day of September [1824] Came he went to the place and the personage appeared [sic] and told him he Could not have it now."²¹⁰

According to his mother, Joseph actually held the gold plates in September 1824. They disappeared from his sight after he laid them on the ground to look for something else in the hole "which would be of some pecuniary advantage to

him." Now that the plates were suddenly back in the earth, Smith tried to retrieve them again and "was hurled back upon the ground with great violence. When he recovered, the angel was gone, and he arose and returned to the house, weeping for grief and disappointment."²¹¹ Paraphrasing Smith's mother, a BYU professor of religion wrote that the gold treasure vanished "because he had not strictly obeyed the previous commandment that he should not even for a moment allow the plates out of his hands until he had cared for them safely."²¹²

This was completely consistent with early American treasure-digging beliefs that the treasure would disappear at the slightest breach of the treasure-guardian's requirements.²¹³ Like young Smith's being "hurled back upon the ground with great violence" in Manchester, another New York "farmer named Belknap ... was so excited that he forgot to" obey the exact requirement of a treasure-guardian near "the shore of Oneida Lake." As a result, "a flash of lightning rent the air and stretched him senseless on the grass. When he recovered[,] the crock [of gold] was gone, [and] the hole filled in ..."²¹⁴ However, none of the LDS accounts of the 1824 visit mentioned the unfulfilled requirement for Joseph to bring Alvin. He had violated the command the angel gave in 1823.

By contrast, Lorenzo Saunders remembered Smith referring to Alvin as part of his description of the 1824 visit. "At the end of the time he went to the place to get the plates [and] the angel asked where his Brother was. [Joseph said:] I told him he was dead."²¹⁵ Fayette Lapham recalled Joseph Sr. telling the story as "Joseph repaired to the place again, and was told by the man who still guarded the treasure, that, inasmuch as he could not bring his oldest brother, he could not have the treasure yet."²¹⁶ Believer Knight's account that in 1824 the angel simply "told him he Could not have it now" is closer to the statements of Saunders and Lapham than to Lucy Mack Smith's more complex narrative.

In fact, her account of the 1824 visit has too many similarities to her son's 1823 experience. As retold by Cowdery, Joseph looked in the hole for "something more equally as valuable" and then felt "a shock" that prevented his touching the plates.²¹⁷ When Knight and Joseph's brother William described the 1823 visit, they both included the details she gave of the plates disappearing after Joseph put them on the ground in violation of a commandment not to let loose of them.²¹⁸ Lucy Mack Smith's account of this incident was actually a misdated reference to the 1823 visit. This is also evident from her narrative of that year's events immediately before and after her report of this incident.²¹⁹

However, eighteen-year-old Joseph Smith was undoubtedly "weeping for grief and disappointment" when he returned from the hill on 22 September 1824. This second failure to obtain the gold plates was, in fact, the result of his not complying with another explicit command. As confirmed by believer Knight, the requirement was to bring Alvin in 1824. Without his dead brother's presence on the hill, it seemed in September 1824 that Joseph could not obtain the gold plates. Thus, his inconsolable grief. How could he fulfill Alvin's dying words to keep "every commandment that is given to you"?

Within days of this second unsuccessful visit to the hill, local events showed that someone discussed exhuming Alvin's body. That would remedy the impasse. In the Palmyra newspaper Joseph Sr. printed a notice, dated 25 September 1824,

denying "reports [that] have been industriously put in circulation, that my son, Alvin, had been removed from the place of his internment and dissected." He chastised town gossips for disturbing the peace of mind of a grieving parent. The father then made two comments that allude to his son Joseph as target of such gossip: "[these rumors] deeply wound the feelings of relations ... [and] have been stimulated more by desire to injure the reputation of certain persons than a philanthropy for the peace and welfare of myself and friends." This notice appeared in six consecutive issues of the weekly newspaper.²²⁰ Smith's biographers to the present have consistently ignored Mormon and non-Mormon sources concerning the angel's requirement for Joseph to bring the now-deceased Alvin to the hill in 1824. Therefore, these authors have regarded this newspaper announcement as a bizarre incident explainable only by neighborhood malice.²²¹

To the contrary, there was an obvious context for such rumors and denials. The treasure-guardian required the presence of Alvin, now in his grave. As explained in pseudo-Agrippa's *Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy* (published to 1783): "From hence it is, that the Souls of the dead are not to be called up without blood, or by the application of some part of their relict Body."²²² Barrett's 1801 *Magus* (the source for designing Joseph Smith's Jupiter talisman) observed: "There are two kinds of necromancy: raising the carcasses, which is not done without blood; the other sciomancy, in which the calling up of the shadow [i.e., visible ghost/departed spirit] only suffices." Despite his negative attitude toward the practice in general, Barrett noted that the power and knowledge of necromancy rested with "God only, and to whom he will communicate them."²²³

Even though they were influenced by the magic world view, none of the Smiths may have actually considered this drastic option. However, someone in the family obviously described the angel's demand and Joseph's predicament to neighborhood friends. Willard Chase and Lorenzo Saunders both knew about the situation, which Joseph's father also stated to Fayette Lapham. Richard L. Anderson has written: "Apparently, word had circulated of Joseph's instructions [from the angel], and the false rumor was being spread that the Smiths had dug up—or would dig up—the corpse to fulfill the instructions."²²⁴ Village rumors required the father's emphatic denial. Without providing details, Howe's *Mormonism Unveiled* claimed that young Joseph was "very expert in the arts of necromancy."²²⁵ A year later, Cowdery's published history also referred vaguely to the Alvin incident by citing rumors that Smith dug treasure "by some art of micromancy," which was spelled "necromancy" in Cowdery's original manuscript.²²⁶

All second-hand accounts agreed that the treasure-guardian required Smith to bring another person with him in September 1825. Knight wrote that in 1824 the "personage appeard [sic] and told him he Could not have it now. But the 22nt Day of September nex[t] he mite have the Book if he Brot with him the right person. Joseph says, 'who is the right Person?' The answer was you will know."²²⁷ If young Joseph left the hill in September 1824 still thinking that his dead brother Alvin was "the right Person" to bring in 1825, that idea ended with Palmyra's uproar over the possibility of desecrating Alvin's body. Thus, someone still alive had to be "the right Person."

One visit to the hill between 1823 and 1827 is missing in several accounts. That omission was somehow connected to Samuel F. Lawrence, a neighborhood seer.

Knight indicated that Lawrence had something to do with one of these annual visits to the Hill Cumorah. "I will say there [was] a man near By [sic] By the name Samuel Lawrance [sic]. He was a Seear [sic] and he had Bin to the hill and knew about things in the hill."²²⁸ Lawrence had not been to the Hill Cumorah on his own. *Book of Mormon* witness Martin Harris said that Lawrence was in "this company" with "Joseph Smith, jr., and his father, and his brother Hiram Smith. They dug for money in Palmyra, Manchester, also in Pennsylvania, and other places."²²⁹

When Joseph Jr. "gave the account in my father's house," Lorenzo Saunders said: "The angel told him there would be another appointed. Joseph chose Samuel Lawrence. But he did not go."²³⁰ Neighbor Willard Chase gave the fullest account in 1833: "Joseph believed that one Samuel T. [sic] Lawrence was the man alluded to by the spirit, and went with him to a singular looking hill, in Manchester, and shewed him where the treasure was. Lawrence asked him if he had ever discovered any thing with the plates of gold; he said no: he then asked him to look in his stone, to see if there was any thing with them. He looked, and said there was nothing; he told him to look again, and see if there was not a large pair of specks with the plates; he looked and soon saw a pair of spectacles, the same with which Joseph says he translated the *Book of Mormon*." Chase's next comment showed that this visit to the hill with Lawrence occurred in 1825: "Lawrence told him it would not be prudent to let these plates be seen for about two years, as it would make a big disturbance in the neighborhood [which occurred in September 1827]. Not long after this, Joseph altered his mind, and said L. was not the right man, nor had he told him the right place."²³¹

Existing accounts provide an explanation for what seems to be the intentional omission of one visit to the hill as Joseph Knight and Joseph Smith referred to the visits from 1823 to 1827.²³² Willard Chase's chronology was that the visit with Lawrence occurred in 1825, yet Chase did not say the visit occurred in September. Smith may have taken Lawrence to the hill to look for the plates prior to the required date in 1825. Either way, Chase said that Joseph Jr. was not happy about the result. This may be why Lorenzo Saunders said that Lawrence "did not go" with Joseph to the hill in September 1825, even though the young man previously selected him. Both Chase and Saunders reported that the effort to obtain the plates with Lawrence was a failure.

That failure may explain why none of these accounts mention an angel during the Smith-Lawrence visit to the hill. Knight was very specific that the angel in 1824 required Smith to bring "the right Person" at the 1825 visit.²³³ Smith obviously did not. As a result of this non-compliance, the messenger may not have appeared on the hill in September 1825. This explains why these early Mormon accounts omitted one visit with Moroni. Again, this is interpretation, not proof.

Currently available occult literature gave a further explanation for nineteen-year-old Joseph's disappointment in 1825. Robert C. Smith's *Complete System of*

Occult Philosophy specified: "Mercury turns retrograde, September 2nd, and about the 17th September again comes to a *quartile* of the same planet. This will, no doubt, produce evil events, and the month of *September, 1825, will be noted for evil, mischance, and loss of money amongst speculators ...*" (emphasis in original).²³⁴ For those responsive to occult views, Joseph Smith's failure to obtain "Cumorah's Treasure" in September 1825 was understandable, even inevitable.

The hope and disappointment Smith experienced in the quest for Cumorah's treasure in September 1825 was repeated within two months at Harmony, Pennsylvania. Joseph Smith's treasure-seeking expedition in October-November with Josiah Stowell ended first in failure to obtain the treasure, and then in a nearby court the following March (see ch. 2). Shortly after Smith's second disappointment in 1825, a new circumstance resolved the dilemma about whom he should take to the hill.

While engaged in this treasure-seeking venture in the fall of 1825, Smith met Isaac Hale's twenty-one-year-old daughter, Emma, at Harmony. She immediately attracted the young man's interest.²³⁵ However, Joseph was still only nineteen years old, and men in his family generally married far later. His eldest brother died unmarried at twenty-five, the next oldest married at twenty-five, their father had married at twenty-four, and three of his uncles had married at twenty-eight, thirty-four, and thirty-eight. Uncle Jesse had been the youngest man in two generations of the Smith family to marry, and he waited until twenty-one.²³⁶

Joseph Jr. soon departed from his family's pattern of late marriage. According to friend Knight, this was necessary to fulfill the angel's requirement for obtaining the gold plates.

Smith had little reason to hope for success as he ascended the hill to commune with the messenger on 22 September 1826. His own disobedience as an over-eager treasure-seeker thwarted the visit of 1823. Alvin's death left the requirement unfulfilled in 1824 and caused a village uproar over rumors of necromantic grave-robbing. Samuel Lawrence failed him as a fellow-seer in 1825. Now Smith went to the appointed spot with no idea what he should do next.

Knight described the condition of renewed hope and anxiety at Smith's 1826 meeting "with the personage." The angel "told him if he would Do right according to the will of God he might obtain [the plates] the 22nt Day of September Next and if not he never would have them." Smith learned from his seer stone what the requirement was: "Then he looked in his glass and found it was Emma Hale, Daughter of old Mr Hail of Pensylvania, a girl that he had seen Before, for he had Bin Down there Before with me."²³⁷

As Palmyra neighbors learned, the requirement was not simply to bring Miss Emma Hale to the hill. Henry Harris testified in 1833 that Smith told him that "an angel appeared, and told him he could not get the plates until he was married, and that when he saw the woman that was to be his wife, he should know her, and she would know him." Smith also related this requirement to Lorenzo Saunders.²³⁸ Other residents remembered that "it was freely talked among the neighbors that Jo Smith said he had a revelation to go to Pennsylvania and get him a wife."²³⁹ Emma Hale's cousins also reported that Joseph Smith stated "in our hearing" that Emma was the person who "must come with

him" to obtain the gold plates, according to the requirement of "the ghost."²⁴⁰ Among others who knew of this requirement was the McKune family, on whose property Joseph Smith had led some treasure-digging in Harmony, Pennsylvania: "Until he obtained one [a wife] there was no use in trying to get certain buried treasures at Palmyra."²⁴¹

Again, believer Joseph Knight verified the accuracy of unbelievers. BYU's Anderson has agreed that this requirement "to bring Emma, [was] a reality," as also affirmed by two other BYU professors of religion.²⁴² By significant contrast, writing for the LDS church's official magazine, still another BYU professor of religion made no reference to Knight's narrative in an article which purported to explain in detail "Moroni's visits, 1824-1827." Five years after my book's first edition, H. Donl Peterson's article avoided any reference to the unusual dimensions in Knight's account of Smith's annual visits to the hill.²⁴³ Columbia University historian Richard L. Bushman (a believing Mormon himself) explains: "Although a believer from the start, Knight's 'Recollection' has bothered some Mormon readers because of its rough-cut style and its unembarrassed reports of familiar relations with neighborhood money diggers."²⁴⁴

According to Knight, Smith's visit to the hill in September 1826 was the reason the twenty-year-old Smith was determined to set aside his family's tradition of delayed marriage. That requirement also explains why he ignored the opposition of his intended father-in-law. He had to marry Emma Hale within a year or the gold plates of Cumorah would be lost forever. The number of visits he now made to the Hale home in Pennsylvania is unclear, yet there were several. When asked for permission to marry his daughter, Isaac Hale refused because of Smith's treasure-seeking background.²⁴⁵

This undoubtedly perplexed the young man. Until recently Hale had been an enthusiastic supporter of this folk magic quest. He had boarded the treasure-digging crew at his home, and on 1 November 1825 signed the treasure-digging agreement with Stowell, Joseph Sr., and Joseph Smith, Jr. (see ch. 2).²⁴⁶ However, this decade of the 1820s was a transitional period of world views for many Americans (see ch. 1), and Isaac Hale now rejected the treasure-quest as a pretense.²⁴⁷

Smith's money-digging friends were hardly the allies he needed to overcome Hale's opposition. Still, more than anyone else they understood the need to obey the requirement of the treasure-guardian. First, Joseph Smith turned to Samuel Lawrence for assistance. Willard Chase testified that sometime during "the fall of 1826, [Joseph] wanted to go to Pennsylvania to be married; but being destitute of means, he now set his wits to work, how he should raise money, and get recommendations, to procure the fair one of his choice. He went to [Samuel] Lawrence with the following story, as stated to me by Lawrence himself. That he had discovered in Pennsylvania, on the bank of the Susquehannah River, a very rich mine of silver, and if he would go there with him, he might have a share in the profits ... When they got to Pennsylvania, Joseph wanted L. to recommend him to Miss H[ale], which he did ... L. then wished to see the silver mine, and he and Joseph went to the river, and made search, but found nothing."²⁴⁸ This incident only reinforced Smith's reputation

for treasure-seeking and got him no closer to the kind of secular respectability Hale demanded.

This Pennsylvania trip led to the final estrangement between Smith and his previous treasure-seeking associate Samuel Lawrence. A year later Joseph was "some affraid of him."²⁴⁹ While a visiting "conjurer and Willard Chase" were outside Lawrence's house plotting to use occult methods to discover the gold plates, Lawrence's wife told him to lower his voice, because Joseph Sr. was inside the house listening.²⁵⁰

From among the treasure-diggers in 1826, Smith turned next to the prosperous Joseph Knight to borrow horses and a sleigh. Thus outfitted, the young man made an impressive attempt for Hale's permission as the winter's snow fell. This was also unsuccessful.²⁵¹ When Smith turned twenty-one in late December, he had nine months to marry before the night of Moroni's requirement. However, he *had* to marry Emma Hale—without or without her father's permission—otherwise the angel had warned that Joseph "never would" get the gold plates.²⁵²

Less than a month later, Smith enlisted the help of a third treasure-seeker to secure Emma Hale as a wife, and thus secure the gold plates. Emma did not mention her father's claim that this happened while he was away from home on business. She later told her children: "I was visiting at Mr. [Josiah] Stowell's, who lived at Bainbridge, and saw your father there. I had no intention of marrying when I left home; but, during my visit at Mr. Stowell's, your father visited me there. My folks were bitterly opposed to him; and, being importuned by your father, aided by Mr. Stowell, who urged me to marry him, and preferring to marry him to any other man I knew, I consented." On 18 January 1827 the couple eloped.²⁵³ In commenting about this, latter-day believers typically speak of romance and Smith's love for Emma as the reason for their elopement.²⁵⁴ It is more likely that Smith risked alienating his parents-in-law from his new bride by eloping—not for love alone—but to fulfill the requirement of Moroni.

According to Palmyra neighbors, as the appointed day in September 1827 approached, Smith made additional preparations to guarantee the success of his last opportunity to obtain the gold plates. Willard Chase stated that Smith was required to "repair to the place where was deposited this manuscript, dressed in black clothes, and riding a black horse with a switch tail, and demand the book in a certain name ... They accordingly fitted out Joseph with a suit of black clothes and borrowed a black horse." Chase thought that this applied to the 1823 visit, yet all of Smith's own accounts preclude the time necessary for such preparations that year. Lorenzo Saunders said that the requirement for blackness applied to the 1827 visit.²⁵⁵ Without mentioning the color, both Joseph Knight and Lucy Mack Smith noted that Smith borrowed Knight's horse and carriage for the September 1827 visit to the hill.²⁵⁶ However, in his interview with Fayette Lapham, Joseph Sr. referred to this requirement of wearing clothing of a specific color: "he would have to get a certain coverlid, which he described, and an old-fashioned suit of clothes, of the same color, and a napkin to put the treasure in."²⁵⁷ In the 1820s "an old-fashioned suit of clothes" was black, a style popularized in 1821 when U.S. president James Madison attended his inauguration

"dressed in a plain suit of black broadcloth with a single-breasted coat and waistcoat with flaps, in the old fashion."²⁵⁸

Contemporary evidence supports the neighborhood's claim that Smith used the color black to help obtain the gold plates in 1827. Again, folk magic suggests the reason why.

Dr. Gain Robinson was "an old friend" of the Smith family,²⁵⁹ and owned a store in Palmyra. His account books of purchases by the Smiths from 1825 to 1829 show that the first time any of the Smiths purchased "Lamp Black" from his store was on 18 September 1827. This was four days before Smith's final visit to the hill. The entry for this particular purchase began "Joseph Smith for Son."²⁶⁰ Lampblack was a common pigment used to paint objects a deep black color.²⁶¹

Obtaining lampblack before Joseph Jr.'s momentous visit with the Angel Moroni was consistent with instructions "CONCERNING THE CONVOCA-TION OF THE GOOD SPIRITS." One occult handbook specified that the supplicant should not wear "your ordinary clothes; but take a [black] Rohe of Mourning ... [on the two mornings before] familiar conversation with your Guardian Angel."²⁶² Smith later spoke publicly about "my guardian angel."²⁶³ Similar instructions for "a black Garment" or "robe of black" were repeated several times in Scot's works and in Sibly's *Occult Sciences* (thirteen editions from 1784 to 1826).²⁶⁴ Both were specific sources for inscriptions on the Smith family's magic parchments (see ch. 4).

In addition, smearing lampblack on the palm had been used as a form of divinatory scrying for centuries.²⁶⁵ Black was also the color of Smith's birth sign of Capricorn which "signifies a tomb or mausoleum, a coffin, chest, or box with hinges."²⁶⁶ Among the treasures one could seek with the aid of astrology, Lilly's *Christian Astrology* included "some Antiquities of great account ... [and] things wrapt up in old blacke [sic] cloaths [sic]" (emphasis in original).²⁶⁷

After the anticipation and frustration of the four previous visits, Smith prepared "about twelve o'clock" midnight on Friday, 21 September 1827, to go with Emma to the hill for the plates. Josiah Stowell and Joseph Knight had arrived on 20 September and were asleep in the Smith home.²⁶⁸ Now they were the only treasure-seeking associates not aligned against the young man. According to Brigham Young, only "a week or ten days" earlier, "a fortune-teller" who lived in western New York had been searching for "where those plates were hid" in Palmyra.²⁶⁹ This undoubtedly was Luman Walter (see ch. 4). According to Martin Harris, Stowell's appearance at the Smith home in September 1827 was no coincidence: "Mr. Stowel was at this time at old Mr. Smith's digging for money."²⁷⁰

Joseph Jr.'s departure was at a good hour astrologically. Barrett's *The Magus* showed that Mercury and its angel Raphael governed the hour from 11 p.m. to midnight on Friday.²⁷¹ Raphael's name was at the center of the Smith family's magic parchment for communing with a good spirit (figs. 50, 79-80; see ch. 4). The year 1827 was under the rulership of Mars,²⁷² and that planet's sigil (seal) was inscribed on the Smith family dagger to draw circles of magic incantation (see chs. 2-3; figs. 43-45).²⁷³

All the astrological signs were favorable as the young couple drove toward the hill to obtain the plates in those first hours of Saturday, 22 September 1827.

The new moon was waxing in its second day, an ideal time for communing with a good spirit, according to Barrett's occult handbook.²⁷⁴ Published in New York since 1817 and advertised in Palmyra's newspaper in 1824, *THE BOOK OF FATE* also specified that "the second day [of the new moon] is very lucky for discovering things lost, or hidden treasure ..."²⁷⁵ LDS historian David J. Whittaker has written that Joseph Smith would easily know from astrological almanacs published near his home that 22 September 1827 was "both the autumnal equinox and a new moon, an excellent time [in astrology] to commence new projects" (emphasis in original).²⁷⁶ This information was in the almanac published nine miles from Smith's home and on sale in Palmyra.²⁷⁷

On this fateful early morning of September 1827, Canandaigua's almanac showed that the moon was also in Libra, when one should "Delve and Dig."²⁷⁸ Saturday belonged to the planet Saturn, which also presided over Smith's sign of Capricorn,²⁷⁹ and "Saturne governes old men, Monkes, melancholly men, and hid treasures; and those things which are obtained with long journies, difficulty."²⁸⁰ Smith's sister later stated that in order to obtain the gold plates "he was commanded to go on the 22d day of September 1827 at 2 o'clock."²⁸¹ In occult handbooks to 1826, that was the hour of Saturday morning over which Smith's ruling planet of Jupiter presided.²⁸² As a scholar of "the intellectual history of occult and esoteric currents in the English-speaking world" has recently written: "For finding hidden treasure, Jupiter might be of assistance."²⁸³

Whether by command of the treasure-guardian Moroni or by Joseph Smith's own choice, every circumstance of his September 1827 visit conformed to astrological traditions and to an occult handbook on sale in his neighborhood. A Mormon reviewer concluded that such correlations "effectively place[d] the recovery of the plates in the thick of the magical tradition."²⁸⁴

Nevertheless, astrology and ceremonial magic do not exhaust the parallels that are possible for this momentous occasion in Joseph Smith's life. The academic journal of FARMS has noted that "22 September 1827 was the day Jews throughout the world celebrated the Feast of Trumpets, which initiates the Days of Awe." This article concluded: "Was the coming forth of the Book of Mormon on Rosh ha-Shanah coincidental? Truth is often manifest through fulfillment."²⁸⁵ This issue's editor Stephen D. Ricks, BYU professor of Hebrew and Semitic languages, indicated no dissent from this article's denial of "coincidence" in this intersection of Jewish holy day and Palmyra's prophet.

FARMS would argue for significant connection of Judaism and this 1827 event despite the total lack of any Jewish practices in Joseph Smith's early life. No neighbors ever claimed they peeked through a window and saw Joseph Sr. and Jr. having the *Seder* meal during Passover. Joseph Sr. never published a denial of saying the *Kaddish* over his son Alvin's grave, after rumors that a mysterious visitor required this. The first published history of his early experiences did not use the words *Kaddish* and *Cabala*. No Vermont neighbors named a rabbi who taught Joseph Sr. how to celebrate Passover in both Vermont and New York. Palmyra's newspaper did not prove that this rabbi (named by Vermonters) actually was in the Smith family's neighborhood. Nor did neighbors name a rabbi in rural New York who prepared young Joseph for the *bar mitzvah* that he shared

only with other crypto-Jews in Christian Palmyra. Nor did his brother Hyrum's descendants hand from father-to-eldest-son a leather *phylactery* and a few beautifully inscribed parchments from an old *Torah*. Nor did Joseph Smith's widow give to her stepson a silver *mezuzuah*²⁸⁶ that she said the Mormon prophet highly regarded (without public display) until the day of his death.

By the published standards of BYU's Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, I am making a modest request for readers to regard it as non-coincidental that Smith's Cumorah visits were consistent with the requirements of ritual magic, occult science, and astrology. After all, Palmyra neighbors did claim (see ch. 2) they saw Joseph Sr. and Jr. engage in folk magic's quest for treasure. The father did publish a denial of exhuming Alvin's body, after rumors (verified by convert Joseph Knight) that the Angel Moroni had required Joseph Jr. to bring his now-deceased brother to the hill. Oliver Cowdery's first published history of Smith's experiences did use the words "necromancy" and "enchantment" while describing the coming forth of the *Book of Mormon*. Vermont neighbors did claim (see ch. 4) that a man named Winchell instructed Joseph Sr. in folk magic, and Palmyra's post office verified the Vermonter claim that Winchell was in Palmyra in time to help the elder Smith in treasure-digging. Palmyra's neighbors did claim (see ch. 4) that Luman Walter(s) used occult implements and a book to instruct young Joseph who shared this knowledge with a select few. Hyrum Smith's descendants did hand from father-to-eldest-son an astrologically inscribed dagger for drawing magic circles (see ch. 3), and also preserved a few beautifully inscribed parchments of ceremonial magic (see ch. 4). All these implements had inscriptions directly based on the kind of occult handbook alleged for Walter(s). With these occult-inscribed artifacts, Hyrum's descendants also passed down a leather pouch identical to amulet pouches preserved in modern collections of Anglo-European magic artifacts (see ch. 4). Lastly, Joseph's widow did give to her stepson a silver talisman inscribed with symbols of Smith's governing planet of Jupiter, which artifact the widow claimed her martyred husband regarded highly (see ch. 3).

Coincidence? Not by uniform application of the rules of evidence approved by FARMS for ancient parallels. The FARMS book-review editor has condemned non-uniform standards of evidence as a "double standard" fallacy which is one of the "most useful weapons" for "incompetent, uncharitable, dishonest" polemicists.²⁸⁷

Emma's cousins reported that she "stood with her back toward him, while he dug up the box."²⁸⁸ Martin Harris said that "while he was obtaining them, she kneeled down and prayed." Harris added that Joseph "then took the plates and hid them in an old black oak tree top which was hollow."²⁸⁹ This was another use of the color black, as Palmyra neighbors claimed was required by Moroni.

Joseph and Emma Smith did not return from the hill until the family met for breakfast on 22 September 1827. Joseph Knight best captured Smith's enthusiasm that morning: "it is ten times Better then [sic] I expected." Then he went on to tell the length and width and thickness of the plates, and said he, 'they appear to be Gold.'²⁹⁰ Joseph's excitement and words sounded like what a contemporary

would expect to hear after any successful treasure-quest. For most of Palmyra's treasure-diggers, that's all it was and they wanted their share.

Joseph Smith told his friends and neighbors that he had just unearthed gold plates. Equally sensational was Smith's statement that this treasure's guardian refused to allow him to profit from the discovery or give even a piece of gold to anyone else. Instead the former record-keeper had instructed the young man to translate its "engravings, in Egyptian characters," and provided him with a Urim and Thummim to do so.²⁹¹

Smith now abandoned his treasure-digging associates. According to early convert Martin Harris: "Joseph said the angel told him he must quit the company of the money-diggers. That there were wicked men among them. He must have no more to do with them."²⁹² Decades before Harris gave that interview, the anti-Mormon publisher of a Palmyra newspaper in 1830 gave a reasonably accurate version of Smith's account of the angel's instructions: "thou art greater than all the 'money-digging rabble,' and art chosen to interpret the book, which Mormon has written ..."²⁹³

According to Joseph Smith, his mother, and early converts, he now had to defend himself and the sacred plates from his former friends. They wanted to seize a gold treasure they regarded as rightly theirs.²⁹⁴ For example, New York convert David Whitmer said: "I had conversations with several young men who said that Joseph Smith had certainly golden plates, and that before he attained them he had promised to share with them, but had not done so, and they were very much incensed with him."²⁹⁵ Smith made that promise to various people during his treasure-quests from 1820 to 1826, but he exempted the gold plates of the *Book of Mormon*. This infuriated most of the "young men" who had strained their backs digging at numerous sites Joseph Jr. designated with his seer stone (see ch. 2).

In November 1827 the Palmyra newspaper referred to Thomas Carlyle's recent translation of Hoffmann's *Tales*. The report did not mention "The Golden Pot" or its story about the fiery salamander record-keeper and the young translator of "strange characters, which belong not to any known tongue." The newspaper did note that the *Museum of Foreign Literature* was reviewing Carlyle's work.²⁹⁶ This literary journal was sold regularly in Smith's neighborhood.²⁹⁷

Emma and her family said that he translated some characters from the plates in December 1827. In February, Martin Harris took a sample of the characters to New York City for scholars to examine. After Harris returned in April 1828, he transcribed 116 pages of the English translation. Harris borrowed the text in June to show to his family, yet loaned this transcription to other persons who stole it. Neither Harris nor Smith ever saw these handwritten pages again, and this ended Martin's service as scribe. This first stage of the translation occurred at Joseph Jr.'s home in Harmony, Pennsylvania.²⁹⁸

In 1829 Harris told a newspaper of his experience with Smith's first effort at translation. "By placing the spectacles in a hat and looking into it, Smith interprets the characters into the English language," Harris stated.²⁹⁹ He later said that it was necessary for Smith to put the two stones of the Urim and Thummim into his hat because the spectacles of the breastplate into which they fit were too large. Joseph's brother William also gave this same explanation.³⁰⁰ Two years after

Harris's first newspaper interviews, a Mormon missionary preached that Smith "found in the same place [on the Hill Cumorah] two stones with which he was enabled by placing them over his eyes and putting his head in a dark corner to decypher [sic] the hieroglyphics on the plates."³⁰¹

At Smith's home when the young man obtained the plates in 1827, Joseph Knight also wrote: "Now the way he translated was he put the urim and thummim into his hat and Darkened his Eyes then he would take a sentence [sic] and it would apper in Brite Roman Letters."³⁰² Knight's manuscript history (written in the 1830s but unpublished for more than a century) was very close to William Smith's account of how his brother translated: "When Joseph received the plates he also received the Urim and Thummim, which he would place in a hat to exclude all light, and with the plates by his side he translated the characters ..."³⁰³

This was consistent with much earlier publications about the ancient Jewish use of the Urim and Thummim. Of this, the sixteen-volume *Encyclopaedia Judaica* noted: "A question of the high priest is answered in words spelled out from the letters on his jeweled breastplate." The encyclopedia cited an illustration in a 1713 book which showed bright Hebrew characters emanating from the precious stones.³⁰⁴

By contrast, in the 1820s and 1830s religious reference books described the Urim and Thummim as a form of sortilege which gave only yes-no answers (see ch. 1). For example, in multiple American editions since 1823 *Jahn's Biblical Archaeology* stated: "The most probable opinion is, that URIM and THUMMIM ... was a sacred lot ... The question proposed, therefore, was always to be put in such a way, that the answer might be direct, either Yes or No, provided any answer was given at all" (emphasis in original). At some point, Joseph Smith read Jahn's book, because he quoted from it as editor of a church publication (see ch. 6).³⁰⁵ An 1830s religious encyclopedia likewise told its American readers: "Josephus, and some others, imagine the answer was returned by the stones of the breastplate appearing with an unusual lustre when it was favorable, or in the contrary case dim."³⁰⁶

Only in recent years have hihlical scholars suggested that the Urim and Thummim was *not* a lot oracle of yes-no divination, but actually gave revelations of complex ideas and wording.³⁰⁷ Joseph Smith's description of the Urim and Thummim's revelations to him was inconsistent with the scholarship of his time, but reflected the view of a 1713 book and of 1980s revisionist scholarship.

Despite its mockery of what Martin Harris told as faith-promoting testimony, a Philadelphia newspaper gave one of the earliest descriptions of the first scribe's experience. "So, in order to convince Harris that he *could* read from the plates, Jo deposits them [the stones] in his hat, applies the spectacles, and refers Harris to a chapter in the Bible which he had learned by rote; and which he *read* from the plates, with surprising accuracy; and what astonished Harris most, was, that Jo should omit all the words in the Bible that were printed in *Italic*. And, if Harris attempted to correct Jo, he persisted that the plates were right, and the Bible was wrong" (emphasis in original). The newspaper explained that the Bible's italics designated "words inserted by the translators" (of the King James Version). Concerning the *Book of Mormon's* translation, the newspaper continued: "Harris

commenced transcribing, as Jo dictated; and to avoid mistakes, Jo required his amanuensis to read what he had written; and nothing was allowed to pass, until Jo pronounced it correct."³⁰⁸

Of this initial stage of the translation process in 1828, Smith's wife, Emma, later explained: "Now the first that my husband translated, was translated by use of the Urim and Thummim, and that was the part that Martin Harris lost, after that he [my husband] used a small stone, not exactly black, but was rather a dark color."³⁰⁹

Joseph Smith's mother was sufficiently aware of folk magic traditions to use a term for treasure-digging stones to describe this Urim and Thummim. The Renaissance magus John Dee's seer stone was "cut in the form of a diamond,"³¹⁰ and "diamond" was a New York localism for stones used in folk magic. Concerning a young seer in Rochester (twenty-two miles northwest of Palmyra), the local historian wrote that Zimri Allen used one "diamond" to locate "a larger and better seer-stone, that was buried in his father's garden ... which Zim pronounced a 'proper diamond.'"³¹¹ Since one nearby village seer was using "diamond" as a synonym for seer stone, this gives added significance to Lucy Mack Smith's use of the term. Her initial description of the Urim and Thummim: "two smooth three-cornered *diamonds* set in glass, and the glasses were set in silver bows, which were connected with each other in much the same way as old fashioned spectacles."³¹² Smith's mother seemed to be using a folk term from the treasure-quest to describe the heaven-sent Urim and Thummim.

Martin Harris verified that Lucy Mack Smith's phrase "diamonds" was a localism for seer stones, rather than a description of diamond-like crystals. Speaking of the Urim and Thummim used for the translation that Harris recorded, Martin said: "The stones were white, like polished marble, with a few gray streaks. I never dared to look into them by placing them in the hat ..."³¹³ Therefore, contrary to the impression left by Smith's mother, the stones of his Urim and Thummim were neither crystalline nor diamond-cut. Since Smith said he obtained these in 1827, both of these white stones were different from the white stone the young seer first found about 1819. He had used that earlier white stone in the treasure-quest until 1822, when Joseph found the brown stone he valued most highly (see ch. 2).

After the rejection of Harris as scribe, Smith did not resume the translation until March 1829, while still in Harmony. Emma served as scribe immediately before and after Harris, and she described the experience: "In writing for your father I frequently wrote day after day, often sitting at the table close by him, he sitting with his face buried in his hat, with the stone in it, and dictating hour after hour with nothing between us."³¹⁴ There is a crucial element in her reference to "the stone," in contrast to the first translation with "the spectacles," as Harris experienced and described.

Not simply a crisis in Joseph Smith's personal life, the loss of the 116 pages changed the instrument he used for translation. David Whitmer explained that as a punishment, Moroni never returned to Smith the original Urim and Thummim found with the plates. Instead the angel allowed him to translate with the brown stone he already possessed. However, Whitmer described it as if this seer

stone were a new gift (probably because he did not meet the young prophet until after Joseph had stopped serving as a treasure-seer for "money-diggers"). Under the mistaken impression that this was Joseph's first use of the brown stone, Whitmer wrote: "By fervent prayer and by otherwise humbling himself, the prophet, however, again found favor, and was presented with a strange, oval-shaped, chocolate-colored stone, about the size of an egg, only more flat, which, it was promised should serve the same purpose as the missing urim and thummim. ... With this stone all of the present Book of Mormon was translated."³¹⁵ Whitmer's sister, later Cowdery's wife, also witnessed the translation with the seer stone. She stated: "He would place the director in his hat, and then place his face in his hat, so as to exclude the light."³¹⁶

This dictation of translated words proceeded slowly until the arrival of Oliver Cowdery at Smith's home in Harmony. Cowdery began acting as scribe on 7 April 1829. He and Smith completed the translation and transcription process by the end of June.³¹⁷ Bushman has noted that Smith dictated at the rate of "eight pages of printed text a day—a marvelous production rate for any writer and a stupendous one for an uneducated twenty-three-year old who, according to his wife, could scarcely write a coherent letter."³¹⁸

Most of Smith's disciples did not emphasize the fact that he was now using for religious purposes the brown seer stone he had previously used for the treasure-quest. However, in 1831 Mormon dissenter Ezra Booth published the earliest claim for the dual use of Smith's stone: "These [buried] treasures were discovered several years since, by means of the dark glass, the same with which Smith says he translated most of the Book of Mormon.—Several of these persons, together with Smith, who were formerly unsuccessfully engaged in digging and searching for these treasures, now reside in this county, and from themselves I received this information." In his 1830s history of these events, devout believer Joseph Knight likewise called Smith's seer stone "his glass."³¹⁹

Because Smith found it on the Chase property, Palmyra resident Willard Chase claimed ownership of this stone. He testified that after Joseph returned the stone, Hyrum asked to borrow it again. When Chase asked the older brother for it later, "he told me I should not have it, for Joseph made use of it in translating his Bible."³²⁰ A cousin of Smith's wife reported that Joseph "translated the Book of Mormon by means of the same peep stone, and under the same inspiration that directed his enchantments ..."³²¹ While hostile acquaintances were the first to publish that the translation occurred through Smith's treasure-digging stone, the first generation of Mormon converts verified this claim.

For example, believer William W. Blair interviewed Michael Morse, who witnessed Joseph Smith translating the *Book of Mormon*. According to Morse (who married Emma Smith's sister): "The mode of procedure consisted in Joseph's placing the Seer Stone in the crown of a hat, then putting his face into the hat, so as to entirely cover his face, resting his elbows upon his knees, and then dictating, word after word, while the scribe—Emma, John Whitmer, O[liver]. Cowdery, or some other, wrote it down."³²²

LDS church historian Joseph Fielding Smith dismissed these eye-witness

descriptions as "all hearsay, and personally, I do not believe that the use of such a stone was made in that translation" (emphasis in original).³²³

Nevertheless, other LDS leaders have affirmed that Smith used the seer stone. First Presidency counselor George Q. Cannon's *Life of Joseph Smith* stated: "One of Joseph's aids in searching out the truths of the [*Book of Mormon*] was a peculiar pebble or rock which he called a seer stone, and which was sometimes used by him in lieu of the Urim and Thummim."³²⁴ For nearly twenty-five years, assistant church historian B. H. Roberts published the same description in LDS publications: "The seer stone referred to here was a chocolate-colored, somewhat egg-shaped stone which the Prophet found while digging a well in company with his brother Hyrum, for a Mr. Clark Chase, near Palmyra, N.Y. It possessed the qualities of Urim and Thummim, since by means of it—as described above,—as well as by means of the Interpreters found with the Nephite record, Joseph was able to translate the characters engraven on the plates."³²⁵ Brigham Young University's Richard L. Anderson affirmed: "Thus it should pose no religious difficulty that Joseph's seer stone of his youth was later applied to the higher use of inspired translation of the *Book of Mormon*."³²⁶

In fact, the actual translation process was strikingly similar to the way Smith used the same stone for treasure-hunting. Before young Joseph was newsworthy, Palmyra's newspaper reprinted in 1825 a significant story from the newspaper of Orleans County, New York. It described the discovery of a treasure "by the help of a *mineral stone*, which becomes transparent when placed in a hat and the light excluded by the face of him who looks into it" (emphasis in original).³²⁷ This was how treasure-seers (including Palmyra's Sally Chase) typically used their stones.³²⁸ Later statements by residents in New York and Pennsylvania all agreed that this was how Smith used his stone for the treasure-quest.³²⁹ Compare that description with statements of Mormons who personally witnessed Smith translating.

"I will now give you a description of the manner in which the *Book of Mormon* was translated," David Whitmer began his history of these early events. "Joseph Smith would put the seer stone into a hat, and put his face in the hat, drawing it closely around his face to exclude the light; and in the darkness the spiritual light would shine. A piece of something resembling parchment would appear, and on that appeared the writing." He repeated this in numerous interviews.³³⁰ John Whitmer added: "The words remained in sight until correctly written . . ."³³¹ The Whitmers were eye-witnesses of this translation process in June 1829, when Joseph Jr. transferred the site of translation from Pennsylvania to the home of Peter Whitmer, Sr., in Fayette, New York.³³² The first scribe Martin Harris likewise stated that "sentences would appear."³³³

Although the Whitmers and Harris made their statements decades after the translation, Joseph Knight wrote in the 1830s that each sentence "would apper in Brite Roman Letters."³³⁴ Recently John A. Tvedtnes categorically rejected such testimony in a review for FARMS.³³⁵ Nevertheless, FARMS reviewer John Gee has accurately noted: "the eyewitnesses to the translation are the ones who argue for a tight control of the process, while those arguing for loose control of the translation process are not eyewitnesses."³³⁶

Remarkably, Joseph Smith also allowed non-believers to witness the translation. Rejecting the world view of the believers, these other witnesses scoffed at Smith's religious use of his treasure-quest seer stone.³³⁷

In contrast, Emma Smith, Martin Harris, David Whitmer, and other believing observers affirmed that this stone-translation occurred through the "gift and power of God."³³⁸ None of these scribes and witnesses saw any inconsistency in God's employing a treasure-digging stone for sacred translation. These believers shared a world view which regarded success with such instruments of folk magic as a divine gift.

The *Book of Mormon* itself refers only ambiguously to either the seer stone or the Urim and Thummin: "And the Lord said: I will prepare unto my servant Gazelem, a stone, which shall shine forth in darkness unto light, that I may discover unto my people who serve me" (Alma 37:23). Despite the single-object nature of this reference, the next verse refers to "these interpreters." The description of the stone's operation was similar to descriptions of scrying in magic.

This passage's grammatical structure is also unclear. "Gazelem" could be the name of the servant or the stone. Early Mormon apostle Orson Pratt explained that in reviewing the published texts of Smith's later revelations, a committee chose the name "Gazalam" to designate him. Pratt said Smith deserved this name because he was "a person to whom the Lord had given the Urim and Thummim."³³⁹ A late nineteenth-century concordance for the *Book of Mormon* also identified the name "Gazelem" as "the name given to a servant of God."³⁴⁰

On the other hand, some early Mormons regarded Gazelem as the name of the "stone, which shall shine forth in darkness unto light." Giving a seer stone a personal name was consistent with the practice of conferring names on instruments of magic such as divining rods.³⁴¹ In 1841 apostles Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball published an index which named the stone in a cryptic way: "Gazelem, a stone, (secret)."³⁴² These two apostles were very sympathetic to folk magic (see ch. 7).

During a conversation in the First Presidency's office more than fifty years later, Mormon church president Wilford Woodruff specifically defined Gazelem as the name of the brown seer stone: "President Woodruff [remarked] in relation to the seer stone known as 'Gazalem,' which was shown of the Lord to the Prophet Joseph to be some thirty feet under ground, and which he obtained by digging under the pretense of excavating for a well, as related in his own history. This remarkable stone was used by the Prophet."³⁴³

Concerning this brown stone, David Whitmer affirmed that "the revelations in the Book of Commandments up to June 1829, were given through the 'stone,' through which the *Book of Mormon* was translated."³⁴⁴ Whitmer and Hiram Page (one of the Eight Witnesses) wrote about one of the lesser-known of these revelations through the seer stone. Joseph Smith instructed Page (a seer in his own right), rodsman Oliver Cowdery, and Smith's former treasure-digging colleagues Josiah Stowell and Joseph Knight to go to Canada to obtain a copyright for the *Book of Mormon* there.³⁴⁵

Because his seer stone possessed revelatory properties, sometime after 1828 Smith and others began referring to the stone as "Urim and Thummim."³⁴⁶ This

was the term in the "Manuscript History of the Church" for the object through which early revelations were received to 1830, and this statement about the Urim and Thummim has appeared in the headings to these early revelations in the *Doctrine and Covenants* from 1921 to the present.³⁴⁷ However, there was no reference to the Urim and Thummim in the headings of the *Book of Commandments* (1833) or in the headings of the only editions of the *Doctrine and Covenants* prepared during Smith's life (in 1835 and 1844).³⁴⁸

Two Mormon sources show that this post-1828 "Urim and Thummim" was a single stone. A manuscript of *Doctrine and Covenants* 3 stated: "I enquired of the Lord through the Urim and obtained the following Revelation."³⁴⁹ Apostle Orson Pratt also observed: "The Urim and Thummim is a stone or other substance sanctified and illuminated by the Spirit of the living God" (emphasis added).³⁵⁰ This substitution was crucial evidence that by 1829 Joseph Smith used biblical terminology to mainstream an instrument and practice of folk magic.³⁵¹ Not until recently has a biblical scholar considered the Urim and Thummim "as a single object."³⁵²

In explaining the translation of the *Book of Mormon* to an inquirer in October 1830, Smith also referred to his using a single object. In describing his "privilege of conversing with him alone, several hours," Peter Bauder wrote in 1834: "only by the aid of a glass which he also obtained with the plate[s], by which means he was enabled to translate the characters on the plate[s] into English."³⁵³ As previously noted, early convert Joseph Knight also referred to Smith's seer stone as "his glass."³⁵⁴

David Whitmer explained that the seer stone was the source of Smith's revelations after 1828.³⁵⁵ Later LDS church authority Bruce R. McConkie explained: "The Prophet also had a seer stone which was separate and distinct from the Urim and Thummim, and which (speaking loosely) has been called by some a Urim and Thummim" (emphasis in original).³⁵⁶ As one FARMS writer has recently affirmed: "Seerstones are, nevertheless, part of Joseph Smith's telling of his own story."³⁵⁷

After the completion of the translation in June 1829 Cowdery, Whitmer, and Harris testified that an angel showed them the sacred plates of gold. At the same time they heard God's voice testifying of the translation's truth. In addition, eight men testified that Joseph Jr. allowed them to handle the gold plates, without any metaphysical experience. When the *Book of Mormon* was offered for sale to the public on 26 March 1830, its front pages contained the testimonies of the "Three Witnesses" and the "Eight Witnesses."³⁵⁸

The 1820-30 transformation of Joseph Smith from farm boy to seer was marked by revelation, adventure, anticipation, personal loss, frustration, and finally triumph. Central to the meaning of these years for him, his family, and associates was the intertwining of what many others separated into distinct categories of divine and occult, religion and magic. The translation of the gold plates of the *Book of Mormon* began the modern publication of new scripture. Like the Bible, Mormon scriptures echoed a magic world view that eventually diminished in the church he organized (see chs. 6-7).

Smith formally established this church on 6 April 1830. On that same day a

revelation appointed him "a seer, a translator, a prophet, an apostle of Jesus Christ, an elder of the church" (D&C 21:1). However, Smith did not organize the new church on Sunday, which most Christians would expect for a scheduled event of religious importance.³⁵⁹ Instead, he chose a day which was significant in the astrological world view.

According to the folk belief of "DAY-FATALITY," the sixth of April was always a beneficial day to transact important business. Among other places, this appeared in John Aubrey's *Miscellanies* ("A Collection of Hermetick Philosophy").³⁶⁰ As already noted, Aubrey's book was available in New York by 1813. In addition, published nine miles from the Smith home, an astrological almanac showed that on Tuesday, 6 April 1830, Joseph Smith's governing planet Jupiter was in "quadrature" with the sun (fig. 18, compare fig. 20b; also ch. 3). This was the first reference to Jupiter in the monthly calendars of the 1830 almanac published in Canandaigua and sold by "E.B. Grandin, Palmyra."³⁶¹ There was no better day for Jupiter-born Joseph Smith to select as the organizational date for the new church. This was a fitting conclusion to nearly seven years of astrological connections for the coming forth of the *Book of Mormon*.

Scholars have long recognized that Smith's first vision of Deity was not published or used in any proselytizing tract for this new church until the 1840s. It did not become a regular proselytizing tool until fifty years after Smith's theophany.³⁶² Critics tend to overlook the fact that non-Mormon newspapers reported in 1829-31 that he claimed to have seen God, an experience he recorded in 1832. Smith's delay for another ten years in publishing his account of the first vision was also consistent with the actions of Protestant ministers of his time. They often waited decades to describe their personal visions of Deity (see ch. 1).

Asa Wild was one New York visionary who did not postpone publicizing his epiphany. In 1823 Palmyra's newspaper devoted a full column of print to his recent, "very glorious Vision" in Amsterdam, New York. As part of Wild's vision, God revealed that "all the different denominations of professing Christians constituted the New Testament Babylon ... and that the severest judgments will be inflicted on the *false* and *fallen* professors of religion" (emphasis in original). In 1830 another Palmyra newspaper emphasized Swedenborg's vision of "the Lord."³⁶³

It was not because of its content that many Palmyra residents ridiculed Joseph Smith's first vision,³⁶⁴ but because of the claim that God appeared to a local treasure-seer (see ch. 2). Smith's first vision became a missionary tool for his followers only after Americans grew to regard modern visions of God as unusual.³⁶⁵

Though Smith's vision of Deity was not remarkable in America of the 1820s,³⁶⁶ his visions surrounding the *Book of Mormon* created a sensation because it seemed to rival the Bible. This alienated former allies in his hometown. A Presbyterian woman who grew up near the Smith family later spoke of "the excitement stirred up among some of the people over the boy's first vision, and of hearing her father contend that it was only the sweet dream of a pure-minded boy." However, when Smith announced that he was producing new scripture, "her parents cut off their friendship for all the Smiths." Decades later the woman

lamented: "There was never a truer, purer, nobler boy than Joseph Smith before he was led away by superstition."³⁶⁷ In her family's view, the young man was corrupted by the "superstition" of competing with Moses and John the Revelator, not by Smith's first vision or his years as a treasure-seer in their neighborhood (see ch. 2).

Publication of the *Book of Mormon* signaled to the world that young Joseph was not simply a village mystic.³⁶⁸ "Visionaries like Charles Finney and Lucy Mack Smith felt keenly the application of scripture to their own lives, but Joseph Smith did more," noted Philip L. Barlow, editor of the *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*. This LDS theologian at Hanover College concluded that Joseph Smith "placed himself *inside* the Bible story ... to see events in his own life as a continuation of the Bible narrative" (emphasis in original).³⁶⁹ This began what Mormons soon called "the restoration of all things."³⁷⁰ That phrase eventually encompassed a remarkable theology, a radical world view, and an ethnic sense of "peopleness" among those who have always preferred to be known as "saints."³⁷¹

6.

Mormon Scriptures, the Magic World View, and Rural New York's Intellectual Life

Whether revealed translations of ancient texts or modern revelations, Mormon scriptures are foundational documents that must be included in any consideration of early Mormonism. In this case, it is necessary to examine how the magic world view is consistent or inconsistent with these texts.

The approach of this chapter follows the observation of Howard Kee, a historian of early Christianity. "The essential requirement for interpretation of a text is to read it in context," he wrote. "Not merely in literary context, but in the wider, deeper social and cultural context in which both author and audience lived, and in which the language they employed took on the connotations to which the interpreter must seek to be sensitive."¹

In addition to the Bible-reading culture of Protestant America, the transmission of new scripture occurred within a context of occult and folk magic beliefs, practices, and artifacts of Joseph Smith and his family. Therefore, it is not surprising that the *Book of Mormon*² and other early Mormon translations/revelations have correspondences to words, phrases, and ideas in occult literature. Most of this literature was directly available to Americans of the 1820s (see chs. 1, 3, 4). This tradition of the literary occult created a more widespread oral tradition of folk magic and popular occultism among people who may not have read the published works.³

However, LDS apologists argue that the Palmyra/Manchester⁴ area was an intellectual backwater with no access to sophisticated literature or "obscure hooks." For example, Gary F. Novak asked: "Could Joseph, or anyone else for that matter in the 1820s, have had access to all the rare books from which Quinn draws?" He later answered this rhetorical question by insisting that Smith needed "years in the British Museum" to discover these published works.⁵ Brigham Young University religion professor C. Wilford Griggs agreed: "One would have to grant the Prophet a Ph.D. if he had been able to do all the research into the works Quinn and other detractors cite as sources for his own published writings and activities."

This polemical reviewer concluded that my book was an "example of how one exaggerates, distorts, and to some extent even invents a historical context into which he attempts to force an also exaggerated, distorted, and invented version of the prophetic writings and records."⁶

As already demonstrated (see ch. 1), occult books (some out-of-print for decades or centuries) also circulated widely among common Americans down to Smith's generation. By 1823 there were two bookstores in Palmyra, whose population was overwhelmingly composed of farmers and unskilled laborers.⁷ In 1822 an advertisement included "Hieroglyphical" and "Fabulous" among the types of books available to Palmyra residents, and in 1824 one issue of Palmyra's newspaper advertised two occult handbooks (ch. 4).⁸

There is direct evidence that young Joseph Smith had access to these book advertisements in his local newspaper. One of its employees later wrote that "once a week he would stroll into the office of the old Palmyra Register, for his father's paper."⁹ The *Palmyra Register* ceased publication in 1821, when Smith was fifteen years old. There is no reason to doubt that the Smith family had equal interest in Palmyra's newspapers that followed it.

In 1828 a New York magazine noted: "We find text books of Cabala, necromancy, astrology, magic, fortunetelling, and various proofs of witchcraft ..."¹⁰ In 1824 Palmyra's two advertised handbooks of the occult were cheaply-bound chapbooks (with paper covers) that sold for a few pennies each (see ch. 4).

In addition, Rosicrucian ideas were available near Joseph Smith's home. In 1823 Canandaigua's newspaper advertised twelve volumes of *The Spectator* for a dollar a volume. Originally published in 1711-14, Joseph Addison's English magazine circulated continuously for more than a century in multi-volume reprints. In 1823 Canandaigua's bookstore was selling the twelve-volume edition, plus editions of one volume, three volumes, eight volumes, and ten volumes.¹¹ According to Smith's mother, Canandaigua was only nine miles from their home.¹² Smith's hometown library in Manchester had an 1810 eight-volume American edition of Addison's *Spectator*.¹³ Addison had been "both a Rosicrucian and a Freemason, and allusions to both fraternities were strewn through the magazine."¹⁴

Aside from Palmyra's bookstores, the Canandaigua Bookstore was in fierce competition to achieve massive inventories. Thirteen miles west of Canandaigua, Bloomfield's Ontario Bookstore by March 1815 was increasing its inventory by "upwards of one thousand volumes" in a month.¹⁵ In October its owner used his competitor's Canandaigua newspaper to advertise that the Bloomfield store now had an inventory of "from 12 to 14,000" books. Competing bookseller James D. Bemis used his newspaper to give long lists of additions to the inventory of his Canandaigua Bookstore. With the exception of one ad, he understandably did not allow his competitor the same opportunity. By 1816 Bloomfield's Ontario Bookstore had such a massive inventory that it opened a second store (now its main outlet) in Canandaigua to engage in head-to-head competition with the older bookstore.¹⁶

Bloomfield's population was 3,634 in 1820.¹⁷ Even by the low estimate of book-inventory five years earlier, the town's bookstore had more than three

books for every man, woman, and child of Bloomfield. The British Museum's library has never had a 3-to-1 ratio of books to London's population, yet that was the book-resident ratio of a bookstore in rural New York state in 1815. The next year, it transferred most of these books to Canandaigua, which had a much smaller population.¹⁸

The race to increase book-inventories continued in Canandaigua. In October 1817 its upstart Ontario Bookstore announced a new acquisition of "MORE than 2000 Volumes." However, this staggering increase created a cash-flow problem, and in less than two weeks the store announced to the residents of Canandaigua and nearby towns and villages like Palmyra: "CHEAP BOOK SALE! Lovers of Books and Good Bargains, NOW is your Time." This may have flooded the Palmyra area with books, but the sale did not save the overly confident bookstore. By February 1818 the Ontario Bookstore was out of business.¹⁹ Nevertheless, the remaining Canandaigua Bookstore continued the same level of advertising as when it was combatting its competitor's 14,000-book-inventory.

In 1824 a state gazetteer counted Canandaigua's population as 2,000 and commented that this "village" had "an extensive bookstore."²⁰ With a town population barely half the size of Bloomfield, Canandaigua's sole bookstore in 1824 had a far larger book-resident ratio than its competitor did nine years earlier. Nevertheless, in September 1827 a new bookstore opened in Canandaigua. Four years later there were still two bookstores in that town.²¹ Intense inventory-competition by two bookstores in Canandaigua had not saturated the local market.

Palmyra's newspapers also demonstrate that this village's bookstores paid to advertise sophisticated books to farmers. Among the advertised books from 1818 to 1829 were Homer's *Odyssey* (two volumes), Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, Andrew Dalzel's *Collectanea Graeca Majora* (two volumes), William Melmoth's *The Letters of Pliny the Consul* (two volumes), the works of Plutarch and of Josephus, John Milton's *Paradise Lost*, William Shakespeare's complete works, the works of Jonathan Edwards (eight volumes), Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, John Locke's *On the Understanding*, David Hume's *Philosophical Works*, George Berkeley's *Minute Philosophy*, Edward Gibbons's *History of Rome* (six volumes), Samuel T. Coleridge's *Biographical Sketches of My Literary Life and Opinions*, Samuel Johnson's *Lives of the English Poets* (in sets of two volumes and four volumes) and his works (six volumes), James Boswell's *Life of Samuel Johnson* (three volumes), William Hazlitt's *Shakespeare*, the works of Robert Burns, of Alexander Pope, of Oliver Goldsmith, of Walter Scott, of Lord Byron, of Laurence Sterne, of Thomas Gray (two volumes), of William Cowper (three volumes), Voltaire's *History of Charles XII* (in English and possibly in French), *History of England*, by Hume and Smollett (twelve volumes), *Ferguson's Astronomy, Explained Upon Sir Isaac Newton's Principles* (508 pages), Dugald Stewart's *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind*, Alexander von Humboldt's *New Spain*, William Paley's *Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy*, Edward Daniel Clarke's *Travels in Greece, Egypt, and the Holy Land* (four volumes), and *American State Papers and Public Documents from 1789 to 1815* (eight volumes). Repeated advertising of such books in the 1820s demonstrated that Palmyra's booksellers knew local residents bought sophisticated publications, as well as chapbooks.²²

And it is no exaggeration to say that this extensive book-circulation was occurring in a "village." That is how its newspaper repeatedly described Palmyra during Joseph Smith's young manhood.²³

One of these advertised books was consistent with a Palmyra neighbor's comment about Smith's boyhood interests. Orsamus Turner said that he "used to help us solve some portentous questions of moral or political ethics, in our juvenile debating club."²⁴ Young Joseph's precocious insight mirrored the availability of Paley's *Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy*, a fact that Turner's reminiscence did not mention. With its tenth American edition published in nearby Canandaigua, Paley's book was also in Smith's hometown library.²⁵

Rather than acknowledge Palmyra's sophisticated reading habits, traditional Mormon historians portray the village's newspaper as advertising only elementary-level books to its rural population. Recently a BYU religion professor wrote: "The newspapers carried frequent advertisements, which give us an insight into the kind of merchandise available to the residents of Palmyra." As the only comment about books "available" in Palmyra, he wrote: "One bookstore advertised Bibles, Watt's *Psalms and Hymns*, testaments, Murray's *Grammar*, *English Readers*, Webster's *Spelling Book*, Walker's *Dictionary*, Daboll's *Arithmetic*, Morse's *Geography*, Child's *Instruction*, and a variety of toy books" (emphasis in original). According to this assessment, the village's residents allegedly had access only to books for elementary school children. To support the myth that Joseph Smith was barely literate with no intellectual curiosity, this publication by BYU's Department of Church History and Doctrine downgraded the intellectual life of everyone in Palmyra.²⁶

In addition to offering the sophisticated books advertised by Palmyra's bookstores, nearby Canandaigua advertised Homer's *Iliad* (two volumes), William Melmoth's *The Letters of Marcus Tullius Cicero* (three volumes), Pindar's works (four volumes), Virgil's *Aeneid*, Plutarch's *Lives* (in sets of six volumes and eight volumes), Andrew Dalzel's *Collectanea Graeca Minora* (one volume), Thomas à Kempis' *Imitation of Christ*, Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queen*, Miguel Cervantes's *Don Quixote* (in one volume, four volumes, and five volumes), Thomas More's *Utopia*, John Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (three volumes), John Milton's *Treatise on Christian Doctrine* (two volumes), Montesquieu's *Spirit of Laws* (two volumes), Samuel Butler's *Hudibras*, John Dryden's poetical works (three volumes), Johann L. Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History* (in sets of five volumes and six volumes), Thomas Jefferson's *Memoirs* (two volumes) and his *Notes on Virginia*, Joseph Addison's works (six volumes), William Enfield's *History of Philosophy*, Voltaire's *History of Charles XII* "in French," James Cook's *Voyages* (two volumes), Goethe's *Sorrows of Werter* and his *Memoirs*, Edmund Burke's works (three volumes), Jonathan Swift's works (twenty-four volumes and twenty-five volumes), *Federalist Papers* (two volumes), Henry Fielding's works (ten volumes), Dugald Stewart's *History of Philosophy*, Jean Jacques Rousseau "on Politics" and his *Confessions* (three volumes), Bible concordances by John Butterworth and Alexander Cruden, Alexander Hamilton's works (three volumes), *Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, Alexander Chalmers's edition of *British Essayists* (twenty-two volumes), Robert Lowth's *Isaiah*, Jane Austen's *Emma*, Wil-

William Wordsworth's *Poetical Works* (four volumes), Ann Radcliffe's *Mysteries of Udolpho*, Thomas Brown's *Philosophy of the Human Mind* (three volumes), *The Diplomacy of the United States ... to 1814*, John Gill's *Exposition of the Old and New Testaments* (nine volumes), John Bowring's *Specimens of the Russian Poets* (two volumes), and "about 200 different plays."²⁷

This list does not include book-advertisements from February 1828 through December 1830, a missing time-period in available microfilms of Canandaigua's newspaper. These noted authors and titles accounted for about 10 percent of advertised books in the Palmyra area. Even though a single advertisement by the Canandaigua Bookstore from 1815 to 1830 might include hundreds of books, this was only a small fraction of an inventory which was competing with other bookstores, one of which claimed upto 14,000 books in 1815. Fourteen of the above titles from newspaper advertising in Palmyra and Canandaigua were also in Joseph Smith's hometown library.²⁸

The Canandaigua bookstore's 1821 advertisement for Rousseau "on Politics" is of special significance. His English-language *Dissertation on Political Economy* had been out-of-print since its 1797 edition at Albany, New York. The only other title even close to the advertisement was Rousseau's *Treatise on the Social Compact; or the Principles of Political Law*, which had been out-of-print even longer. Thus, without special emphasis, a bookstore near the Smith home was advertising a book that had been out-of-print for twenty-four years.²⁹ This is sufficient refutation of apologist and polemical claims that young Joseph did not have "access" to "rare books."

Aside from books, literary journals were on sale in Joseph Smith's neighborhood. This included the regular monthly or quarterly copies of British periodicals (*Edinburgh Review*, the *London Monthly Magazine*, the *Quarterly Review*) and of American periodicals (the *American Monthly Magazine and Critical Review*, the *American Quarterly Review*, the *Atheneum*, the *Boston Journal of Philosophy and the Arts*, the *Literary and Scientific Repository and Critical Review*, the *Museum of Foreign Literature*, the *New York Review*, the *North American Review*, the *United States Literary Review*).³⁰

Book-pricing was also a factor in this evidence of massive book sales in western New York's farm communities. Palmyra's newspaper in 1822 advertised regular-bound books for 44 cents each and a "fine edition, with engravings" for 75 cents.³¹ Nearby Canandaigua advertised books that averaged from 75 cents to one dollar a volume.³² The highest price for finely-bound sets was three dollars a volume (e.g., "8 vols. extra calf binding, \$24").³³ Nevertheless, during the 1820s bookstores near Joseph Smith's home were selling thousands of hardback books for 44 cents to a dollar each.

When competition drove a bookseller out of business, as happened at nearby Canandaigua in 1818, Palmyra's residents could buy books at even lower prices. Twenty-two miles away, a Rochester bookseller in 1823 offered Palmyra's residents his entire inventory in a close-out sale: "Cheap for Cash!!"³⁴

Canandaigua and Palmyra were typical of the demand for books in this rural area. In 1824 the *Lyons Advertiser* (published 13.8 miles east of Palmyra) had advertisements for three bookstores on the same page—the local one in Lyons,

the Canandaigua Bookstore, and "NEW AND CHEAP BOOKS, At the Geneva Book Store." Geneva was sixteen miles from Lyons, twenty-two miles southeast of Palmyra, and 17.4 miles from Manchester.³⁵ Nevertheless, Geneva's bookstore advertised in Palmyra's newspaper as did Rochester's fiercely competitive bookstores. In fact, from 1817 onward, it was not uncommon for a single issue of Palmyra's newspaper to have advertisements from four different bookstores, located in the immediate vicinity and as far distant as Geneva and Rochester.³⁶

Farmers in early America loved reading books—all kinds of books. Rural areas also demonstrated this by establishing libraries to lend books to farmers at little or no cost. Joseph Smith's hometown of Manchester had a subscription library, which required an initial membership fee of \$2.00, plus an annual fee of 25 cents. None of the Smiths formally joined the Manchester Library, but the library's rules allowed non-members to use the library if they paid fees.³⁷ LDS writer Matthew Roper has claimed that this prevented the young seer from using Manchester's library due to "the tight economic circumstances of Joseph Smith's family during this period."³⁸ This overlooks the fact that in 1823 Palmyra's "public library" was three miles closer to the Smith's farm than Manchester's subscription library. In 1828 Palmyra added yet another library.³⁹ A "public library" or "farmer's library" provided free book-lending to struggling residents like the Smiths.

By 1826 there were at least twenty-three libraries in communities surrounding Manchester/Palmyra. More than half were incorporated as "public library" or "farmer's library." If the incorporation document for subscription libraries mentioned anything about the initial subscription fee, they stated that membership required only the donation of one book to the library. (Remember that Palmyra residents could buy a regular-bound, new book for as little as 44 cents). Three towns had both a subscription library and a separate "public library." Canandaigua (only nine miles from Smith's home) had two public libraries and one subscription library.⁴⁰ Viewing such libraries as serious competitors, in February 1824 Bemis began offering "upwards of 300 volumes" on loan at his Canandaigua Bookstore.⁴¹

His massive inventories were already severe competition for nearby Palmyra's bookstores. In apparent response to the Canandaigua Bookstore's recent announcement of book-lending, in May 1824 Palmyra bookseller Pomeroy Tucker advertised dozens of titles "which he intends to sell at very low prices." These titles were also being sold in Canandaigua.⁴² In November, Tucker advertised that his Palmyra bookstore was "now receiving large additions to their stock of BOOKS and STATIONARY [sic], which will make the best assortment ever offered in WAYNE county." When the Palmyra newspaper published Bemis's advertisement for the Canandaigua Bookstore, there was this additional last line: "N.B. Any of the above Books may be had at the Wayne Bookstore [in Palmyra], at the publishers' prices."⁴³ From 1824 onward, Tucker made sure that his Palmyra bookstore sold every book advertised by Canandaigua's bookstore.

However, Bemis knew that Palmyra's bookstore could not duplicate the huge inventory of books he had amassed for a decade. The Canandaigua Bookstore

emphasized this in an advertisement in Palmyra's newspaper: "LARGE additions have recently been made to the stock of BOOKS & STATIONARY [sic] at this establishment, making altogether the most extensive assortment to be found in this country."⁴⁴ *Country*, not *county*.

Canandaigua's massive book-inventory was only one reason for Tucker's offer of "very low prices" for new books. As already noted, Palmyra itself had two bookstores by 1824. That year the state gazetteer gave Palmyra's "village" population as "about 1000 inhabitants."⁴⁵ The incorporation records are not available for Palmyra's two libraries at this time, but one was apparently a subscription library and the other was advertised as "public."⁴⁶ In addition, as of 1824 the Canandaigua Bookstore was loaning books to those who could not afford to buy what they wanted to read, and eventually Palmyra bookseller E. B. Grandin did the same.⁴⁷

There were still other avenues for book-circulation in Palmyra. First, book-peddlers traveled through the area. Newspapers did not contain advertisements by book-peddlers, because they contacted people door-to-door. However, in the northeastern states alone, "by the early 1800's there were thousands of peddlers."⁴⁸ During this time, available records show that a single peddler sold tens of thousands of books annually to rural dwellers, and this included books too controversial for newspaper advertisements (see ch. 1).

Second, there were occasional book auctions in Palmyra, where residents could buy "a variety of interesting and useful Books." In 1825 the auctioneer invited Palmyra's residents to bid for "18 Cases of BOOKS, recently received from New York and Philadelphia."⁴⁹ Then and now, auctions typically undercut the prices charged by stores.

Third, during the early 1820s some Palmyra residents with large personal libraries also loaned out their books, apparently free-of-charge. One generous woman did not even know the names of some local residents to whom she loaned her books. This required her to advertise in 1824 for the return of volumes that seemed overdue. A year later another overly-generous lender placed a more strident ad for the return of "Books Lent—Books Stolen!" from his personal library in Palmyra.⁵⁰

Aside from this free book-loaning and the no-fee access to books in public libraries as close as Palmyra, Joseph Smith certainly spent a penny now and then. Unlike the annual fee at the Manchester Library, the Canandaigua subscription library's book-charge in 1826 was simply one cent per book per week.⁵¹ Since bookseller Bemis was competing with Canandaigua's libraries, it is likely that he charged one cent or less for each book he loaned from his bookstore's massive inventory. At this time American money included coins of one-half cent.⁵²

Therefore, Joseph Smith could borrow books at nearby Canandaigua for less money than his hometown library charged. In addition, there was free lending at Palmyra's public library—only two miles from Smith's home. In this highly competitive culture of book-reading, Palmyra's subscription library may also have undercut the fees charged by the Manchester Library. The voracious reading habits of local farmers made this book-competition necessary, because these farmers were patronizing numerous bookstores and libraries in the Palmyra area.

By rare good fortune, the Manchester Library's early list of its holdings has survived, and I refer to it as specific evidence of the sophisticated literature available to a farm boy like Joseph Smith. Yet from 1817 to 1830 this library acquired only 275 volumes. This amounted to a smaller number of actual book-titles, because each volume of a multi-volume set was counted separately.⁵³ By contrast, two years before the organization of Manchester's library, Bloomfield's Ontario Bookstore had up to 14,000 volumes and added another 2,000 books the year Manchester's library began. By the mid-1820s bookstores and libraries in Palmyra and nearby towns/villages offered a total number of books far larger than the Ontario Bookstore's holdings in 1815-18. Six years after Bemis put this competitor out of business, the 1824 state gazetteer emphasized the "extensive bookstore" in Canandaigua, nine miles from the Smith home. Therefore, it is grossly inaccurate for LDS polemicist William J. Hamblin to claim he is "only arguing for a relative inaccessibility of the source" to Joseph Smith, when a book did not happen to be in the Manchester Library's inventory of 275 volumes.⁵⁴

By 1830 the Manchester Library's inventory was still only 2 percent of the inventory in Bloomfield's Ontario Bookstore fifteen years earlier. During the 1820s Joseph Smith's hometown library certainly had less than 1 percent of the total number of books available to him through Palmyra's two libraries and two bookstores and through Canandaigua's three libraries and two immense bookstores. In 1824 just one of these bookstores was also loaning out more books than the entire holdings of the Manchester Library six years later!

There is a more blatant example of Hamblin's erroneous effort to remove the Mormon prophet from any possibility of access to occult works. This BYU historian quoted Brian P. Copenhagen that there were "no new or reprinted Greek editions" of the *Hermetica* from 1630 to an 1854 German edition. Hamblin used this quote in order to make his own assertion that "Joseph Smith lived in the period of least influence of the *Hermetica* on Western intellectual and religious thought since the Renaissance" (emphasis in original). Significantly, however, Hamblin omitted Copenhagen's next statement that before 1854 "the last major contribution to Hermetic scholarship was a German translation and commentary prepared by Dieterich Tiedemann in 1781."⁵⁵ Since Joseph Sr. was ten years old at this publication of the *Hermetica*, including that portion of Copenhagen's statement would undermine Hamblin's claim. Thus, the polemicist deleted it.

Perhaps because of Copenhagen's emphasis on "major contribution," his own text and bibliography did not mention several more translations of Hermes Trismegistus into German during the time-period Hamblin emphasized. In 1706 there was a German edition, *Erkaentnuess der Natur*. A year after Tiedemann's translation of *Poemander*, there was a 1782 publication of *Des Hermes Trismegists wahrer alter Naturung*, followed by a 1786 edition of his *Erkenntniss der Natur*.⁵⁶ This shows a flowering of European interest in the *Hermetica* during the youth of Joseph Sr., not an absence of Hermetic influence.

However, in further contradiction of Hamblin's assertions, the Hermetic translations during this period were not limited to German. From 1742 to 1786 there were several French editions.⁵⁷ More significant for early Americans, from

1692 to 1707 William Salmon published English-language selections of the *Hermetica*.⁵⁸

Isaac Preston Cory is a direct refutation of Hamblin's claim that there was a lack of scholarly publications on the *Hermetica* during the generation of Joseph Smith, Jr. In 1828 Cory published portions of the *Hermetica* in parallel columns of Greek and English. Cory's work had another English edition five years later by an alternate title.⁵⁹

This English-language emphasis on Hermeticism also included books for a popular audience. Francis Barrett's 1815 publication included a *Selection of the Most Celebrated Treatises on the Theory and Practice of the Hermetic Art*.⁶⁰ More directly, his 1801 occult handbook *The Magus* was the source for Joseph Smith's talisman (see ch. 3) and for Smith's instructions to a prominent Mormon shortly before the prophet's martyrdom (see ch. 7).

Decades before Barrett's popular works, English authors had specifically promoted Hermeticism.⁶¹ Although just a New York village, Manchester's library had an 1814 edition of Andrew M. Ramsay's *The Travels of Cyrus, To Which Is Annexed a Discourse Upon the Theology and Mythology of the Pagans*. Ramsay's fictionalized presentation included lengthy discussions of hermeticism.⁶²

Daniel P. Walker has written about the significance of this novel. Manifesting his training in classical languages and literature, Ramsay "included the pessimistic gnosticism of some of the *Hermetica*" (emphasis in original). The *Travels of Cyrus* also discussed the *Oracula Chaldaica*, which Walker explained were "mysterious Greek verses later ascribed to Zoroaster, which give directions for summoning demons, and for carrying out a cult of the Sun and fire." In Ramsay's novel, Cyrus goes "to Egypt, where he learns the doctrine of several Hermeses, including Trimegistus, though he is too late to meet them personally."⁶³ This Hermetic publication was in Smith's hometown library while he was a young man.

At best it was a gross exaggeration for polemical historian William J. Hamblin to insist: "Joseph Smith lived in the period of *least* influence of the *Hermetica* on Western intellectual and religious thought since the Renaissance." Even if Hamblin's statement had been true for England, Europe, and America generally, his applying it to individuals is an example of the environmental (or ecological) fallacy. An idea's lack of influence on a national population is no proof that it lacked influence on an *individual* within that population. At worst this BYU polemicist deceptively supported his statement by deleting contrary evidence when he quoted a non-LDS scholar.

In fact, in an article Antoine Faivre noted the persistence of Hermeticism in Anglo-European intellectual history. "Popular Hermetism" included "astrology and other occult sciences," while "erudite Hermetism ... revolves entirely around the idea that man can discover the divine, on one hand because of theurgic practices, and on the other hand by establishing a mystical relationship between the universe and humanity." He added: "Gradually, *Hermes* and *hermeticism* came more and more to refer to alchemy and theosophy or esotericism in the modern sense of the term" (emphasis in original).⁶⁴ In a subsequent book Faivre wrote concerning "Hermetism" and Rosicrucianism: "We might have believed that these rivers and streams [of the occult] would disappear after the Renaissance. But when

the great epistemological break of the seventeenth century occurred, they survived ..." He then discussed these occult "streams" as a persistent "Form of Thought."⁶⁵ Historian David Stevenson has also observed that by the 1700s Hermeticism was part of "the general intellectual climate" throughout Europe.⁶⁶ Hamblin cited the books by Stevenson and Faivre,⁶⁷ yet ignored their statements about the diffusion of Hermetic thought in the European intellectual tradition.

Hermetic texts and ideas were part of the occult revival occurring in Europe and the United States from the 1780s to 1820s, as were astrology, alchemy, the Cabala,⁶⁸ and ritual magic. Joseph Smith lived in the midst of this occult resurgence which manifested itself in published works and oral history, among common people and privileged classes, among mainstream clergymen and sectarian leaders, among Mormons and non-Mormons (see chs. 1-4, 7). In demonstrating this occult revival, Faivre's book listed Barrett's 1801 *Magus in England* and an 1813 German study of astrology, alchemy, and magic. Hamblin read and cited Faivre's book, yet still asserted that Smith lived during the occult's "least influence."⁶⁹ This polemical sleight-of-hand concealed the fact that Faivre emphasized the well-known English-language source for the Mormon prophet's occult talisman (see ch. 3).

In addition to the occult handbooks on sale in Palmyra (see ch. 4), occult ideas also entered the area through derivative publications. Aside from the previously-discussed *Travels of Cyrus* in Smith's hometown library, Canandaigua's newspaper advertised books which gave summaries or details of occult ideas in astrology, alchemy, ceremonial magic, witchcraft, and folk magic. These publications included *Superstitions of the Highlanders*, *Tales of Terror*, M. G. Lewis's *Tales of Wonder*, John Polidori's *The Vampyre*, Walter Scott's *Guy Mannering, or the Astrologer*, *The Sorceress; or Salem Delivered*, and *Salem Witchcraft*.⁷⁰ The last was actually a retitled reprint of Robert Calef's 1700 history of the witchcraft trials, *More Wonders of the Invisible World*.⁷¹ The Canandaigua Bookstore also sold the occult handbook *Fortune Teller*, which joined another occult handbook in the same issue of Palmyra's newspaper that advertised the book on Salem witchcraft (see ch. 4).⁷² Frequently advertised in Palmyra from 1824 onward, even the *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* contained occult information, such as defining "Grimoire, which signifies a Conjuring Book ..." (emphasis in original).⁷³

In the mid-1820s one of Palmyra's bookstores also sold William Law's works. As a "mystical" author, Law emphasized the ideas of Jacob Boehme (or Behmen), who in turn had borrowed from Paracelsus.⁷⁴ Therefore, it is difficult to understand how an LDS apologist could completely dismiss my "comparison of some of Joseph Smith's writings with ideas published in magical texts to which the Smith family almost certainly had no access (especially those long since out-of-print)."⁷⁵

However, to deny Smith's access to occult works, BYU religion professor Griggs adopted yet another tactic. "There is no suggestion [in Smith's diaries] of studying the kinds of magical or astrological works that Quinn argues were sources to the Prophet." Griggs then provided extensive quotes to show that Smith's diary referred only to reading biblical texts and to his religiously moti-

vated study of Greek, Hebrew, and German.⁷⁶ According to this argument, the Mormon prophet read nothing else.

One problem with this approach is that Smith was nearly twenty-seven when he began writing two or three sentences in his diary about each day. His diary reveals nothing about his daily activities before 1832. For that earlier period, this apologist argument is a fallacy of irrelevant proof.

Most significant, Joseph Smith's diary made no reference to publications he obviously was reading. While editor of a newspaper for eight months, Smith often told subscribers about publications he had read. As editor, he provided "extracts" from eight identified books and thirty-five newspapers, but his diary did not mention he was reading them. By that time its daily entries were sometimes long and detailed, yet Joseph Smith's manuscript diary revealed nothing about his wide-ranging interests in reading.⁷⁷ Moreover, less than two years later he donated his personal copies of thirty-four non-Mormon books to a library at Nauvoo, Illinois, yet his extensive diaries made no reference to these books, either.⁷⁸ In addition to his fallacy of irrelevant proof, Griggs failed to use the only available "best evidence"⁷⁹ for the Mormon prophet's reading habits. The church newspaper and the Nauvoo library's donation-list both demonstrate that Joseph Smith's manuscript diary is the worst source for identifying any of the books he read.

As the first historian to discuss this donation, Kenneth W. Godfrey asked rhetorically: "For example, does the above list only represent the books Joseph Smith did not like to read and therefore gave them to the library?"⁸⁰ This suggestion that Smith acquired books he "did not like" is obviously not the explanation for his donation. He donated a copy of the Apocrypha, yet BYU's Religious Studies Center published a study about "the constant interest of Joseph Smith and the [early] Latter-day Saints in apocryphal literature."⁸¹ His donations also included John L. Stephens, *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan*, from which Smith published long "extracts" while editor of an LDS periodical.⁸² His 1844 donation of Thomas Dick's *Philosophy of a Future State* also confirms Smith's personal interest in this book, which was extensively quoted in the LDS periodical seven years earlier.⁸³ Like most people, Smith acquired books he liked or planned to read and donated what he had finished reading.

These thirty-four non-Mormon book-titles were not a complete list of the Mormon prophet's personal library shortly before he died. First, this January 1844 list did not include seven of the eight identified books that Smith had cited while newspaper editor in 1842. By applying that proportion to his donation-list, it is reasonable to assume that the Mormon prophet's private library contained hundreds of volumes. Second, in several cases, a single title in his donation-list described a multi-volume set of books. Third, a hundred years later there survived still other books inscribed with Joseph Smith's name as their owner.⁸⁴ Fourth and most important, Smith donated books from his personal library that was of undescribed size.

Joseph Smith's citations to publications as editor in 1842 and his January 1844 donation are the only indications of the extent of his personal library. Books were completely excluded from the inventory of Smith's household belongings

as submitted by three court-appointed Mormons and from the separate inventory of his personal effects as submitted by his widow Emma.⁸⁵ Like other omitted items (see ch. 3), this was an intentional exclusion of things he owned and not evidence that Smith possessed no books at his death. For example, Joseph Smith's family Bible was absent from both these inventories.⁸⁶

Therefore, despite the contribution of Robert Paul in identifying the holdings of Manchester's library, he made an overstatement: "Joseph Smith eventually did acquire a *modest* personal library and supported the formation of the Nauvoo Library and Literary Institute, to which he donated *many* of his own books in 1844" (emphasis added).⁸⁷ The donation clearly did not involve his entire personal library. Without a statement of the proportion of the original that this donation represented, Smith's library cannot be dismissed as "modest." The Mormon prophet's donation of thirty-four non-LDS books may have been only a small portion of his personal library. That is what his citations as newspaper editor indicate.

One item—"Brun's Travels"—in the 1844 donation-list is of special interest. By checking all variations in spelling for authors before that year, I found that this entry applied only to travel narratives of Cornelis de Bruyn, spelled "le Brun" or "Le Brun" in English translations from 1702 to 1759. There were no later editions of his "Travels" in any language from 1759 until after Smith's death.⁸⁸ Therefore, the Mormon prophet owned a book that had been out-of-print for at least eighty-four years. When he donated "Brun's Travels," Smith's own copy might even have been a first edition—141 years old in January 1844. This is sufficient refutation of apologist and polemical arguments against the likelihood that Joseph Smith owned any "rare" books. The Palmyra bookstore's May 1824 listing for "Travels in Russia" may have referred to one of the title-variations of the Brun book: *Travels Through Russia* (1722) or *Travels into Muscovy* (1737, 1759).⁸⁹

Of equal significance are the donation-list's other books published before 1830. The list did not give publication year, but Joseph Smith donated twenty books whose initial publication was before 1830. Aside from the possibility of the Brun book, Palmyra's newspapers definitely advertised seven more of these titles while the Smith family lived there.⁹⁰ Canandaigua's newspaper also listed several of those titles and advertised four more books from his donation-list.⁹¹ No local bookstore advertised the Apocrypha (which Smith later donated), but the bookstores sold Bible editions which contained the Apocrypha.⁹² In addition to having several of those locally advertised books, the Manchester Library also had Thomas Dick's *Philosophy of a Future State*, which was in Smith's later donation.⁹³ Counting Brun's book and the Apocrypha, this is fourteen of the twenty.

In addition, Palmyra's newspaper regularly advertised a periodical which promoted a fifteenth book of the twenty pre-1830 titles. In 1824 the *Museum of Foreign Literature and Science* reviewed Friedrich A. Krummacher's *Parables*, and Smith's later donation included "Krummachers Works."⁹⁴

Of the books Joseph Smith donated shortly before his death, 75 percent of the pre-1830 titles can be verified as either directly available in the Palmyra area or as being promoted there. For multi-volume sets, his 1844 donation-list showed that he did not always acquire the edition available before 1830 but he eventually

acquired the same title. In addition, of the two pre-1830 books that Smith cited as newspaper editor but did not donate, at least one was definitely on sale in Palmyra while he was a youth.⁹⁵ If LDS apologists continue to insist that young Joseph was indifferent to the books available in his neighborhood, then they must explain why so many of the pre-1830 titles in his verified possession were available in the Palmyra area while he lived there.

Some current readers may object to this chapter's emphasis on literary parallels to Smith's environment. Viewing the *Book of Mormon* as an ancient text, these readers regard ancient parallels as the only appropriate comparison. To these people, the only parallels of significance are in ancient texts which were unavailable to Smith. For example, BYU law professor John W. Welch recently stated: "People have looked at the Palmyra library as a possible source of Joseph Smith's ideas, but he is 110 miles away from Palmyra at the time he is doing this work" of translation in Harmony, Pennsylvania.⁹⁶ According to Welch, as a translator Smith retained no memories of anything he had previously read.

Nevertheless, the legitimacy of nineteenth-century parallels has been acknowledged by writers in BYU's Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies (FARMS), an organization dedicated to defending the *Book of Mormon* as an ancient text. Welch was the founder of FARMS. Concerning the fact that "Joseph Smith was influenced by his nineteenth-century environment," Stephen E. Robinson has written: "I don't know any conservative Latter-day Saints who would dispute such influence. However, it's one thing to say that Joseph was influenced by his nineteenth century environment, and quite another thing to say that that influence contaminated the revelations to the point that they are robbed of their normative power."⁹⁷ The latter part of that final sentence does not describe my view or this chapter in any way. Even FARMS polemicist Hamblin has acknowledged: "Parallels, whether ancient or modern, should certainly not be seen as *proof* of the origin of the Book of Mormon, but they cannot be ignored or dismissed as *evidence*" (emphasis in original). Likewise, the non-polemical Todd Compton has argued in the official journal of FARMS: "I believe that every critic, in all fairness, should consider the others' parallels by the same standards one applies to one's own." He concluded: "Strong parallels, from whatever [time] period, will enrich our understanding of the Book of Mormon."⁹⁸

Parallels to literature widely available in Joseph Smith's generation do not necessarily require dependence on the earlier literature, since "dependence" involves conscious borrowing. For example, Robert Paul observed: "The ready availability of the concept of a plurality of worlds on the American frontier in the 1820s is obvious. This is not to suggest, however, that accessibility to the idea constitutes sufficient evidence that Joseph Smith derived his notion of multiple inhabited world systems exclusively from his environment."⁹⁹

On the other hand, twenty-three years ago LDS apologist Hugh Nibley argued that it was virtually impossible for young Joseph to have had access to some previously published literature, such as Richard Laurence's English translation of the pseudepigraphic *Book of Enoch*. In the official LDS magazine Nibley wrote: "... it is important to ask at the outset just what other Enoch books Joseph Smith *could* have read. There is only one candidate: the Laurence translation of 1821.

Could the Prophet have seen it before 1830? There would seem to be no possibility of that" (emphasis in original). Nibley explained: "Laurence's 1821 text only got into the hands of a few scholars in Europe and England, and they gave it scant notice ... Nobody in the learned world paid much attention to Laurence's Enoch. ... Laurence himself issued a revised version of his Enoch in 1833, 1838, and 1843 ... But the only book of Enoch available to anyone before 1830 was Laurence's translation of 1821. ... After 1821 no translation was available to the public until 1833, when Joseph Smith's 'Book of Enoch' [in his translation of the Bible] was already three years old."¹⁰⁰ However, Nibley's emphatic statements must be modified in view of published evidence he did not know about.

First, on 6 April 1825 Palmyra's newspaper began advertising the first American edition of Thomas Hartwell Horne's four-volume *Introduction To the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures*. In all, that advertisement occurred in three weekly issues of the Palmyra newspaper in April 1825.¹⁰¹ Second, in 1820 the nearby Canandaigua Bookstore had advertised "Introduction to the Study of the Bible," a short-title reference to Horne's first edition that was published in London in 1818. This 1820 advertisement also listed this rural bookstore's sale of Robert Lowth's scholarly study of the Book of Isaiah.¹⁰² Third, advertisements for Horne's four-volume study continued at least as late as 1827 in Canandaigua's newspaper (whose issues are unavailable from 1828 until early 1831). In March 1831 Canandaigua's bookstore advertised Horne's study of the book of Psalms (published only in London at this time), which indicates that his biblical studies were on sale continually in the Palmyra area from 1820 through 1830.¹⁰³

Fourth, contrary to Nibley's assertion that "nobody in the learned world paid much attention to Laurence's Enoch," Horne's first American edition told Palmyra's residents from 1825 onward that this Enoch translation was very important. Horne wrote that Laurence's 1821 translation of the *Book of Enoch* and his 1819 translation of the *Ascent of Isaiah* "are of sufficient importance to claim a distinct notice." Horne gave the full title and publication information for each book, which he summarized in five pages of closely-written text and extensive quotes.¹⁰⁴ This was in a section titled "On the Apocryphal Books Attached to the Old Testament," which would have immediately drawn the attention of young Joseph Smith. As indicated, he had a "constant interest ... in apocryphal literature."¹⁰⁵ Villages in western New York were repeatedly advertising and selling this four-volumed biblical study which discussed Laurence's *Book of Enoch*.

Fifth, Laurence's *Book of Enoch* had another printing in 1828. Nibley did not know this at the time of writing his article, because even the British Museum-Library's published catalog mentioned no imprint between 1821 and the 1833 "Second edition, corrected and enlarged."¹⁰⁶ However, published five years after Nibley's article, the more comprehensive *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints* showed that the 1833 edition actually "corrected and enlarged" an 1828 reprinting of Laurence's Enoch-translation. Only one copy of this 1828 imprint now survives, and it is in the New York Public Library.¹⁰⁷

Not only was Laurence's *Book of Enoch* published twice before 1830, it and his 1819 *Ascension of Isaiah* were both promoted in a scholarly book on sale in

Palmyra and nearby Canandaigua from 1825 onward. Furthermore, in 1840 a Mormon apostle wrote that he owned a copy of Laurence's Enoch (see below). Similar to John W. Welch's claims about pre-1830 America's alleged ignorance of a form of biblical parallelism (*chiasmus*),¹⁰⁸ Nibley understated the access of Palmyra's residents in the mid-1820s to information about the pseudepigraphic Enoch.

There is also an interesting contrast to the apologist denial that Smith even looked at books available in his hometown library or that were advertised in local newspapers. FARMS polemical reviewers condemn current anti-Mormon writers two thousand miles away for not consulting "available" in-house FARMS papers with almost no distribution beyond Utah.¹⁰⁹

Moreover, apologists ridicule my citation of books published in the 1600s as an influence on Joseph Smith's world view,¹¹⁰ but LDS apologists cite such books to support their own agenda. When Richard L. Anderson asserted that Joseph Sr. was influenced by an idea that Anderson approved of, this BYU professor of religion quoted a Puritan hymn of 1662. He defined this hymn's idea as "commonly known" because it "went through a cycle of editions up to Joseph Smith's early manhood."¹¹¹ This chapter emphasizes occult works that also had "a cycle of editions."

At this point, it is necessary to acknowledge that Joseph Smith's mother began the Mormon apologist claim that her son was indifferent to books. Lucy Mack Smith's manuscript history described Joseph Jr. as "a boy[,] 18 years of age[,] who had never read the Bible through by course in his life[,] for Joseph was less inclined to the study of books than any child we had[,] but much more given to reflection and deep study."¹¹²

However, LDS historian Philip L. Barlow has recently concluded that this was an exaggeration, at least with respect to young Joseph's Bible-reading. Analysis of the Mormon prophet's earliest account of his first vision (see ch. 5) shows that it was "laced with biblical expressions, revealing how thoroughly the boy's mind was steeped in the words and rhythms of the Authorized Version." Barlow concluded that despite Lucy's claim for Joseph Jr.'s limited reading of the Bible, "it does seem probable that [young Joseph] Smith by 1820 had been, like countless others, well exposed to the KJV, that his language and thought patterns had been colored by it, and that he was prepared to find God through scriptural wisdom even though he did not expect the Bible by itself to resolve fully the theological conflicts of the day. When Deity did come, Smith heard him speak in both biblical and Bible-like language."¹¹³

Beyond the Bible, there is compelling evidence that Joseph Smith's mother was not accurate in describing his youthful indifference to books. As already discussed, he later quoted from, referred to, and owned numerous books which were advertised in his neighborhood as a young man.

Even if one accepts apologist arguments that Smith "probably" ignored the books available to him in his youth, the fact remains that improbable events have occurred throughout human history. Because I accept the unlikely appearance of otherworldly beings to an American farm boy, I cannot deny the earthly possibil-

ity that young Joseph Smith had knowledge of published works. In my view, the available evidence moves such access beyond probability—to fact.

At the least, parallels between Mormon texts and previously published literature suggest that the conceptual viewpoint (paradigm) and language of a Mormon text sometimes reflected the religious, intellectual, and cultural perspectives of its intended audience. This included nineteenth-century folk culture.¹¹⁴ The *Book of Mormon* itself provided for such an interpretation by its repeated affirmation that its modern translation was directed to those living at the time when it would come forth (Eth. 2:11, 4:17). In other words, God “speaketh unto men according to their language, unto their understanding” (2 Ne. 31:3). The first revelation published in the church’s *Doctrine and Covenants* also stated that God’s latter-day communications “were given unto my servants in their weakness, after the manner of their language, that they might come to understanding” (D&C 1:24). As a conservative LDS writer noted: “Understanding the intended audience is crucial to understanding the rhetorical meaning of any writing.”¹¹⁵ That, of course, includes translations.

According to LDS theology, subtle echoes of magic in early Mormon texts should not be surprising. Divine communication reflected the language, concepts, and heritage of the early nineteenth-century audience.¹¹⁶ As already demonstrated, this included a culture of religion and magic in which the Smith family participated (see chs. 1-5). The verified sale of occult handbooks in Palmyra (see ch. 4) increases the probability that young Joseph had access to occult literature.

This probability of Joseph Smith’s access to occult literature increases due to three other factors. First, the wide circulation of occult and esoteric literature in early America (see ch. 1). Second, the direct indebtedness of his talisman to Francis Barrett’s occult handbook (see ch. 3). Third, the direct indebtedness of the Smith family’s magic parchments to occult handbooks by Ebenezer Sibly and Reginald Scot (see ch. 4).

Even the definition of “translation” in early America allowed for such an impact of the contemporary culture on Joseph Smith’s translations. The American edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* listed three “fundamental rules” for translations: “1. That the translation should give a complete transcript of the ideas of the original. 2. That the style and manner of the original should be preserved in the translation. 3. That the translation should have all the ease of the original composition.”¹¹⁷ In early 1800s America, the most available scholarly explanation regarding the translation of a foreign document did not mention word-for-word (or even passage-for-passage) correspondence between the original and its translation. Instead, the distinguished encyclopedia insisted only that a translation should reflect the ideas and style of the original.

In fact, Brigham Young himself clearly indicated that the 1830 *Book of Mormon* substantially reflected Joseph Smith and his times. Thirty-two years later, Young preached that “if the *Book of Mormon* were now to be rewritten, in many instances it would materially differ from the present translation.”¹¹⁸ Significant difference was possible only if the 1830 translation was not a word-for-word translation of the original ancient records. That was obviously Young’s view. Modern Mormons may not agree with the LDS president’s view of the non-exact

character of the *Book of Mormon's* translation, but would be wrong to define this view as unfaithful or disloyal. By his own repeated statements, no one was more loyal to the Mormon founder's memory and mission than Brigham Young. This "Lion of the Lord" proclaimed himself as "an Apostle of Joseph Smith."¹¹⁹

According to the occult traditions of the early 1800s, persons with magic experience were the most appropriate interpreters of the Egyptian hieroglyphics identified with the *Book of Mormon*. It stated that the original text was in "reformed Egyptian" (Morm. 9:32). In 1829 former scribe Martin Harris used both "hieroglyphics" and "characters" to describe the original text of the book.¹²⁰ Smith later used "Egyptian characters" and "hieroglyphics" to describe *Book of Mormon* language.¹²¹ The conventional Anglo-American view was that Egyptian "characters" and hieroglyphics were occult symbols invented by Hermes Trismegistus, the father of the ancient occult sciences. This even appeared in encyclopedias, one of which was on sale in Joseph Smith's neighborhood.¹²²

The 1811 New York edition of Adam Clarke's popular commentary on the Bible observed that the word "magicians ... may probably mean no more than interpreters of abstruse and difficult subjects; and especially of the Egyptian hieroglyphics, an art which is now entirely lost" (emphasis in original).¹²³ Clarke's commentary was on sale near Smith's home.¹²⁴ In American editions of 1823 and 1827, Jahn's *Biblical Archaeology* mentioned the magicians Jannes and Jambres as being among "those, [who were] skilled in the interpretation of hieroglyphical characters" (emphasis in original). At some point, Joseph Smith read Jahn's book, because he quoted from it as editor of a church publication.¹²⁵ Even scholars of the early 1800s implied that a background such as Joseph Jr.'s experience as a treasure-seer and diviner was qualification for the mystic decipherment of Egyptian characters. This was prior to the impact of Champollion's discoveries about Egyptian language.

Things Egyptian were of special interest in Joseph Smith's neighborhood as of June 1827. From late June through early July, an Egyptian mummy was on display in six nearby communities, including Canandaigua (only nine miles from Smith's home). "This Mummy was taken from a Catacomb ... [at] Thebes, on the River Nile, in Upper Egypt," Canandaigua's newspaper announced. The mummy was "enfolded in thirty five wrappers of fine twined linen of Egypt," and the "coffin is of Sycamore wood, covered within and without, with an Egyptian Cement."¹²⁶ That same month Palmyra's newspaper reported that a German professor, "who has been employed in decyphering the Egyptian Antiquities at Rome, states, that he has discovered ... a Mexican manuscript in hieroglyphics, from which he infers, that the Mexicans and the Egyptians had [cultural] intercourse with each other from the remotest antiquity, and that they had the same system of mythology."¹²⁷

The endorsements to the *Book of Mormon* also contained a suggestion of numerology and Joseph Jr.'s Jupiter talisman (see ch. 3). Smith, on the title page, identified himself as the sole "author and proprietor"¹²⁸ ("translator" in later editions) of this ancient American scripture. The 1830 edition also contained the testimony of three witnesses that they saw an angel and heard the voice of God bearing witness to the truth of this work written on gold plates. They, in turn,

were joined by eight witnesses who saw no angel but saw and handled the plates.¹²⁹ The divinely commissioned translator and the two groups of witnesses totaled twelve, a holy number in biblical and occult traditions. Occult numerology also identified the combination of one, three, and eight witnesses to the *Book of Mormon's* gold plates as linked with Joseph Jr.'s ruling planet in astrology (see ch. 3): "Jupiter hath three numbers allotted to him, viz. one, three, eight."¹³⁰

The *Book of Mormon* quotes Isaiah 29 as a biblical prophecy for its own 1830 publication: "But behold, I prophesy unto you concerning the last days; concerning the days when the Lord God shall bring these things forth unto the children of men. After ... the seed of my brethren shall have dwindled in unbelief, and shall have been smitten by the Gentiles ... their speech shall be low out of the dust, and their voice shall be as one that hath a familiar spirit ... They shall write the things which shall be done among them, and they shall be written and sealed up in a book" (2 Ne. 26:14-17). An LDS leader explained that the "familiar spirit" in Isaiah 29:4 means that the *Book of Mormon* has a biblical sound and feel to it. Apostle LeGrand Richards wrote: "Truly it has a familiar spirit, for it contains the words of the prophets of the God of Israel."¹³¹ However, that separates the text from the English language of its time. In 1830 there was a more common meaning of "familiar spirit" that placed the *Book of Mormon's* use of Isaiah 29 within an occult context.

Centuries before 1830 the phrase "familiar spirit" referred only to necromancy.¹³² Concerning this same passage of Isaiah 29:4, Clarke's commentary observed: "The pretenders to the art of necromancy, who were chiefly women, had an art of speaking with a feigned voice ... they could make the voice seem to come from henceath the ground."¹³³ In 1825 Robert C. Smith's English occult handbook instructed how "to raise an evil or familiar spirit."¹³⁴ In the U.S., Noah Webster's 1828 dictionary gave the second definition of "familiar" as a noun: "A demon or evil spirit supposed to attend at a call. But in a general way we say, a *familiar spirit*" (emphasis in original).¹³⁵ From 1824 onward, Webster's dictionaries were on sale in Palmyra.¹³⁶

The term "familiar spirit" was often used negatively, but a divine meaning also existed within magic. "The same Boissardus writes, that an Illustrious German Count, whom he knew, profest, he had a *Familiar Spirit* [guardian angel], whom he affirm'd to be of the Celestial Order, whose Counsel he used in all things he undertook, at home and abroad" (emphasis in original).¹³⁷ "Familiar spirit" could also designate elemental spirits such as salamanders (see ch. 5).¹³⁸

The *Book of Mormon's* use of Isaiah 29:4 to describe its own coming forth¹³⁹ was consistent with the Smith family's magic parchments of spirit invocation. This passage also linked with early testimony that the otherworldly messenger Moroni introduced the book to Smith by appearing as a spirit three times, as expected within the magic world view (ch. 5). Within this setting, the *Book of Mormon* proclaimed itself as the fulfillment of a biblical prophecy concerning divinely appointed necromancy or psychomancy. This was divination through communication with spirits of the dead.¹⁴⁰

The use of the word "sealed" also suggested a magic context. Isaiah 29 uses the word "sealed" only twice. By contrast, the *Book of Mormon's* commentary on

that chapter uses "sealed" eleven times in eight verses (2 Ne. 26:17; 2 Ne. 27:7-8, 10-11, 15, 17, 21). Throughout its entire text, the *Book of Mormon* refers to itself with the words "sealed" or "seal" more than twenty times.¹⁴¹ Modern Mormons have often pictured a physical seal, especially when reading about the untranslated portion of the plates. This expectation appears in official LDS magazines as an illustration of a band of metal securing the leaves of the gold plates.¹⁴² Such a view was a parallel to the book described in Revelation 5:1, but the *Book of Mormon* nowhere describes a physical seal. Instead, the seal was a non-material restriction: "For the book shall be sealed by the power of God" (2 Ne. 27:10).

The *Book of Mormon*'s description of itself as a "sealed" book also had a magic meaning that extended from antiquity to early America. One biblical scholar wrote: "In the above examples [from magic literature] it is important to note some of the more common terms. You will find that things are 'bound,' 'sealed,' 'charmed,' etc. ... The terminology is very old. To bind, to seal, to charm, or to tie in some fashion is the commonest way of talking about the overcoming of evil."¹⁴³ Written in New York or New Hampshire, Caleh Gilman's 1708 magic manuscript noted: "But none that come before this Door can know these *Magical Powers*, so as to unlock their Secrets or *hid Treasures*, but such only as are deeply rooted in true Love & profound Humility; from all others they are fast bolted & sealed by that Power that none can open."¹⁴⁴

Moreover, the title page described the *Book of Mormon* plates as having been "sealed by the hand of Moroni, and hid up unto the Lord." This description echoed the folklore of buried treasure, as described by an author with no reference to Mormonism: "For, it developed, anyone who buries money always put a 'seal' on it by saying certain words [so that] if anyone except the person in possession of the 'seal' attempts to take it, they'll be foiled by those unearthly beings—dog or cat or snake or other creatures chosen—whom the 'seal' has set to guard it."¹⁴⁵

In fact, the *Book of Mormon* described a complaint common to treasure-seekers: "Yea, we have hid up our treasures and they have slipped away from us, because of the curse of the land." These people "began to hide up their treasures in the earth; and they became slippery, because the Lord had cursed the land" (Hel. 13:35; Morm. 1:18, emphasis added). This reflected the treasure-digging language of early America, as the book *May Martin* shows. The 1835 novel described Vermont treasure-diggers who dreamed of "the prospects of another trial for the slippery treasure."¹⁴⁶ *Book of Mormon* phrasing was consistent with one scholar's observation about American folklore of "slipping treasures" that "sink into the earth when something is wrong."¹⁴⁷

However, Blake Ostler regarded that usage as irrelevant to the main issues in folk magic and LDS scripture. "The *Book of Mormon* is thus concerned with [divine] covenants, not money digging." His next observation is certainly accurate: "The *Book of Mormon* says nothing about the enchantment of spirits, divining rods, magic circles, guardian spirits, sacrifices to appease spirits, or other rituals necessary to obtain hidden treasures—all a necessary part of the magic world view associated with money digging."¹⁴⁸ Still, the fact remains that translator Joseph Smith used the term and imagery of "slippery" treasures. Those were part of the folk magic culture in which he participated as a young man (see ch. 2).

Nevertheless, Ostler's argument gives opportunity for me to emphasize that this chapter does not make the reductionist argument that Mormon scriptures are occult texts. I regard the *Book of Mormon's* references to slippery treasures as an echo of the translator's social world, not as a key to understanding a very complex historical and religious narrative. I find echoes of folk magic and the occult in all the "Standard Works,"¹⁴⁹ even though these LDS scriptures overwhelmingly emphasize religious history and theology.

To continue, several prominent *Book of Mormon* names reinforce the "familiar spirit" motif of Isaiah 29. But just as there is more than one possible interpretation of Moroni's name (see ch. 5), there are non-magic parallels for these other *Book of Mormon* names. This discussion explores both possibilities.

The name "Mormon" has several non-magic parallels. It is one of the forms of the Scottish name for "the official in charge of the cattle on the marsh or waste ground."¹⁵⁰ It is phonetically close to "Moorman" or "Moormen," a designation for the Moors.¹⁵¹ The common view of Smith's time was that the Moors were special devotees of the occult sciences.¹⁵²

More aligned with the spirit references in the *Book of Mormon* was LeLoyer's seventeenth-century *A Treatise of Specters*. It identified "Mormo" as a spirit in the form of a woman that "terrified little children."¹⁵³ Less than fifty years later, a published sermon referred to the "frightful apparitions of ghosts and Mormos."¹⁵⁴ Folk language employed "Mormo" to mean "a spectre,"¹⁵⁵ but dictionaries available in Palmyra in the 1820s defined "Mormo" as "Bug bear; false terror."¹⁵⁶ A year after the publication of the *Book of Mormon*, a caustic newspaper article claimed such a derivation for Mormon, which was repeated in the era's most widely circulated anti-Mormon book.¹⁵⁷ Joseph Smith later denied this by using a combination of English and what he understood to be the Egyptian word "mon" to assert that Mormon meant "more good."¹⁵⁸ Without specifying its meaning of "frightful apparition," a 1948 article in the church's magazine identified Mormon as one of the book's names that had been "common to the English language as used in America."¹⁵⁹

The church's magazine also identified the name Alma as another common, non-biblical word.¹⁶⁰ In the *Book of Mormon*, Alma is a male's name. The existence of Alma as an ancient Jewish name for males was unknown even to modern scholarship until the mid-twentieth century.¹⁶¹ However, the Latin word "Alma" was a female name in Anglo-European-American culture for centuries before the 1800s. The 1829 *Encyclopaedia Americana* noted that "alma" meant "cherishing, nourishing, fostering, bountiful, dear."¹⁶² Likewise, the *Book of Mormon* began using "Bountiful" for New World geography in the Book of Alma (Alma 22:29). Previously, the text applied "Bountiful" to an Old World location, apparently in the Arabian peninsula.¹⁶³

Aside from its "bountiful" meaning, Alma also had reference to spirits, ceremonial magic, and treasure. In an 1828 Spanish-English dictionary published in Boston, the first meaning of "alma" was "soul, the immaterial spirit of man," and the first meaning of soul was "alma."¹⁶⁴ A seventeenth-century English magic manuscript also used "Alma" as one of the names to conjure a treasure guardian-

spirit.¹⁶⁵ In other English manuscripts of magic (one dated sometime before 1739), "Almazim" and "Almazin" were names of a "giver of treasure."¹⁶⁶

The name of the *Book of Mormon's* founding prophet Lehi has several parallels, the last of which is similar to a name used in the ritual magic of spirit incantation. "Lehi" was a biblical geographic name (Judg. 15:9). Unknown to Smith's generation, Lehi was also a personal name in the ancient Near East.¹⁶⁷ On sale in Smith's neighborhood, an encyclopedia specified that "LEHI, *Lehigh*, or *Lecha*, in *Geography*, [is] a river of America, which rises in Northampton county, Pennsylvania, about 21 miles E. of Wyoming Falls, in the Susquehannah river" (emphasis in original).¹⁶⁸ Occult beliefs were common enough in Northampton County that during 1808-12 one of its families recorded magic charms in a book.¹⁶⁹ Pennsylvania residents also knew that the Lehi(gh) River's name came from an Indian word "signifying *West Branch*" (emphasis in original).¹⁷⁰ The *Book of Mormon* repeatedly used "righteous branch" to refer to Lehi's family, which an uncanonized (but often quoted) LDS revelation identified as landing on the west coast of South America.¹⁷¹ And finally, "Lehon" is one of the names used to invoke spirits through ritual magic.¹⁷²

The name "Nephi" appears in some of the most important sections of doctrine and history in the *Book of Mormon*. In the Apocrypha, Nephi was a geographic name.¹⁷³ Nephi was also the first part of two names in the King James Bible, "Nephish" and "Nephishesim" (1 Chron. 5:19; Neh. 7:52). Publications before 1830 specified that "Nephilim" (translated "giants" in Gen. 6:4) was the term for the offspring of intercourse between angels and humans.¹⁷⁴ Hugh Nibley noted that this claim of angels having "carnal intercourse with the daughters of men" in the pseudepigraphic *Book of Enoch* was one reason why Protestant commentators condemned Laurence's 1821 translation.¹⁷⁵ That view of the Nephilim was in the encyclopedia on sale near Smith's home, which also noted that "Nephin" was the name of a mountain in Ireland.¹⁷⁶ Nibley also suggested that Nephi could be an English version of such Egyptian names as Nehi, Nehri, Neheb, Nehep, Nfy, or Nihpi, the original name of the Egyptian god Pa-nepi.¹⁷⁷ However, the English language of Joseph Smith's generation had several examples of "Nephi" as a name and prefix.

Nephi is also a name with several parallels to spirits and magic. "Nephiomaoth" was one of the magic names of God in early Christian Gnosticism,¹⁷⁸ while "Nephum" and "Nephaton" were holy names in spirit incantation.¹⁷⁹ The German publication of the widely circulated magic manuscript "The Key of Solomon" in 1686 referred to "Propheten, (Nevijm)."¹⁸⁰ This famous magic grimoire¹⁸¹ gave a German pronunciation of "Neef-eye-eem" for prophets; thus a pronunciation of "Neef-eye" for a single prophet.

Perhaps the most publicized magic parallel to Nephi was that "Nephes" or "Nephesh" meant the disembodied spirit of men, according to the Cabala—the ancient Jewish system of magic. Published in English since 1694, this cabalistic term and its meaning also appeared in William Enfield's 1791 *History of Philosophy*.¹⁸² Enfield's book had three editions by 1819 and was advertised for sale from 1804 to 1828 near Smith's home.¹⁸³ John Beaumont specified the name's application to magic: "The Third part of the Soul is that which dissolves this Harmony,

and it is as the Idol, Image, Shadow, and as the out-coat, drawn from the surface of the Body; the *Cabalists* call it *Nephes*, it wanders about Sepulchers, and is sometimes visible, but to the eyes of those whom God Illuminates ... and this part of the Soul (if we believe the Doctrine of the *Cabalists*) is that which is called out by *Magicians* and *Necromancers*" (emphasis in original).¹⁸⁴

This necromantic parallel to the name Nephi may help to explain a historical puzzle in Mormon history. In the 1839 manuscript of Smith's official history and its printed versions of 1842 and 1851, the name of the messenger who appeared three times in one night of 1823 was stated as Nephi rather than Moroni.¹⁸⁵ Since Smith's earliest autobiography (1832) gave the angel's name as "Maroni," LDS historians have defined the later use of Nephi as "a clerical error."¹⁸⁶

However, clerical error is not a convincing explanation. As editor of *Times and Seasons* in 1842 Smith published the Nephi reference, which he could have easily corrected but did not. Clerical error cannot explain evidence from the Whitmer family, who were no longer affiliated with the LDS church after 1838: "I have heard my grandmother (Mary M. Whitmer) [mother of five *Book of Mormon* witnesses] say on several occasions that she was shown the plates of the Book of Mormon by an holy angel, whom she always called Brother Nephi."¹⁸⁷

The evidence demonstrates that after 1830 Mary Musselman Whitmer and Joseph Smith himself intentionally referred to Moroni as Nephi. Since "Nephes" was a designation for departed spirits "called out by *Magicians* and *Necromancers*," these Mormons may have used the cognate "Nephi" as a generic reference to the messenger Moroni. Documents of 1839 show that Joseph was using Nephi and Moroni interchangeably. At the same time a clerk recorded in the 1839 history that the angel's name was Nephi, Smith himself published an account identifying the messenger as "Moroni, the person who deposited the plates."¹⁸⁸ Because the names sound nothing alike, clerical error is unlikely in the manuscript recording of Smith's dictation. The use of Nephi in the manuscript history about the coming forth of the *Book of Mormon* seems instead to be the prophet's intentional substitution of another name for Moroni.

There are several factors to explain why Joseph Smith and other early Mormons made this substitution. First, as an allusion to the traditional term for spirit messenger "called out by *Magicians* and *Necromancers*," the name Nephi was consistent with early descriptions of the 1823 messenger as a spirit (see ch. 5). Second, that same reference also fit with the evidence that this messenger's three nighttime appearances to Smith conformed with the necromantic purposes of spirit invocation in the Smith family's magic parchments (see ch. 4). Also, as previously mentioned, "Nephilim" was published in American encyclopedias in the early 1800s as the name for the "giants" who were the offspring of the "sons of God" and the daughters of men in Genesis. In connection with statements of the Smiths to Palmyra neighbors (see ch. 5), the most famous English work on the salamander as an elemental spirit stated that it was actually the elemental spirits who cohabited with women to produce those giants.¹⁸⁹ Thus, as the third factor, interchanging the names Moroni and Nephi was consistent with the magic world view that the Nephilim of Genesis were the offspring of divine salamanders, known as "Moron" in books available at Palmyra (see ch. 5).

The name of Nephi's eldest brother Laman echoed both ancient Israel and modern magic. Twentieth-century archaeology and semitic studies have identified Laman as an ancient proper name in Palestine and Arahia.¹⁹⁰ Several of Smith's scribes during the translation of the *Book of Mormon* spelled Laman's name as it has been published from 1830 to the present. However, one unidentified scribe rendered the brother's name as "lamen" in the manuscript.¹⁹¹ This was the spelling of the magic-inscribed parchment, or *lamen*, as given in magic works published before 1830.¹⁹² The Smith family had three magic lamens (see ch. 4).

In addition to the magic dimensions of some *Book of Mormon* names, the opening pages of the text itself suggested other magic parallels. The book's first historian, Nephi, wrote: "Yea, I make a record in the language of my father, which consists of the learning of the Jews and the language of the Egyptians" (1 Ne. 1:2). Thomas Vaughan's *Magica Adamica, or the Antiquity of Magic* (one English and three German editions from 1650 to 1749) explained: "the learning of the Jews—I mean their Kabbalah."¹⁹³ The beginning phrase of this parallel couplet associated the *Book of Mormon* with the mystery and magic of the Jewish Cabala.

The second part of this phrase further intensified the sense of magic heritage. In support of the *Book of Mormon* as an ancient text, some twentieth-century Mormon scholars have used Egyptian cultural and historical parallels that were unknown in Smith's era.¹⁹⁴ But within early America's magic heritage, the reference to Lehi's knowledge of Egyptian evoked the popular image of ancient Egypt as the center and transmitter of all magic.¹⁹⁵ Likewise, pseudepigrapha scholar James H. Charlesworth has referred to "Egypt, that melting pot of ancient magical lore."¹⁹⁶

Nephi's reference to "the language of the Egyptians" inevitably suggested attitudes then current toward Egyptian writing. Encyclopedias available in the early 1800s defined "HIEROGLYPHIC, [as] a Symbol of Mystic Figure, used among the antient [sic] Egyptians, to cover, or conceal the Secrets of their Theology. See CHARACTER. ... *Hermes Trismegistes* [father of alchemy], is commonly esteemed the Inventor of Hieroglyphics ... a Kind of Cabbala" (emphasis in original). This also appeared in the Rees encyclopedia on sale near Smith's home.¹⁹⁷ Again, there was a popular linkage of the Jewish Cabala with Egyptian mystic hieroglyphics. The *Book of Mormon*'s opening words likewise aligned the cabalistic reference "learning of the Jews" with "language of the Egyptians." Within the intellectual and linguistic heritage of Joseph Smith, this phrase was equivalent to "the Wisdom of the AEgyptians, whereof Magick was no small Share" (emphasis in original).¹⁹⁸

In addition to links between Lehi's knowledge and traditions of the Cabala, there were also occult traditions for the *Book of Mormon*'s metal plates. First were "plates of brass ... [and] the mysteries contained thereon" (Alma 37:3-4). Second were its gold plates that included "the mysteries and the works of darkness" (Mos. 8:9; Alma 37:21).

The phrase "works of darkness" was an obvious parallel to occult traditions. Aside from its application to wickedness in general, the English phrase "work[s] of darkness" for centuries had specified sorcery. For example, Thomas Gage's seventeenth-century *New Survey of the West-Indies* explained that "it pleased God

to make me his instrument, to discover and bring to light the secrecy of their hidden works of darkness" when he confronted Indians in Guatemala about "all the Witches and Wizards of the Town." From 1648 to 1755 Gage's work had six English imprints, with an 1758 abridged American edition.¹⁹⁹

The passages of Alma 37:3-4, 21 contained less obvious occult echoes in the linkage of "works of darkness" with plates of brass and gold. An early Rosicrucian work stated that the number one "engraven on Brasse ... bringeth a spirit."²⁰⁰ The English manuscript "Incantamenta Magica" gave ceremonial instructions to "put in another corner a plate of brasse."²⁰¹ Thomas Vaughan's *Magica Adamica* described a magic book ornamented with gold and brass: "that the learning of the Jews—I mean their Kabbalah—was chemical and ended in true physical performances cannot be better proved than by the *Book of Abraham, the Jew*, wherein he laid down the secrets of this Art ... [in] a gilded book, very old and large. It was not of paper nor parchment, as other books be, but it was made of delicate rinds—as it seemed to me—of tender young trees. The cover of it was of brass, well bound, all engraven with letters or strange figures."²⁰² Non-magic, pre-1830 accounts of brass plates ranged from theories involving the Apocrypha to the lost ten tribes.²⁰³ In recent decades, texts of magic and religion have been found in ancient brass plates and gold plates.²⁰⁴

The opening verses of the *Book of Mormon* suggested favorable references to the occult, yet its few explicit references condemned magic practices. There are two verses condemning soothsayers, including a quote from Isaiah (2 Ne. 12:6; 3 Ne. 21:16). There is also a quote from Malachi against sorcerers (3 Ne. 24:5) and a reference to "sorceries" in a long list of "all manner of wickedness" (Alma 1:32). The most direct reference to magic occurs near the end of the *Book of Mormon*: "And it came to pass that there were sorceries, and witchcrafts, and magics; and the power of the evil one was wrought upon all the face of the land[,] ... [upon] the magic art, and the witchcraft which was in the land" (Morm. 1:19; 2:10). Taken alone, six verses in a 500-page narrative do not show any preoccupation with magic. However, a closer look at the language of the text indicates a persistent concern about black magic.

Significantly, sorcery was also the basis of the only occasion where Joseph Smith publicly denounced an accusation of occult activities. In 1835 he publicly complained that Alexander Campbell "felt so fully authorized to brand Jo Smith, with the appellation of Elymus the sorcerer."²⁰⁵

The editor and board member of FARMS has commented: "Webster's 1828 *American Dictionary of the English Language* [is] perhaps our best source for the language of Joseph Smith and his contemporaries."²⁰⁶ In this "best source," the first meanings of occult are "secret" and "hidden," while the sixth meaning of secret is "occult."²⁰⁷ Mormon linguists have also noted that the Hebrew meanings of Alma, the longest section of the *Book of Mormon*, include "concealed."²⁰⁸

Substituting the synonyms "occult" for "hid" (including "hidden" and "secret") and "sorcery" for "work of darkness" brings into sharper focus for twentieth-century readers the meaning of possibly euphemistic passages in the *Book of Mormon*.²⁰⁹ A substitution of "occult" for "secret" is certainly truer to the parallel structure and contextual meaning of 2 Nephi 30:17: "There is nothing

which is [occult] save it shall be revealed; there is no [sorcery] save it shall be made manifest in the light; and there is nothing which is [magically] sealed upon the earth save it shall be loosed." Even though the term can have positive and negative connotations, in present usage "occult" is a better parallel to "work of darkness" than is "secret." The meaning of "occult" also correlates better with the magic dimensions of "sealed" in this verse.

One of Smith's revelations also verifies that "occult" was synonymous with "secret." The 1838 document referred to "the Nicolaitane band and all of their secret abominations" (D&C 117:11). This was a reference to Revelation 2:6, 15 (that did not specify the "deeds of the Nicolaitans" which God hated). However, by Joseph Smith's time, the Nicolaitans were generally identified as the "Authors of the Sect of Gnostics" who "apply themselves to the study of magic."²¹⁰ Thus a more precise reading in the language of the 1830s was: "the Nicolaitan band and all of their [occult] abominations." The Nicolaitans were the first ancient Christian heresy to which a New York minister compared the Mormons in June 1830.²¹¹

The *Book of Mormon's* doctrinal emphasis is on Jesus Christ, but one of its primary social preoccupations is "secret combinations." This also appears in Smith's 1830 revision of Genesis (later titled the "Book of Moses").²¹² Several twentieth-century writers have interpreted these passages as referring specifically to the anti-Masonic fury that swept America in the late 1820s.²¹³ New York state was the center of anti-Masonry after September 1826, when some Masons kidnapped and murdered William Morgan for revealing Freemasonry's secret rites. He had prepared his book for publication in Canandaigua, only nine miles from Joseph Smith's home in Manchester.²¹⁴

It is true that Palmyra newspapers in 1828 printed anti-Masonic articles that described Freemasonry as a "secret combination" and referred to "its *secret* and *cut-throat* OATHS" (emphasis in original).²¹⁵ However, because "secret combination" was a catchy phrase, it soon entered American usage that had nothing to do with Freemasonry. For example, Daniel C. Peterson has demonstrated that by 1850 "secret combination" appeared in Supreme Court decisions against price-fixing.²¹⁶

Nevertheless, it is true that a newspaper reported in 1831 that Martin Harris "publicly declared that the 'Golden Bible' is the Anti-masonick Bible ..."²¹⁷ Since 1827 Harris had been participating in Palmyra's anti-Masonic conventions.²¹⁸ The village's still-loyal Freemasons may have agreed with his assessment of the *Book of Mormon*, because in December 1830 Joseph wrote his "brother Hyrum, beware of the freemasons." This referred to efforts of Palmyra residents to have Hyrum arrested for unpaid debts.²¹⁹

However, it is clear that anti-Masons quickly rejected Harris's published claim that the *Book of Mormon* was anti-Masonic. A Philadelphia newspaper responded to Harris in this way: "We therefore mention the fact that the Antimasonic printer in Palmyra, refused to print the Mormon Bible; and it was printed by the publisher of the Wayne Sentinel, a masonic paper."²²⁰ Harris's interpretation may have not reflected Smith's view, and interpretations of the *Book of Mormon* as anti-Masonic seem to fit the context of these passages only superficially.

For two years from 1827 until Joseph Smith began dictating the currently

published translation, "secret combination" was widely used in New York state as a synonym for conspiracy. The origin of a phrase is far less important than the context of that phrase's usage within a text. The text demonstrates whether a phrase is used narrowly according to its original application or generally according to its vernacular meaning.

Statements in early Mormon scriptures about the origin and purpose of secret combinations tended to reject rather than reflect the views of both Masons and anti-Masons during Smith's time. In the eighteenth century, advocates of Freemasonry claimed that it had a divine origin with Adam, whom they described as a Grand Master, as were other biblical patriarchs.²²¹ Anti-Masons effectively ridiculed such claims.²²² Therefore, Masonic writers began acknowledging that ancient Freemasonry had none of the specific rites of the modern fellowship.

In 1805 a German Freemason began a multi-volume publication of *Ritualsammlung*, and its first volume affirmed that there was only a general similarity between the Freemasonry of biblical patriarchs and its modern version: "The similarity with this first fellowship is not invalidated by the subsequent addition of ceremonies or various incidents, such as the Ceremony of Reception, the degrees of the Order, Signs, Grips and Passwords, the Hiram legend, the Dark Chamber, the change in the name of the Order, or similar things."²²³ In other words, ancient Freemasonry had none of Speculative Masonry's rites which William Morgan later exposed to Joseph Smith's generation.

Since the 1700s the vast majority of anti-Masons had regarded Freemasonry as a strictly modern development, denied that it was of divine origin, and defined it as a man-made conspiracy of "war against Christ and his Altars, [and] war against Kings and their Thrones."²²⁴ By the early 1800s some loyal Masons in England and the United States openly admitted that claims for pre-Flood, or even pre-Solomon, origins of Masonry were "untenable opinions," "fine spun reasonings," or "extravagant pretensions to antiquity." One of these books was in Brigham Young's personal library.²²⁵

In 1807 an American advocate of Freemasonry reaffirmed that Masonry's ancient origins were limited to general principles, not specific rites. Frederick Dalcho wrote: "From the commencement of the world we may trace the foundation of Free-Masonry. Ever since symmetry began, and harmony displayed her charms, our Order has had a being. During many ages, and in many different countries, it has flourished. No art, no science preceded it." He concluded: "The origin of Free-Masonry may be dated from the creation of the world. The symmetry and harmony displayed by the Divine Architect in the formation of the planetary system, gave rise to many of our mysteries."²²⁶

Even Masonry's Enoch legend did not claim that Enoch knew the tokens, signs, and ceremonies of modern Speculative Masonry. Thomas S. Webb's 1802 New York publication stated that God revealed to Enoch "a triangular plate of gold, most brilliantly enlightened, and upon which were some characters which he received a strict injunction never to pronounce ... Enoch, in imitation of what he had seen, caused a triangular plate of gold to be made ... He then engraved upon it the same ineffable characters which God had shewn to him." Webb specified that these characters did not comprise modern Masonic secrets

but were "the right pronounciation [sic] of the great and sacred name [the Tetragrammaton, JHVH or YHWH]." ²²⁷

It is true, however, that some Masonic writers extended the New Testament's reference to a "high priest after the order of Melchisedek" to Masonic claims for antiquity. ²²⁸ Beginning in 1823, George Oliver's *Antiquities of Free-Masonry* also claimed that because Freemasonry encompassed everything good, the Craft extended back to Adam: "Our secrets embrace, in a comprehensive manner, human science and divine knowledge." He explained "for when the pure worship of the true God was the most prevalent, we find Masonry blazing forth in its native and unsullied lustre. Thus it shone amidst the darkness during the life of Adam, of Enoch, and of Noah; thus it displayed its radiance in the time of Abraham, Moses, and Solomon." ²²⁹ However, even loyal Masons ridiculed such claims.

The most emphatic pre-Morgan denial that Freemasonry's modern form existed in biblical times was published in a New York Masonic magazine available in Palmyra. In February 1826 this article criticized other Masons for trying "to prove that every man of note from Adam down to the present day, was a Freemason. But such round associations are beneath the dignity of the Order, and would not be urged by men of letters." Advertised for sale near Joseph Smith's home, this Masonic publication insisted: "Neither Adam, nor Noah, nor Nimrod, nor Moses, nor Joshua, nor David, nor Solomon, nor Hiram, nor St. John the Baptist, nor St. John the Evangelist, belonged to the Masonic order, however congenial their principles may have been. It is unwise to assert more than we can prove, and to argue against probability." This Masonic magazine concluded: "There is no record, sacred or profane, to induce us to believe that these holy and distinguished men, were Freemasons, and our [Masonic] traditions do not go back to their days." According to this article, the claims that "speculative Freemasonry" existed in the biblical period were "far-fetched stories." ²³⁰

After 1826, New York state was also the source of anti-Masonry's most insistent denials that Freemasonry had any ancient origin (divine, diabolical, or secular). In March 1828 Palmyra's anti-Masonic newspaper declared that the "Antiquity of Masonry ... is a sheer fabrication." ²³¹ That same year the state's most widely circulated anti-Masonic magazine published a "History of Free Masonry" which repeatedly denied Freemasonry's antiquity. "The Puritans and Presbyterians, the Cabalists and the Rosicrucians, the Gypsies and the Necromancers, the Alchymists and the Jesuits, are each liberally noticed in the works of various authors during the 16th and 17th centuries; but *Freemasonry* has not so much as a name, until the 18th century," insisted the *Anti-Masonic Review*. "That [stone] masonry is as old as Babel, we do not refuse to believe; it is Freemasonry, otherwise called *Speculative Masonry*, of which we treat, and of which we affirm that its era is A.D. 1717. ... and a system was formed, which did not exist before even by name, which system we know by the name of *Speculative Masonry*. ... In vain we search for any proof of this sort existing earlier than the 18th century." The magazine concluded: "Fifty centuries are a long period for the active labors of a great mystery spread over the face of the whole world, to pass entirely unobserved." This was apparently the *Anti-Masonic Review* advertised for sale in Palmyra in November 1828. ²³²

In addition, this denial of Freemasonry's ancient origins was republished near Palmyra in Canandaigua's *Ontario Phoenix*²³³ and in other anti-Masonic works to 1830.²³⁴ That year the national anti-Masonic convention declared: "Freemasonry originated in England" and "consequently all its pretensions to an ancient origin are founded on mere tradition, which, of all evidence, is the most vague and inconclusive."²³⁵ As part of denying its legitimacy, most anti-Masons specifically denied Freemasonry's antiquity.

Neither did the majority of early anti-Masonic writers claim that Satan specifically originated Freemasonry. Instead, its opponents typically described Masonry as satanic in general terms due to the evils they saw in Freemasonry. New York's *Anti-Masonic Review* mentioned satanic connections with Freemasonry only in a hypothetical manner: "Had the Arch Apostate [Satan] power to choose the Society into which to enter for the destruction of souls ... none so fitted his purpose, as a secret, mystical and sacramental Association."²³⁶ A Pennsylvania representative to the national anti-Masonic conference of 1830 affirmed: "From a careful examination of the subject, I am led to the conclusion that lodges are generally synagogues of Satan, and schools of infidelity."²³⁷ The non-specific nature of this satanic charge was clearest in an 1830 New York publication that focused on the satanic character of Freemasonry.

In his *Masonry Proved To Be a Work of Darkness*, Lebbeus Armstrong reflected the clergy's outlook by not limiting the phrase "work of darkness" to sorcery. He clearly showed the generalized character of the anti-Masonic description of Freemasonry as satanic. "The works of darkness comprise all that belong to the system of moral evil. ... Satan, the first great enemy of God, introduced them into this world, and it is by his special instigation and agency that they still prevail. ... Among the various stratagems of Satan in opposition to God and holiness, and for the purpose of destroying the souls of men, the institution of Speculative Freemasonry holds a pre-eminent rank." Despite his reference to Satan's "special instigation" of "all works of darkness," Armstrong did not claim Satan revealed or taught Freemasonry: "Whatever may have been the circumstances of its origin, and the modes of its primary existence, the following are undeniable facts: That the claims of Freemasonry are very extensive; that the long boasted secrets of its nature are divulged to the world; and that the exposure has proved it to be a work of darkness."²³⁸ These passages affirmed that Satan was responsible for Freemasonry's evils, as he was for all evils. However, Armstrong made no claims for satanic pacts or satanic revelations in "the circumstances of its origin, and the modes of its primary existence."

The most specific references I have located to Satan's connection with Freemasonry are from New York in 1828 and from Massachusetts in 1829. Both publications defined Masonry as satanic in general, rather than a satanic revelation of Masonic ceremony. In his 1828 talk to Genesee County's anti-Masonic convention, former Mason Solomon Southwick "justly likened Free Masonry to the serpent of Eden, the author, in a spiritual sense, of the ruin of our race." The "secret combination" Southwick described in Eden was not ceremonial, but "our first parents ... secretly combined with Lucifer to disobey ..."²³⁹ Rather than affirming an ancient satanic origin, Reverend Peter Sanborn's 1829 address to a

Massachusetts anti-Masonic convention was a sarcastic *reductio ad absurdum* response to Masonic claims for antiquity: "Mr. K. with others of the craft, seems fond of tracing the origin of masonry far into ancient days; to the building of the temple of Solomon; of Isis, in Egypt; to Enoch. But, perhaps they all come short of its real origin. The truth may be, that the first grand arch mason, was Satan; the first secret lodge, in Eden, between him and Eve. As she revealed the secrets that passed between them, to her husband; this may be the reason why the 'surly tyler' has ever since, brandished his sword every way, to keep her *fair daughters* from entering the lodge. As Cain, like Nimrod, rebelled against the priesthood and government of Adam; he, with Tubal Cain, no doubt, were masons; and by their infidelity, corrupted the earth; seduced the pious descendants of Enoch; the *Morgan* cry was heard;—for the *sacred* historian, tell us 'the earth was filled with violence'" (emphasis in original).²⁴⁰ Mimicking those Masons who glibly equated the existence of Freemasonry with ancient examples of architecture and any honorable principle, Southwick and Sanborn identified Freemasonry as synonymous with Original Sin, while Sanborn also equated it with biblical violence.

However, anti-Masonic publications certainly claimed that in its eighteenth-century origins, Freemasonry borrowed from older occult traditions. English publications that were reprinted in the United States during the 1790s referred to "exorcism, or ghost-raising, magic, and other gross superstitions, were often held out in their [Masonic] meetings as attainable mysteries." Also "the Cabalistic Mason is to study what we should call the Conjuring-book. He must be well versed in the names and signs of the planets and constellations; he must also know whether it be a good or evil Genius which presides over it, and which are the numbers that represent them."²⁴¹ Historian David Stevenson has also observed that a specific text of a "necromantic element in masonic ritual was derived from the general background of Medieval and Renaissance magic."²⁴²

The 1828 *Anti-Masonic Review* and its many reprintings in New York state listed Rosicrucianism as a major source for Freemasonry. "It is an undeniable fact that the conceited mystery of the Rosicrucians, and their vainglorious pretences to every thing good and great and magical, or *holy*, are united—with the emblems & working tools of a handicraft mason, the compasses and level and square and leather apron, to form that lying wonder of the 19th century which is commonly called Freemasonry" (emphasis in original). This *Review* further charged that in the eighteenth-century origins of Freemasonry, "The aprons and trowels and temple were taken from the [stone] masons; the divine origin, mystic virtues and wonderful secrets of the order came from the Rosicrucians; the magic and fortunetelling from the Necromancers; the morals from the Jesuits; and the horrid oaths of the order, from its own bowels."²⁴³ As previously noted, this publication was advertised in Palmyra and reprinted in nearby Canandaigua. For most anti-Masons, Freemasonry claimed supernatural instruction for a purely man-made institution and sometimes indulged in magic that was only superstition.

Whereas most anti-Masons argued that Freemasonry was not ancient or supernatural, the *Book of Mormon* and Joseph Smith's 1830 revision of the Bible declared that Satan revealed the secrets of an evil combination "from the beginning of man even to this time." Specifically Satan taught these oaths and covenants

to Cain and Lamech of the Bible, also to Gadianton of the Mormon record (Hel. 6:26-29; 3 Ne. 6:28; Eth. 6:26-29; Moses 5:29-31, 49-51). Anti-Masons claimed that Masonry was a fraternal organization dedicated to overthrowing Christianity and monarchy. In contrast, the *Book of Mormon* and the *Book of Moses* repeatedly claimed that the main purposes of these secret combinations were to murder and plunder (Hel. 2:4, 8; 6:18-29; 11:25-26; 3 Ne. 5:5; Eth. 8:15-16, 22-23; Moses 5:31). The Mormon text indicated that subversion of governments was necessary only for gaining the power to protect these murderers and plunderers (Hel. 6:21-24; Hel. 7:4-5; 3 Ne. 6:27-30; Eth. 8:22-25).

Thus these *Book of Mormon* passages about secret combinations did not seem to refer to Masonry. An examination of contemporary language may provide a more useful key for interpreting these verses. By substituting "sorcery" for "work(s) of darkness," and "occult" for "secret," there is another perspective the book's description of these combinations. With these substitutions, one of the earliest references reads: "For behold, the Lord saw that his people began to [commit sorcery], yea, work [occult] murders and abominations ... their [occult] works, their [sorceries], and their wickedness and abominations" (Alma 37:22-23). The most detailed description makes the point even clearer: "therefore they began to commit [occult] murders, and to rob and to plunder, that they might get gain. ... And it came to pass that they did have their signs, yea, their [occult] signs, and their [occult] words; and this that they might distinguish a brother who had entered into the covenant" (Hel. 6:17, 22).

Although New York's *Anti-Masonic Review* claimed that eighteenth-century Freemasonry "sprung from a confederacy of lawless plunderers," it identified those "plunderers" as the Rosicrucians who had originated in Germany during the late 1500s.²⁴⁴ The *Book of Mormon* text seemed to be describing something even the most strident pre-1830 anti-Masons did not claim existed: an organization founded anciently by Cain entering into a pact with Satan, sometimes renewed by satanic revelation, internally protected by covenants of the blackest sorcery, and established for the purpose of murder and robbery.

Contrary to their absence in anti-Masonic literature, such traditions existed in writings about magic and the occult. In its entry for "Cain," the Rees encyclopedia paraphrased Josephus that Cain "headed a band of thieves, whom he taught to acquire riches by oppression and robbery." Palmyra's bookstore sold the Josephus history, which was in Joseph Smith's hometown library, while the Rees encyclopedia was on sale near Smith's home.²⁴⁵ Concerning the emphasis on magic by Josephus, Charlesworth has written that "the tradition of Solomon as magician, which is only roughly represented in the above material, is clearly present in Josephus' *Antiquities*."²⁴⁶

Bovet's 1684 *Pandaemonium* expressed a view of secret combinations very similar to that of the *Book of Mormon*: "So that we need not doubt the Continuance of that Ancient Devil-Craft, and Infernal Combination ... For if once they become in League with the Devil, they must be supposed to have espoused his Interest so far, as to stretch out their malice answerable to his Enmity, which is against all Mankind in general, but particularly against those of the greatest Integrity" (emphasis in original).²⁴⁷ In addition to the magic parallels for the

Book of Mormon's robber bands, Blake Ostler also noted: "The Book of Mormon secret societies differ from Masons in the precise ways they are similar to ancient Near Eastern bands of robbers."²⁴⁸

This *Book of Mormon* emphasis on occult arts among ancient Americans was also consistent with contemporary attitudes toward the Native American Indians. Theories varied, but John Beaumont wrote in 1705 that American Indians "talk with the Devil, who answers them in certain Stones."²⁴⁹ John Bartram suggested in 1751 that they descended from "Egyptians, Phoenicians, or Carthaginians," and observed that the Indians of New York "have strange notions of spirits, conjuration, and witchcraft."²⁵⁰ An 1822 publication emphasized similar ideas for the natives of Guatemala, and there was widespread belief that tribes of the northeastern United States were accustomed to scrying.²⁵¹ Publications also claimed that Native American Indians used a "wizard stick, referring probably to the rod or wand employed by the magi in conjuration."²⁵²

By the mid-1700s, English books (one with seven printings) were popularizing previously inaccessible exploration narratives about native occultism. Nicholas del Techo wrote that the Paraguayan Indians were "addicted to the superstitions of wizards and such imposters. Their manner of conjuring varies." John Barbot observed that the Indians "have their jugglers, whom some look upon as sorcerers."²⁵³ In addition to denouncing contemporary magic practice among New York's Anglo-Americans in 1810, the Lutheran minister also wrote: "At the time of Montezuma, all America was filled with conjurers."²⁵⁴

In 1828 Israel Worsley also described these mystical natives as receptive to the kind of claims Joseph Smith publicly announced two years later (see ch. 5). Worsley commented that the American Indians were descendants of the Ten Tribes, knew of the biblical Urim and Thummim, and believed in "a transparent stone of supposed great power." He continued that "they once had a holy book, which while they kept, things went well with them; they lost it, and in consequence of the loss fell under the displeasure of the Great Spirit; but they believe they shall one day regain it—they are looking for and expecting some one to come and teach them the right way."²⁵⁵

The *Book of Mormon* and Smith's 1830 Book of Moses both referred to an ancient American organization of murderous black magic. This is more clearly demonstrated by an item of evidence usually used by those who interpret these books as anti-Masonic. The Book of Moses described the origin of the secret combination that plagued the *Book of Mormon*: "And Satan said unto Cain: Swear unto me by thy throat, and if thou tell it thou shalt die[,] ... and this day I will deliver thy brother Abel into thine hands. And Satan sware unto Cain that he would do according to his commands. And all these things were done in secret. And Cain said: Truly I am Mahan, the master of this great secret, that I may murder and get gain. Wherefore Cain was called Master Mahan, and he gloried in his wickedness" (Moses 5:29-31, 51; Hel. 6:27; Eth. 8:15). Proponents of an anti-Masonic interpretation of early Mormon scripture have claimed that this referred to Freemasonry's office of Master Mason.²⁵⁶

That interpretation forces Freemasonry onto the passage by ignoring textual and linguistic context. The passage describes a covenant or pact between Cain

and Satan that began when Satan instructed Cain to make the offering which God refused (Moses 5:18-21). Such a narrative was foreign to Masonic claims for the benign antiquity of the fraternity, and opposed to anti-Masonic denials of any kind of antiquity for Masonic oaths.

However, the 1830 Book of Moses reflected the centuries-old teaching of the Cabala that Satan instructed Cain to make the rejected sacrifice.²⁵⁷ The pseudepigraphic Book of Enoch (first translated into English in 1821) added that Satan revealed his secret name to those with whom he had made an oath in order to give them power.²⁵⁸ Published in New York and Boston (as a reprint from the London original), the *Christian Observer* in July 1828 noted that Enoch's translator Laurence had cited the Cabala's *Zohar*, and the Protestant journal complained that this Book of Enoch contained "the same astrological phraseology [as] in other Apocryphal pieces of the early ages of the church."²⁵⁹ In 1840 a Mormon apostle stated that he owned this English translation of Enoch.²⁶⁰ A nineteenth-century Jewish scholar discussed the Book of Enoch's emphasis on secret names and its litany of angel names as examples of "Magic" literature.²⁶¹ Christians understood that the satanic pact required the person to renounce his or her Christian baptism, and adopt the name of Satan.²⁶² Concerning "COMPACTS WITH THE DEVIL," a New York author wrote in the 1830s: "The witch or sorcerer could not secure the assistance of the demon but by a sure and faithful compact ..."²⁶³

Regarding this Mormon assertion that Cain said "I am Mahan" in his pact with Satan, long before 1830 one of the names of Satan was "Mahoun" (pronounced "Mahan" in Scottish writings). This appeared in John Jamieson's *Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language*.²⁶⁴ Jamieson's dictionary was reviewed in a publication on sale in the Palmyra area.²⁶⁵ In 1802 Scottish poet William Dunbar also published "The Sweirers and the Devil," which described the satanic pact as "said Mahoun, Renunce thy God, and cum to me."²⁶⁶ This poem reflected the records of Scottish witchcraft trials. In the summary of Margaret Huggon's pact with Satan: "immediately after your renunciation of your baptism he gave you a new nam[e] calling you Kathrine Mahoun and Sathan's [sic] name was David Mahoun." Janet Brugh's case likewise stated that Satan "gave you one name calling you Janet Mahoun and called his name to you Watt Mahoun."²⁶⁷ New Yorkers reported that young Joseph Smith and his father both believed in witchcraft (see ch. 2). As LDS church president, Smith reaffirmed this belief in witches and sorcerers (see ch. 7).

Scottish folklore and poetry were popular in Joseph Smith's neighborhood. Newspapers in Canandaigua and Palmyra repeatedly advertised Anne MacVicar Grant's two-volume *Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders*, plus *Scottish Adventurers*, *Scottish Chiefs*, and *Lights and Shadows of Scottish Life*.²⁶⁸ In addition, these local newspapers advertised multi-volume collections of Scottish poetry, songs, and "Ancient English Poetry."²⁶⁹ Therefore, by 1830 it is likely that Palmyra's residents had access to William Dunbar's 1802 poem about the satanic pact with "Mahoun" (pronounced "Mahan").

Like the references to secret combinations in the *Book of Mormon*, the Book of Moses seems to portray a satanic pact. This perspective of Smith's "Mahan"

reference was centuries old and reflected language current in 1830. Masonry was not involved.

Long before 1830 there was another well-established tradition in print that sorcery originated with Cain and passed from father to son. This sorcery was perpetuated after the Flood by Noah's son Ham (often identified as Zoroaster), who taught it to his son Mizraim. This also appeared in the Rees encyclopedia on sale near Smith's home.²⁷⁰ The 1656 English edition of Jacob Boehme's *Aurora* (still being reprinted in his collected works to 1764) referred to "the hidden secret things which have been kept hidden from all men since the world began. For thou wilt see the murderous den of the devil, and the horrible sin, enmity and perdition. 2. The devil hath taught man sorcery or witchcraft, thereby to strengthen and fortify his kingdom" (emphasis in original).²⁷¹ There was also a long tradition that "before the Flood, Ham concealed in the ground treati[s]es of witchcraft and alchemy, and that, when the water abated, he recovered them" to teach these occult arts to others.²⁷² With American editions in 1796, 1821, 1823 and 1828, the era's most popular history of Salem witchcraft referred to "a Covenant with the Devil" and "Covenanting to be the Devil's Servants."²⁷³ Oliver Cowdery, Joseph Smith's scribe and associate since 1829, quoted a long section from this book in 1836 (see ch. 7).

This occult tradition paralleled the *Book of Mormon's* description of the twenty-four gold plates of the Jaredites who traveled from the Tower of Babel to the new world. These people recorded "the mysteries and the works of darkness [sorceries], and their secret [occult] works" and "all their oaths and their covenants, and their agreements in their secret [occult] combinations." The righteous record-keepers were forbidden to circulate this knowledge to others (Alma 37:21, 27; Eth. 5). Also the use of secret "signs" and "marks" was an occult tradition of the pseudepigrapha far older than Freemasonry: "After this he [Michael] gave me [Noah] the characteristical marks ["the signs" in footnote] of all the secret things in the book of my great grandfather Enoch."²⁷⁴

Another common criticism of the *Book of Mormon* relates to its unusually extensive pre-Christian knowledge of Jesus Christ. This foreknowledge was far more explicit than messianic prophecies in the Hebrew Bible.²⁷⁵ However, such details were consistent with previously published occult content in pseudepigraphic writings.

Ten years before Smith dictated his translation of the *Book of Mormon*, Richard Laurence published his translation of the *Ascent of Isaiah* (which he explained at one point by using the occult Cabala): "For Berial was highly indignant with Isaiah, on account of the vision and the manifestation, which manifested Samael [Satan], and because by him [Isaiah] was revealed the coming of the Beloved from the seventh heaven, his change, descent, and form, when he shall be changed into the form of man, his rejection, and the torments, with which the children of Israel shall torment him, as also the coming and doctrine of his twelve Disciples, his suspension on a tree." In this pseudepigraphic work Isaiah went on to identify specifically "him who was crucified, [as] Jesus, the Lord Christ," and his mother who would be known "by name of Mary, who was a virgin."²⁷⁶

Concerning this emphasis on heavenly ascent in Gnosticism, Kurt Rudolph wrote about "magic and the ascent of the soul."²⁷⁷

On sale in Palmyra and nearby Canandaigua from 1825 onward (see above), Horne's *Introduction To the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures* spent pages discussing this pre-Christian knowledge in Laurence's 1821 *Book of Enoch*. "This Dr. Laurence apprehends to be peculiarly the case of the book of Enoch; which, as having been written *before* the doctrines of Christianity were promulgated to the world, must afford us, when it refers (as it repeatedly does refer) to the nature and character of the Messiah, credible proofs of what were the Jewish opinions upon those points before the birth of Christ; and consequently before the possible predominance of the Christian creed" (emphasis in original). Horne stressed Enoch's teachings about "the Son of Man" who was "the Messiah and the Son of God," and then quoted Laurence's commentary: "Here then we have not merely the declaration of a *Plurality*, but that of a precise and distinct *Trinity*, of persons, under the supreme appellation of *Lords ...*" (emphasis in original). Although less impressed with Isaiah's ascent, Horne quoted one statement from its section on the seventh heaven: "all INVOKED the first, the FATHER, and his Beloved, THE CHRIST, and THE HOLY SPIRIT, with united voice" (emphasis in original).²⁷⁸

For traditional Protestants, the revelatory claim for non-biblical writings was a blasphemous outrage. In August 1829 the American publication of *Christian Observer* concluded that because of "its pretensions to be a revelation from God," Richard Laurence's "Book of Enoch cannot, perhaps, be paralleled by any pseudepigraphic composition which was ever palmed off upon a credulous age." Because Laurence was an Anglican bishop whose views were endorsed by Anglican bishop Horne's *Introduction To the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures*, the reviewer bemoaned the fact that "advocates for the inspiration of such a work" were "found among the clergy of our Established Church."²⁷⁹

The following *Book of Mormon* details therefore were not unusual within the pre-existing literature about heavenly ascent and about Enoch. "For behold, the time cometh, and is not far distant, that with power, the Lord Omnipotent who reigneth, who was, and is from all eternity to eternity, shall come down from heaven among the children of men, and shall dwell in a tabernacle of clay ... and take upon him the form of man ... And he shall be called Jesus Christ, the Son of God ... and his mother shall be called Mary ... And I also behold twelve others following him ... the apostles of the Lamb; for thus were the twelve called by the angel of the Lord. ... And I, Nephi, saw that he was lifted up upon the cross and slain for the sins of the world ... Behold, they will crucify him; and after he is laid in a sepulchre for the space of three days he shall rise from the dead" (Mos. 3:5; 13:34; 3:8; 1 Ne. 11:29, 34, 33; 2 Ne. 25:13). The existence of pseudepigraphic writings demonstrated what the *Book of Mormon* affirmed concerning "the many plain and precious things which have been taken out of [the Bible]" (1 Ne. 13:29).

In April 1829 Joseph Smith dictated a revelation whose context (though not content) echoed an earlier magic text. The content of this revelation concerns the status of John, the apostle of Jesus Christ. Its introduction describes it as "the translated version of the record made on parchment by John and hidden up by

himself."²⁸⁰ This was reminiscent of a Rosicrucian claim for the existence of a parchment written by John the Apostle: "*The morrow after our three dayes were past, there came to us a ... Rosie Crucian ... [who took a small chest of cedar] into his Boat, it opened of itself, and there were found in it a Book and a Letter; Both written in fine Parchment, and wrapped in Sindons of Linnen ... And for the Letter, it was in these words. I John, a Servant of the Highest, and Apostle of JESUS CHRIST*" (emphasis in original).²⁸¹

Smith's revision of Genesis (the Book of Moses) was revealed to him the following June and December. This presented new and disturbing extra-biblical doctrines to traditional Christianity, but it fit comfortably within various occult traditions. Beyond its references to the origins of sorcery (already discussed), the Book of Moses touched on familiar magic traditions about the creation of the earth, the nature of the unseen world, and the importance of patriarchs Adam and Enoch.

Resolving the contradictory accounts of the Creation in Genesis 1 and Genesis 2, the Book of Moses explained that there were, in fact, two creations. The first was spiritual, the second physical: "And now, behold, I say unto you, that these are the generations of the heaven and of the earth, when they were created, in the day that I, the Lord God, made the heaven and the earth: And every plant of the field before it was in the earth, and every herb of the field before it grew. For I, the Lord God, created all things of which I have spoken, spiritually, before they were naturally upon the face of the earth. ... And out of the ground made I, the Lord God, to grow every tree, naturally, that is pleasant to the sight of man; and the man could behold it. And it became also a living soul. For it was spiritual in the day that I created it" (Moses 3:5, 9).

Joseph Smith provided more details about creation in the "Book of Abraham" (now published in the canonized *Pearl of Great Price*). This was a revelatory translation from Egyptian papyri he purchased in 1835, along with a mummy.²⁸² Rather than emphasizing physical creation, the Book of Abraham discussed the nature of humans before earthly creation: "the intelligences that were organized before the world was ... And God saw these souls that they were good" (Abr. 3:22-23). This wording was reminiscent of a passage from Francis Barrett's occult handbook (the source for Smith's talisman): "God, in the first place, is the end and beginning of all virtues: he gives the seal of the ideas to his servants, *the intelligences* ..." (emphasis in original).²⁸³

Smith's Book of Abraham also linked with the Cabala in two ways. First, for a century English-language books had noted that cabalists claimed Abraham wrote "a very small Treatise, published under the Title of *Sepher Jetsira*, or, *The Book of Creation*." This view was in the Rees encyclopedia on sale near Smith's home.²⁸⁴ Second, English-language studies of the Cabala also noted its emphasis on "the Pre-existence of the Soul."²⁸⁵

Smith's emphasis on Abraham also linked with the young prophet's governing planet of Jupiter and his possession of a Jupiter talisman (see ch. 3). In English-language editions to 1748, Johann Eisenmenger's *Traditions of the Jews* referred to the "Circle of Jupiter, called by the Hebrews, *Tsedek*, the Intelligence of which is *Tsadkiel*, the Protecting Angel, or Familiar Spirit of Abraham"

(emphasis in original).²⁸⁶ One of Smith's sermons later borrowed concepts and phrasing from Eisenmenger's book (see ch. 7).

Smith later revealed that "the spirit of man [was] in the likeness of his person, as also the spirit of the beast, and every other creature which God has created" (D&C 77:2). The first part of this statement echoes the main source for symbols on the Smith family's magic parchments (see ch. 4). Since 1784 Ebenezer Sibly's occult handbook explained: "That the form of the spirit of a man is in a human form, or, in other words, that the spirit is the true formed man, may be evinced from many articles." This appeared verbatim in Robert C. Smith's 1825 occult handbook.²⁸⁷ For centuries occult books had also stated Joseph Smith's view that each animal has a spirit. Henry More's 1653 *Conjectura Cabbalistica* insisted: "I say, Plants and Animals were the generations, effects, and productions of the Earth, the *Seminal Forms* and *Souls of Animals* insinuating themselves into the prepared matter thereof ... not only of Seminal forms of Plants, but Souls of Animals also" (emphasis in original). This popular work had multiple printings for another seventy years.²⁸⁸

The related doctrine in this early Mormon text was that non-living objects were also rational, spiritual beings. This was a major departure from traditional Christianity. As part of its narrative of Enoch's vision, the Book of Moses reported: "And it came to pass that Enoch looked upon the earth; and he heard a voice from the howels thereof, saying: Wo, wo is me, the mother of men; I am pained, I am weary, because of the wickedness of my children. When shall I rest, and be cleansed from the filthiness which is gone forth out of me? When will my Creator sanctify me, that I may rest, and righteousness for a season abide upon my face?" (Moses 7:48)

Mormons today might interpret a talking earth as poetry, but early LDS leaders took a literal view of an animate earth and mineral world. In 1832 Joseph Smith announced a revelation in which God said that the earth "transgresseth not the law ... shall die, [and] it shall be quickened again" (D&C 88:25-26).²⁸⁹ Twenty years later Apostle Orson Pratt asked an LDS congregation the rhetorical question, "What! is the earth alive too?" He replied: "If it were not, how could the words of our text be fulfilled, where it speaks of the earth's dying? How can that die that has no life?"²⁹⁰ In 1854 church president Brigham Young affirmed that "the Earth is a living creature and breathes as much as you and I do." He claimed that the earth's breathing, not the moon, caused the movement of the tides.²⁹¹ Two years later, Young proclaimed: "There is life in all matter, throughout the vast extent of all the eternities; it is in the rock, the sand, the dust, in water, air, the gases, and, in short, in every description and organization of matter, whether it be solid, liquid, or gaseous, particle operating with particle."²⁹²

During two sermons in 1857 Heber C. Kimball gave ultimate expression to this view of a living earth. "Some say the earth exists without spirit; I do not believe any such thing; it has a spirit as much as any body has a spirit," Kimball affirmed. Then the church's most prominent folk apostle announced that this living earth had experienced birth, not creation: "Where did the earth come from? From its parent earths."²⁹³ Thus, Mormonism's first two prophets and two senior apostles affirmed that the physical globe (earth) had a personal

spirit capable of speech, birth, breathing, transgression, sexual reproduction, death, and resurrection.

Although animism of the material world was a mystical tradition, the Western occult also provided for this LDS doctrine and its extension to the mineral world. Henry Cornelius Agrippa's *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* declared in its 1651 English edition: "The world, the heavens, the stars, and the Elements have a soul, with which they cause a soul in these inferior and mixed bodies. They have also as we said in the former book, a spirit, which by the mediating of the soul is united to the body ... *The soul of the world, and the Celestiall souls are rational, and partake of Divine understanding*" (emphasis in original).²⁹⁴ As noted by anthropologist Sigmund Mowinckel: "The magical or mythical perception of reality ... does not distinguish, as we do, between lifeless and living things, between organic and inorganic. All have 'power' and 'life' of one kind or another in them. This can also be expressed by saying that all things have a 'soul'."²⁹⁵

Joseph Smith's teachings about the materiality of spirit ("All spirit is matter," D&C 131:7; see below) also suggested occult parallels to a nineteenth-century specialist on the Near East. Fluent in Arabic, Richard F. Burton visited Mecca disguised as an Egyptian magician. With an interest in occultism, he also visited Salt Lake City and read LDS texts. Concerning "Mormon materialism," Burton wrote: "Mind and spirit, therefore, are real, objective, positive substances, which, like the astral spirit of the old alchymists, exists in close connection with the component parts of the porous, material body."²⁹⁶

The Book of Moses narrative about Adam also contained a prominent magic theme. According to Smith's revelation: "And after many days an angel of the Lord appeared unto Adam, saying: Why dost thou offer sacrifices unto the Lord? And Adam said unto him: I know not, save the Lord commanded me. And then the angel spake, saying: This thing is a similitude of the sacrifice of the Only Begotten of the Father, which is full of grace and truth" (Moses 5:6-7). It is true that Christian biblical exegesis typically held that Old Testament acts were symbolic of the life of Jesus. However, Christian scholars tended not to claim that Old Testament prophets performed sacrifice in specific foreknowledge of Jesus on the cross. However, occult traditions and the pseudepigrapha portrayed overt Christianity in Adamic sacrifice. Vaughan's *Magica Adamica* stated: "It remains then a most firm, infallible foundation that Adam was first instructed concerning the Passion, and in order to that he was taught further to sacrifice and offer up the blood of beasts as types and prodromes of the blood of Jesus Christ."²⁹⁷ The Jewish pseudepigrapha contained a narrative that Adam (after his first sacrifice) was told that this sacrifice was a prophetic symbol of the crucifixion.²⁹⁸

The Book of Moses narrative of Enoch's experiences was also consistent with the pseudepigraphic Book of Enoch, published only a few years earlier. Magic, particularly forbidden sorcery, loomed large in Enoch's narrative. It stated that God destroyed the world by the Flood because the people had "acquired the knowledge of all the secrets of the angels, all the oppressive deeds of the Satans, as well as all their most occult powers, all the powers of those who practice sorcery."²⁹⁹ Likewise Smith's 1830 narrative explained that "a man's hand was against his own brother, in administering death, because of secret [occult] works,

seeking for power." Also the people "have sought their own counsels in the dark; and in their own abominations have they devised murder. ... Behold Satan hath come among the children of men, and tempteth them to worship him" (Moses 6:15, 28, 49). Again, the satanic pact.

The 1821 English translation of Enoch stated that he saw the stars in heaven.³⁰⁰ Likewise the 1830 Book of Moses reported that Enoch "beheld the spirits that God had created; and he beheld also things which were not visible to the natural eye" (Moses 6:36). The pseudepigraphic Enoch saw the Flood and wept over the destruction of the world.³⁰¹ In Smith's dictation: "Enoch saw that Noah built an ark, and that the Lord smiled upon it, and held it in his own hand; hut upon the residue of the wicked the floods came and swallowed them up. And as Enoch saw this, he had bitterness of soul, and wept over his brethren, and said unto the heavens: I will refuse to be comforted" (Moses 7:43-44).

The 1821 translation stated that Enoch in vision saw the Son of Man, his resurrection, and the final judgment.³⁰² In this 1830 revelation to Joseph Smith: "Enoch saw the day of the coming of the Son of Man, even in the flesh; and his soul rejoiced, saying: The Righteous is lifted up, and the Lamb is slain from the foundation of the world ... And the Lord said unto Enoch: Look, and he looked and beheld the Son of Man lifted up on the cross, after the manner of men ... And righteousness will I send down out of heaven; and truth will I send forth out of the earth, to hear testimony of mine Only Begotten; his resurrection from the dead; yea, and also the resurrection of all men ... And the Lord showed Enoch all things, even unto the end of the world; and he saw the day of the righteous, the hour of their redemption; and received a fulness of joy" (Moses 7:47, 55, 62, 67). Nearly all of this intriguing Mormon text was new to denominational Christianity. However, Smith's 1830 addition to Genesis presented a familiar understanding of Old Testament patriarchs within the occult traditions of Judaism and Christianity.³⁰³

Two years after the revelation of Moses, Smith announced one of the most central revelations in Mormon theology, commonly called "The Vision of the Three Degrees of Glory" (D&C 76). Recorded in February 1832, its text stated that God would save all persons "except those sons of perdition who deny the Son after the Father has revealed him" (D&C 76:43-44). It described those who are saved as "they whose bodies are celestial, whose glory is that of the sun" (D&C 76:70), as "the terrestrial, whose glory differs ... even as that of the moon differs from the sun" (D&C 76:71), and as "the glory of the testial, which glory is that of the lesser, even as the glory of the stars" (D&C 76:81). A decade later Smith added: "In the celestial glory there are [also] three heavens or degrees" (D&C 131:1).

This view of the afterlife challenged traditional Christianity in two ways. First, the 1832 vision announced a theology of nearly universal salvation. Second, it proposed a three-tiered gradation of salvation "glory" which contemporaries in 1832 understood only as describing three heavens. For traditional Christians, any concept of universal salvation was a dangerous heresy akin to Universalism. Its opponents regarded universal salvation as undermining the fabric of moral

conduct in society.³⁰⁴ For traditional Christians, heaven was a unitary, singular place (see below).

Consequently, Mormon converts from denominational Protestantism faced a crisis in 1832 when they learned about the vision of the three degrees of glory. Brigham Young's brother Joseph reminisced: "Then when I came to read the vision of the different glories of the eternal world, and of the sufferings of the wicked, I could not believe it at first. Why, the Lord was going to save every body!" He had been a Methodist minister prior to converting to Mormonism.³⁰⁵ Brigham Young himself recalled: "When God revealed to Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon that there was a place prepared for all, according to the light they had received and their rejection of evil and practice of good, *it was a great trial to many, and some apostatized* because God was not going to send to everlasting punishment heathens and infants, but had *a place of salvation, in due time, for all*, and would bless the honest and virtuous and truthful, whether they ever belonged to any church or not. *It was a new doctrine to this generation, and many stumbled at it.*"³⁰⁶ The diaries of Orson Pratt and John Murdock from the 1830s recorded their efforts to reassure Latter-day Saints who questioned the 1832 vision. The two men described the excommunication of Mormons, including branch presidents, who denounced "the degrees of glory" as a satanic revelation.³⁰⁷

On the other hand, the 1832 vision's description of multiple heavens was compatible with occult views. Even "degrees of glory" was an occult phrase connected with the ancient mystical beliefs of Judaism. Since 1728 a multi-volume encyclopedia noted that the originator of ABRACADABRA believed in "seven Angels who presided over the seven Heavens."³⁰⁸ Sibly's *A New and Complete Illustration of the Occult Sciences* stated in 1784 that "seven evil angels, before their fall, enjoyed the same places and *degrees of glory*, that now belong to the seven good angels or genii." Sibly's thirteenth edition appeared six years before Smith's 1832 vision.³⁰⁹ In biblical commentaries published in the United States during the early 1800s, Charles Buck and Adam Clarke acknowledged the Jewish occult's concept of "degrees of glory in heaven,"³¹⁰ but it was a major emphasis of occult advocates.

FARMS polemicists William J. Hamblin, Daniel C. Peterson, and George L. Mitton have written that "the idea of three heavens, or degrees of glory, ... associated with the sun, the moon, and the stars' can be derived from 1 Corinthians 15:40-42 and 2 Corinthians 12:2."³¹¹ However, the phrase "degrees of glory" is nowhere in those biblical verses. The phrase does appear in (1) English occultists (like Sibly and Robert C. Smith) who advocated multiple heavens as described in Jewish magic and mystical texts, in (2) anti-Semitic commentators (like Clarke) who unconditionally denounced the idea, and in (3) more liberal Protestants (like Buck) who affirmed that individual persons had "degrees of glory" within a single heaven.

In tandem with Sibly's popular definition of seven heavens as part of the occult sciences, two pseudepigraphic works (*The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* and *The Ascent of Isaiah*) also presented the view that there were seven heavens. Both mainstream encyclopedias and Sibly's occult handbook aligned that part of the pseudepigrapha with magic traditions. As a measure of its pre-1830

popularity, there was a forty-third edition of this *Testament* in New York during 1712 and U.S. printings continued to 1827.³¹² As previously discussed, the 1819 translator of Isaiah's ascent linked this pseudepigraphic text with the occult teachings of the Cabala.³¹³ Modern scholar James H. Charlesworth has also noted that the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* referred to "imitative magic."³¹⁴

Stephen D. Ricks and Daniel C. Peterson should have consulted these reputable authorities on the pseudepigrapha (as I did for my first edition), before the two BYU religion professors wrote: "Thus, to term such pseudepigraphic texts as the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* and the *Ascension of Isaiah* 'occult,' as he [Quinn] does in a discussion of the doctrine of multiple heavens (pp. 173-75), is to use the word so broadly as to rob it of any meaningful content."³¹⁵ Despite the rhetoric of LDS apologists and polemicists, "meaningful content" occurs within a context and Joseph Smith's environment included books, practices, and oral traditions of the occult.

Pre-1830 scholars gave two interpretations to Paul's reference to the "third heaven" (2 Cor. 12:2). In his notes to the *Ascent of Isaiah*, Richard Laurence regarded this as referring to a midway ascent within the seven heavens of Jewish mysticism.³¹⁶ On the other hand, Clarke's biblical commentary dismissed the Jewish and Muslim idea of seven heavens as "not only *fabulous*, but *absurd*." Clarke explained what the Apostle Paul meant: "In the Sacred writings, *three* heavens only are mentioned, The *first* is the atmosphere ... The *second*, the starry heaven; where are the sun, moon, planets, and stars ... And, *thirdly*, the *place of the blessed*, or the *throne of the Divine glory* ..." (emphasis in original). Thus, conventional Christians emphatically regarded the heavenly abode of God and the righteous as a single place or condition, and regarded Paul's statement as affirming that view.³¹⁷

Aside from a thirteenth-century German manuscript written by a female mystic,³¹⁸ before 1830 occult writers were the only public advocates of three heavens. In publications in England since 1784 (and in the United States since 1812), Emanuel Swedenborg insisted: "There are three heavens," described as "intirely [sic] distinct from each other." Often regarded as a devotee of the occult (see below), this Swedish mystic called the highest heaven "the celestial kingdom," and stated that the inhabitants of the three heavens corresponded to the sun, moon, and stars.³¹⁹ In presenting that cosmology, Sibly's *Occult Sciences* stated: "There are three degrees in man corresponding to the three heavens." This was part of his twenty-page summary of Swedenborg's teachings about "spirits and departed souls of men," and about heaven and hell.³²⁰

By Joseph Smith's own statement, he was acquainted with those views. Summaries of Swedenborg's teachings were in a front-page article of 1808 at nearby Canandaigua and in a book owned by Smith's hometown library since 1817.³²¹ Nine miles from the Smith farm, in 1826 the Canandaigua newspaper also advertised Swedenborg's *Treatise Concerning Heaven and Hell* for sale.³²² The bookstore offered Swedenborg's publications for as little as 37 cents.³²³ Aside from his lengthy summary of Swedenborg's teachings, Sibly was also the only source for various inscriptions on the Smith family's magic parchments (see ch. 4). In 1839 the prophet met with early Mormonism's only convert from Swedenbor-

gianism. Smith told Edward Hunter: "Emanuel Swedenborg had a view of the world to come, but for daily food he perished."³²⁴ Smith knew Swedenborg's writings about "the celestial kingdom" well enough to criticize them. Since Sibly was clearly the source for inscriptions on the Smith family's magic parchments, he is a likely source for Joseph Smith's knowledge of Swedenborg's "view of the world to come."

This was one case where the Mormon prophet acknowledged familiarity with the esoteric literature advertised and sold in Palmyra and nearby Canandaigua. His Jupiter talisman and the Smith family's magic parchments demonstrate familiarity with equally available handbooks of occult knowledge (see chs. 3-4). The Mormon prophet's knowledge of such literature is not a myth. The myth is LDS emphasis on Joseph Smith as an ill-read farmboy.

Despite Swedenborg's condemnation of magic as "merely a perversion" and "abuses of divine order,"³²⁵ writers of Joseph Sr.'s and Jr.'s generation regarded Swedenborg as an occult theologian.³²⁶ Some may have learned that he "brought from Italy a collection of Hermetic and Kabbalistic hieroglyphs or talismans." Then there was Swedenborg's rumored association in London with practicing occultists Joseph Balsamo ("Count Cagliostro") and Samuel Jacob Chayyim Falk (a cabalist who "discovered buried treasures, created occult talismans, and drew magic circles for arcane rites").³²⁷ As noted, Sibly's 1784 occult handbook treated Swedenborg as a fellow-traveler. In 1791 the English *Conjuror's Magazine* included Swedenborg in its article on "Lives of Eminent Magicians."³²⁸ In 1821 the *North American Review* (frequently advertised for sale in the Palmyra area) explained Swedenborg's appeal to converts: "There is still, we believe, among the vulgar [i.e., common people], some remnant of belief in witchcraft and divination."³²⁹ In three editions from 1823 to 1826, Peter Buchan's cheaply-bound handbook of the occult also cited Swedenborg for the distinction between "spiritual magic and natural magic."³³⁰

For the Protestant American clergy, Swedenborg was nothing less than a religious magician. One minister wrote in 1846: "I would not undertake to disprove the authenticity of the stories related of Swedenborg. And why then? In all ages wizards and witches have said and done things seemingly preternatural, and very astonishing." In warning Protestants not to follow Swedenborg, the minister concluded: "And who thinks of yielding himself to a fortune-teller, or a juggler, or a magnetized woman, as a religious guide—a teacher of new doctrines, or new moral precepts?"³³¹

Two years before this minister's book, a history of magic included Swedenborg. A decade later, another author characterized him as "a Hermetic philosopher" and "an adept in the fullest sense" (emphasis in original).³³² Modern scholar Joscelyn Godwin has also called Swedenborg "the Magus of Stockholm."³³³

LDS scholar Hugh Nibley has provided a double insight on this matter. As examples of "the Hermetic tradition" he listed Swedenborg with Albertus Magnus, Roger Bacon, Paracelsus, Robert Fludd, John Dee, and Joseph Balsamo ("Count Cagliostro"). Nibley also included Joseph Smith, Jr., "whom we can confidently place among the few great ones of Hermetic stature. For we are free

to use the word in a secular sense, though there is always something transcendental about it."³³⁴

Not all commentators have given Swedenborg's teachings an occult status, but there was no ambiguity about Robert C. Smith. His *Complete System of Occult Philosophy* declared in 1825: "there are *three heavens*, answerable externally to the Trinity, and internally according to *three degrees of glory*, the first, second, and third heaven" (emphasis in original). His handbook of astrology and ritual magic did not acknowledge his indebtedness to the Swedish author for this idea, but a footnote three hundred pages later showed that Smith had read Swedenborg.³³⁵

Richard F. Burton also saw Mormon parallels to "Swedenborgianism—especially in its view of the future state ..."³³⁶ Pioneer Mormons were sufficiently interested in Swedenborg that Utah's territorial university had nineteen volumes of his works in English, including ten volumes of his *Arcana Coelestia*, as well as Swedenborg's *Heaven and Hell*.³³⁷

The names of the three glories (Celestial, Terrestrial, and Telesial) in Joseph Smith's 1832 vision shared some similarity with angelology. Only the Celestial corresponded to Swedenborg's theology of three heavens. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica*'s 1798 article on angels stated that in early Jewish theology there were "two kinds of daemons, celestial and terrestrial [sic]."³³⁸

Traditional Christianity divided angels into many categories,³³⁹ yet a three-tiered classification was rare in traditional Christianity. Only the 1582 Rheims Bible used the phrase "celestials, terrestrials, and infernals" to translate Philipians 2:10. This phrase was absent in the 1525 Tyndale Bible, the 1539 Great Bible, the 1560 Geneva Bible, the 1568 Bishop's Bible, and absent from the 1611 King James Version.³⁴⁰ Outside divinity schools, the KJV was the Bible used by early Americans: "Religious citizens of Joseph Smith's generation, both Protestants and Jews, were raised on the King James Version (as it came to be known in this country) as thoroughly as they were raised on food and water."³⁴¹ Thus, the Bible available to Joseph Smith did not specify three types of angels.

By contrast, some of the most frequently cited magic books divided angels and gods into three kinds: celestial, terrestrial, and infernal.³⁴² Manuscripts for ceremonial magic frequently used this three-tiered classification.³⁴³ Robert Burton's seventeenth-century work on magic also provided the three symbols of this classification: "Fiery spirits or devils ... counterfeit suns and moons, stars oftentimes." First published in 1621, Burton's book was popular enough to have fifteen reprints by Joseph Smith's generation (seven from 1800 to 1827). It was in Utah's pioneer library.³⁴⁴

Joseph Smith's 1832 revelation identified the Telesial as those "who are thrust down to hell" for a period of time. This may have contributed to his apparent substitution of Telesial for infernal. Thus the celestial, terrestrial, and infernal of magic literature became the Celestial, Terrestrial, and Telesial in Mormon revelation.

The next numbered revelation in the *Doctrine and Covenants* (sec. 77) also suggests an occult parallel. This March 1832 revelation announced by Smith was in question-answer format concerning the Revelation of John, beginning in most cases, "What are we to understand by ..." Again, the format and even some of the

content reflected the occult tradition of the Christian interpretation of the Cabala.³⁴⁵ Specifically, there were four instances where format, question, and answer of Smith's revelation were very similar to the Christian cabalist interpretation of John's Revelation in Franciscus M. van Helmont's *Seder Olam*:

1. D&C 77:2, "Q. What are we to understand by the four beasts, spoken of in the same verse? A. They are figurative expressions, used by the Revelator, John, in describing heaven, the paradise of God, the happiness of [1] man, and of [2] beasts, and of [3] creeping things, and of [4] the fowls of the air ... the spirit of man [being] in the likeness of his person, as also the spirit of the beast, and every other creature which God has created." *Seder Olam*: "Quest. 24. What are those Faces of the Beasts, whereof everyone is said to have four, viz. the Face of a Bull on the Left Hand, and the Face of a Man and a Lyon [sic] on the Right side, and last of all the Face of an Eagle? Do not these four Faces signify the Souls or Lives of Men deriv'd from the four Worlds afore-mentioned[?]"³⁴⁶

2. D&C 77:4, "Q. What are we to understand by the eyes and wings, which the beasts had? A. Their eyes are a representation of light and knowledge, that is, they are full of knowledge; and their wings are a representation of power, to move, to act, etc." *Seder Olam*: "Quest. 23. What may we understand by the many Eyes of those Beasts? Whether [or] not [they represent] the manifold Understanding and Wisdom of the Faithful in Spiritual things? And do not their Eyes ... signify that these Beasts have not only most intrinsick Knowledge of themselves; but also are indued [sic] with great Judgment and Discretion ... Again, what is to be understood by their Wings? Whether [they represent] so many Divine and Celestial Vertues [sic] by which they can ascend with Expedition and Alacrity (as it were in flight) unto God, and so readily and speedily execute his Divine Will?"³⁴⁷

3. D&C 77:8, "Q. What are we to understand by the four angels, spoken of in the 7th chapter and 1st verse of Revelation? A. We are to understand that they are four angels sent forth from God, to whom is given power over the four parts of the earth, to save life and to destroy; these are they who have the everlasting gospel to commit" *Seder Olam*: "Quest. 42 Who are those four Angels, whom John saw standing on the four corners of the Earth, to whom power was given to hurt the Earth and the Sea; which yet they could not do 'till that number 144 000 was sealed? Are they not Angels in a proper sense, to whom power is given from God to execute his most Holy and Righteous Judgments on Earth?"³⁴⁸ (emphasis in original)

4. D&C 77:15, "Q. What is to be understood by the two witnesses, in the eleventh chapter of Revelation? A. They are two prophets that are to be raised up to the Jewish nation in the last days, at the time of the restoration, and to prophesy to the Jews after they are gathered and have built the city of Jerusalem in the land of their fathers." *Seder Olam*: "Quest. 58. What are those two Witnesses, cloath'd [sic] in Sackcloth ... Shall they not be Moses and Elias raised up to live again in a Body upon the Earth?"³⁴⁹ (emphasis in original)

In September 1832 Smith announced a revelation on priesthood³⁵⁰ which again recalled traditional views of magic rather than Judeo-Christian theology. This document traced the conferral of "this greater priesthood" as an unbroken

patrilineal chain, from Adam to Abel, Enoch, Noah, Melchizedek, Abraham, Esaias, Gad, Jeremy, Elihu, Caleb, Jethro, and Moses—"through the lineage of their fathers" (D&C 84:6-19). As far as I am aware, no other previous writing on Judeo-Christian theology or history described such a biblical chain of priesthood conferrals aside from references to the Levitical priesthood. This 1832 revelation specifically stated that the Levitical priesthood was separate from "this greater priesthood" whose conferral was long before the Levitical (D&C 84:18, 25-26, 30-33).

Within the Judeo-Christian heritage of traditional theology and biblical history, this 1832 revelation presented the novel concept that the ancient patriarchs had passed "this greater priesthood" from one biblical patriarch to another (D&C 84:19). An occult writer previously stated that this was an unusual concept. Vaughan's *Magica Adamica, or the Antiquity of Magic* noted: "It troubles you perhaps that I attribute a priesthood to Abel." Nevertheless, this occultist affirmed that "Cain having murdered his brother Abell[,] his priesthood descended to Seth, and this is confirmed by those faculties which attended his posterity: for Enoch, Lamech and Noah were all of them prophets."³⁵¹

Within the magic tradition, astrology was conferred in a similar manner from Adam onward. John Butler wrote in 1680: "Astrology is an holy, and most excellent Science. ... It is asserted by good Authority, That much of this Learning came out of Paradise, and that our Father Adam after the Fall did communicate the same unto his Son Seth, out of his Memoirs of the state of Innocency: and that Seth made impressions of the same in certain permanent pillars, which were able to withstand both Fire and Water; and that hence Enoch had it, and Noah, and from him Shem, and so it came to Abraham, who increased the knowledg[e] by Divine helps; and taught the Chaldeans, and the Egyptians the principal Rudiments of what they knew herein" (emphasis in original).³⁵² Claims for patriarchal conferral of astrology continued in occult publications down to Joseph Smith's generation.³⁵³

A second tradition paralleling *Doctrine and Covenants* 84:6-16 was that the Jewish Cabala was conferred in the same patriarchal manner. Eisenmenger's *Traditions of the Jews* cited the *Zohar* that this cabalistic knowledge was in a book "kept secretly by Adam, 'til he went out of Paradise ... Then God beckon'd to Raphael, and permitted, that the Book should be given him (Adam) again. And Adam neglected not to read it. He (Adam) left it to his Son Seth; and from one Generation to another, it descended to Abraham ..." (emphasis in original). This was also in the summary of cabalistic teachings as published in 1812 at Boston.³⁵⁴ Moshe Idel has noted that "the Kabbalists envisioned the revelation of this magic as part of the divine design to redeem Israel."³⁵⁵ Likewise, Christian cabalists claimed that this occult knowledge passed from Adam to Enoch, to Noah, and to Moses.³⁵⁶

Enfield's *History of Philosophy* explained that "God restored it [the Cabala] to Adam; and that it passed from Adam to Seth ... the book being lost, and the mysteries contained [being] almost forgotten, in the degenerate age before the flood, they were restored, by special revelation, to Abraham ... [and] the revelation was renewed to Moses."³⁵⁷ As previously noted, Enfield's book was advertised in

the Palmyra area from 1804 to 1828. Again, other writers freely appropriated this view, including the Rees encyclopedia on sale near Smith's home.³⁵⁸

Of particular interest here is the tradition that an angel gave to Adam a book of Cabala which passed down to Adam's descendants. In Smith's 1830 revision of Genesis, he wrote: "And a book of remembrance was kept, in the which was recorded, in the language of Adam." Of this, Enoch said in Smith's revision: "For a book of remembrance we have written among us, according to the pattern given by the finger of God ..." (Moses 6:5, 46).

A third tradition was that magic itself descended patrilineally from Adam. The seventeenth-century *Magic of Kirani* declared: "And this knowledge was delivered from Father to Son before the Flood, till Seth engraved it on Pillars, and so by these Monuments, as well as by Noah's oral Tradition, the Post-Diluvians were instructed in the same."³⁵⁹ Another seventeenth-century author wrote: "Natural or legitimate magic was, together with all other knowledge, a gift from God to Adam, who by peopling the world handed it down to posterity."³⁶⁰ In addition, the occult view was that priesthood performed magic. For example, one English manuscript's incantation to treasure-spirits stated: "Likewise I by mine office & priesthood doe [sic] give power to this hooke of rules therein conteyned [sic] to call ye or any of you, or any other spirit into this glasse ... Amen. fiat. fiat. fiat."³⁶¹

By contrast, even Freemasonry's most ardent advocates did not duplicate the occult tradition by claiming that the specific symbols, signs, and ceremonies of modern Freemasonry were handed down from Adam through the patriarchs. James Anderson was the most frequently cited eighteenth-century advocate of Masonic antiquity. Nevertheless, his claim can be reduced to the assertion that geometry and architecture constituted the ancient heritage of Freemasonry: "ADAM, our first Parent, created after the Image of God, *the great Architect of the Universe*, must have had the Liberal Sciences, particularly *Geometry*, written on his Heart. ... No doubt *Adam* taught his sons *Geometry*, and the use of it, in the several *Arts and Crafts* convenient, at least for those early times" (emphasis in original).³⁶² This generalized equation of geometry and Freemasonry anciently was also the view in popular American publications about Freemasonry by Wellins Calcott and Salem Town.³⁶³ As previously noted, Palmyra's newspaper advertised a Masonic magazine which in 1826 likewise denied that "speculative Freemasonry" was biblical or even ancient in origin. Palmyra's anti-Masonic newspaper acknowledged in 1829: "That operative or practical masonry was one of the earliest arts practiced by mankind is very probable." But "the change from operative to speculative masonry took place in very modern times."³⁶⁴ Loyal Freemasons, like the author of the article reprinted in 1826, did not disagree with that anti-Masonic assessment.

Traditional Christianity and contemporary Freemasonry were not the context for Smith's priesthood revelation of September 1832. They had no correlation with the revelation's description of patriarchal conferral of priesthood. On the other hand, centuries of occult tradition claimed that priesthood, ceremony, and occult knowledge had passed from father to son among biblical patriarchs.

Mormon revelations used terms for the priesthood that also echoed the

American environment of magic and religion. The "Vision" revelation of 1832 stated: "And are priests of the Most High, after the order of Melchizedek, which was after the order of Enoch, which was after the order of the Only Begotten Son" (D&C 76:57; also 107:9, 29, 71, 73, 76; 124:123). This description of a priesthood conferred in modern times by ordination departed from the Bible by linking this priesthood with Enoch, but this LDS revelation was reminiscent of earlier priesthood practices of Ephrata. This Pennsylvania commune combined mysticism with Rosicrucianism, alchemy, astrology, divining rods, and ceremonial magic. The nineteenth-century historian of Ephrata wrote that in August 1740 the leader of the commune "solemnly consecrated Brothers Onesimus (Israel Eckerling), Jaehez (Peter Miller) and Enoch (Conrad Weiser) to the priesthood, by the laying on of hands; after which they were admitted to the ancient Order of Melchizedek by having the degree conferred on them in ancient form."³⁶⁵ Just as LDS leaders sometimes had pseudonyms (like "the code name Enoch" for Joseph Smith) in the publication of revelations,³⁶⁶ Ephrata's leaders also had new names such as Enoch for Conrad Weiser.³⁶⁷

In 1835 another revelation repeated with greater details the conferral of priesthood ordination from Adam to Noah. This revelation (D&C 107) may also have given an occult numerological basis to LDS priesthood organization. The triangle is one of the most potent geometric forms in magic, and the 1835 revelation provided numbering of priesthood offices which added to 180 (the number of degrees in a triangle). The revelation specified that in ascending order, the deacon's president presided over twelve deacons, the teacher's president over twenty-four teachers, the priest's president over forty-eight priests, and the elder's president over ninety-eight elders (D&C 107:85-89).

This 1835 revelation also gave parallel numbering for presiding offices, which added to 180 by the time of the dedication of Mormonism's first temple in 1836. The 1835 document enumerated the "presiding officers" of the Melchizedek Priesthood ("the Holy Priesthood, after the Order of the Son of God"). There were three men in the First Presidency of the church, twelve men in the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, seventy men in the Seventy, those in the "standing high councils, at the stakes of Zion" (limited at the time to twelve men at Kirtland, Ohio), those in "the high council in Zion" (Jackson County, Missouri, also twelve men), and "evangelical ministers" whose "priesthood was confirmed to be handed down from father to son" and which was represented in 1835 by one Presiding Patriarch, Joseph Smith, Sr.³⁶⁸ This added up to 110, seventy short of the magic number of the triangle. However, the revelation concluded: "And it is according to the vision showing the order of the Seventy, that they should have seven presidents to preside over them, chosen out of the number of the seventy. ... And these seven presidents are to choose other seventy besides the first seventy to whom they belong, and are to preside over them." Smith selected this second Seventy in February 1836.³⁶⁹ Thus the magic number of 180 leaders of the Melchizedek Priesthood was in place by the dedication of the Kirtland temple the next month.³⁷⁰

In January 1841 Joseph Jr. dictated a revelation of God's instructions for the ordinance of proxy baptisms on behalf of the dead, an unusual ordinance that

had also been in practice among the Christian occult communities of Pennsylvania since 1738. This same year, the leader of the Ephrata commune performed the first proxy baptism for the dead: "Emanuel Eckerling, who presented himself to be immersed for his deceased mother." The nineteenth-century historian of Ephrata observed that these Christian occultists used a statement by the Apostle Paul (1 Cor. 15:29) to defend this practice which continued at Ephrata and among other German sectarians from the 1730s to the 1830s.³⁷¹ The revelation of 1841 authorized the Latter-day Saints to "be baptized for those who are dead" (D&C 124:29). Just as the Christian occultists of Ephrata were baptized for both genders, Brigham Young observed: "When Joseph received the revelation that we have in our possession concerning the dead, the subject was opened to him, not in full but in part ... Then women were baptized for men and men for women, &c."³⁷²

Sometime between 1841 and 1844 Smith directed that code names should disguise the identities of some LDS leaders named in the revelations being prepared for publication.³⁷³ For a revelation of February 1834, the published text gave Smith a code name that sounded exactly like the name of the archangel ruling over the month of February, over the sign of Pisces (when the revelation occurred), and over Smith's governing planet of Jupiter.

The printed revelation specified that "my servant Baurak Ale (Joseph Smith, Jun.) is the man."³⁷⁴ Apostle Orson Pratt later explained: "Joseph was called *Baurak Ale*, which was a Hebrew word; meaning God bless you."³⁷⁵ A Hebrew scholar verified that Pratt's definition was valid according to the Spanish Sephardic transliteration methods of Smith's teacher, Joshua Seixas.³⁷⁶

However, Baurak Ale was also a name in the occult sciences. Like other English-language works, occult books usually spelled the name of this angel as Barchiel.³⁷⁷ A Hebrew specialist at BYU (now at Brandeis University) noted that the original Hebrew word can be transliterated as "Baraqiel," "Baurak Ale" or "Barak-el." David P. Wright also observed that the LDS spelling of Baurak Ale reflected both the influence of Smith's Hebrew teacher and "some sort of cross influence through magical texts and traditions."³⁷⁸

Prior to Joseph Smith's use of "Baurak Ale," Laurence's *Book of Enoch* was apparently the only English-language book which transliterated the Hebrew into that phonetic sound, rather than the more common Barchiel or "Barkayal." As previously noted, Horne's summary of Laurence's book was on sale in Palmyra from 1825 onward, but direct reading of Laurence would be necessary to see his transliteration "Barakel."³⁷⁹ In addition, Apostle Parley P. Pratt owned a copy of Laurence's translation by July 1840 and returned to LDS headquarters in February 1843.³⁸⁰ Thus, Joseph Smith obviously had close access to this pseudepigraphic work before he announced Laurence's pronunciation for the unique code name Smith used and his scribes wrote as Baurak Ale.

The seven-volume *Legends of the Jews* later noted that "Barakel taught men divination from the stars," which was also stated in Laurence's *Book of Enoch*.³⁸¹ A *Dictionary of Angels* explained: "Barakiel (Barachiel, Barbiel, Barchiel, Barkiel, Barqiel etc.—'lightning of God')—[is] one of the 7 archangels, one of the 4 ruling seraphim, angel of the month of February. ... In addition, he is a ruler of the planet Jupiter and the zodiacal sign of Scorpio (as cited by Camfield in *A Theological*

Discourse of Angels) and Pisces."³⁸² In Charlesworth's recent edition of the Book of Enoch, the angelic teacher of astrology is "Baraqel" or "Baraq'al."³⁸³

A nineteenth-century French analyst even established a direct link between ceremonial magic and Smith's code name of Baurak Ale. Moise Schwab identified the angel name meaning "God bless you" as *Barakh El* in magic inscriptions on artifacts in the Louvre. He also found inscriptions of *Barakhi El* with the same meaning but specifically designated for Jupiter.³⁸⁴ Thus, Smith's code name Baurak Ale is the one official link of Mormonism's founding prophet with his governing planet Jupiter. This link also exists in the talisman attributed to Smith by one branch of his family and in the magic parchments maintained by another branch of the Smith family (see chs. 3-4).

Aside from providing the inscriptions and design of Joseph Smith's Jupiter talisman (see ch. 3), Francis Barrett's *The Magus* provides another significant insight for Smith's Jupiter-linked name of Baurak Ale. This 1801 occult handbook showed that Barchiel presides over the Hebrew tribe of Ephraim, as well as over Pisces and February.³⁸⁵ Grandson of biblical patriarch Jacob (Israel) and son of Joseph, Ephraim was the focus of Mormon teachings about the Tribes of Israel. "By revelation," Joseph Smith learned he was descended from Ephraim.³⁸⁶

Better-known within magic were the three angels mentioned in a letter Smith wrote in 1842. Referring to angelic ministrations he received from 1823 to the 1830s, Smith wrote: "And the voice of Michael, the archangel; the voice of Gabriel, and of Raphael, and of divers angels, from Michael or Adam down to the present time." This later became part of LDS scripture (D&C 128:21).

Modern ministration of these angels to Joseph Smith was contrary to traditional Christian emphasis that such visits ended with the Book of Revelation (see ch. 1). However, Smith's angel visits were consistent with the Cabala. As proclaimed in English editions of Johann Eisenmenger's study to 1748: "That some of the Holy Angels are Instructors to Mankind, has been already mentioned in the Account we gave of the *Cabala*."³⁸⁷

Encyclopedias of Smith's generation specified that the "Jews reckon four orders or companies of angels" headed by Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, and Raphael, "but the only names owned by the [Christian] church are Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael, to which is sometimes added Uriel." This included the Rees encyclopedia on sale near Smith's home.³⁸⁸ In the occult, these four angels presided over the four elements, the four corners, and the four winds of the world.³⁸⁹ However, Smith's letter eliminated Uriel as one of the angels who ministered to him.

Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael had enormous significance as a triad of angels in magic. Occult texts often listed them in the same order Smith listed them in 1842. LeLoyer's 1605 *A Treatise of Specters* stated: "The good Angels doe [sic] alwayes take their Names, their vertues [sic] and their properties of God: as Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael: and by the two principall [sic] Languages (to wit) the Hebrew and Greeke [sic], they are named by the Name of Messengers" (emphasis in original).³⁹⁰ British historian of the occult Frances Yates noted that Renaissance magician Pico della Mirandola wrote of "a mystical ascent through the spheres of the universe to a mysical Nothing beyond them. ... The magical element in it derives from the power of the divine names; with them are associated

names of angels[,] ... invoking Raphael, Gabriel, Michael. The invoking, or conjuring, of angels forms an intrinsic part of the system, difficult to define, on the borderline of religious contemplation and magic."³⁹¹

Ceremonial magic invoked the names Michael, Gabriel and Raphael against enemies and to bind thieves.³⁹² Those were the purposes of the Smith family's "Saint Peter Bind" magic parchment (see ch. 4). The three angels were also invoked to dispel evil spirits.³⁹³ An English magic manuscript "To compell a Spirit to Speake" included a prayer to Michael "who subdued & drave all infernal spirits out of that hlessed place."³⁹⁴ Joseph Smith wrote in 1842 of the "voice of Michael on the banks of the Susquehanna, detecting the devil when he appeared as an angel of light!" (D&C 128:20). A direct link with the "Saint Peter bind them" parchment of the Smith family is the fact that in the German magic traditions to which that lamén was indebted, only the names Michael, Gahriel, and Raphael were used in connection with the "Saint Peter bind" formula (see ch. 4).³⁹⁵

The next revelation in the *Doctrine and Covenants* was given in 1843, five months after the mention of Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael. Repeating Smith's instructions four years earlier to Apostle Wilford Woodruff, this revelation provided a way to know whether other worldly messengers come from God or from Satan. After defining angels as resurrected "just men" with glorified bodies of flesh and bone, the revelation specified: "If he be the spirit of a just man made perfect ... Ask him to shake hands with you, but he will not move, because it is contrary to the order of heaven for a just man to deceive; but he will still deliver his message. If it be the devil as an angel of light, when you ask him to shake hands he will offer you his hand, and you will not feel anything; you may therefore detect him" (D&C 129:6-8).³⁹⁶

This reflected a view summarized in the 1856 *Transcendental Magic*: "What is commonly called Necromancy has nothing in common with resurrection ... The proof of this is that spirits, at least the spectres pretended to be such, may indeed touch us occasionally, but we cannot touch them, and this is one of the most affrighting characteristics of these apparitions, which are at times so real in appearance that we cannot unmoved feel the hand pass through that which seems a body and yet make contact with nothing."³⁹⁷ The latter phrase about not being able to feel the hand of "the spectres pretended to be such" showed that humans cannot feel those spirits who seek to deceive. This was the message of Smith's 1843 revelation.

In May 1843 Smith echoed magic ideas in statements later added to LDS scripture. Smith first stated: "In the celestial glory there are three heavens or degrees." This was consistent with the occult views of Basilius Valentinus that there are three Celestial worlds.³⁹⁸ Another teaching on this occasion was: "There is no such thing as immaterial matter. All spirit is matter, but it is more fine or pure, and can only be discerned by purer eyes" (D&C 131:7). This reflected "the occult tradition going back to Neo-Platonism ... [that] tended to blur the difference between matter and spirit, making matter spiritual and spirit material. Its emphasis was on a matter almost alive, permeated with the divine, filled with secret sympathies and antipathies."³⁹⁹

Mormon officials and scholars generally agree that Mormonism reached its

doctrinal apex in 1842-44, when Smith gave instructions about "the temple endowment."⁴⁰⁰ Some interpreters, both non-Mormons and Mormons, have described the endowment as borrowed directly from contemporary Freemasonry.⁴⁰¹ Although there are superficial similarities of symbol and rite between Masonic rituals and the Mormon endowment, I believe that the underlying philosophy and purpose of the two were fundamentally different. Mormon revelation, in fact, proclaimed that the LDS endowment directly restored what Masonry acknowledged it had only some connection with—the occult mysteries of the ancient world.

The word "mysteries" had a well-recognized, singular reference by Joseph Smith's time. The King James Bible used "mysteries" only three times, compared to occurrence of "the mystery" sixteen times.⁴⁰² By contrast, the *Book of Mormon* used "mysteries" nineteen times and "mystery" only four times. The *Doctrine and Covenants* used "mysteries" twenty times compared to five times for "mystery."⁴⁰³ Buck's *Theological Dictionary* (on sale in the Palmyra area from 1817 to the 1820s) stated: "MYSTERIES, a term used to denote the secret rites of the Pagan superstitions, which were carefully concealed from the knowledge of the vulgar [i.e., common people] ... they originated in Egypt, the native land of Idolatry."⁴⁰⁴ Smith later quoted from Buck's dictionary.⁴⁰⁵

From Smith's time to the present, these ancient mysteries have been viewed as the climax of the occult tradition and magic world view. In 1790 a book repeatedly stated that "the mysteries occultly signified" various meanings.⁴⁰⁶ New York's Lutheran president observed in 1810: "The mysteries were not only a great support to magic, but they also gave to it a new and more shining appearance."⁴⁰⁷ An 1817 study of the Eleusinian mysteries commented: "If it were possible to lift the veil which covers the mysteries of Eleusis, we should possess a key to the mysteries of Egypt and of the East."⁴⁰⁸ Under the heading of "THE EXERCISE OF OCCULT POWER," a multi-volume encyclopedia included "the Ancient Mysteries" and "Necromancy."⁴⁰⁹ Maurice Bouisson wrote a generation ago that "it was in the Mysteries that sympathetic magic achieved its full development."⁴¹⁰

In the early 1830s LDS revelations announced an imminent restoration of "hidden" or "secret" mysteries. As noted previously, these words also meant "occult" in contemporary language. In February 1832 Smith's vision of the degrees of glory announced: "And to them will I reveal all mysteries, yea, all the [occult] mysteries of my kingdom from days of old, and for ages to come" (D&C 76:7).

In June 1837 the official LDS periodical emphasized the context of the ancient mystery religions: "Erutheus, who cultivated the plains of Eleusis, instituted the Eleusinian mysteries. These mysteries were of a religious and moral nature, conveying the doctrines of the unity of God, the immortality of the soul, and a future state of reward and punishment. Cicero speaks of them in terms of high commendation. But the ceremonies connected with them, were childish and ridiculous."⁴¹¹ However, that was not a statement by the LDS editor. With few variations, the entire article was copied (the last sentence verbatim) from *Elements of General History, Ancient and Modern* by Alexander Fraser Tytler, Lord Wood-

houselee. This one-volume book had nine British printings (1801-36) and seventeen American printings (1811-37).⁴¹² As Hugh Nibley has written, "In the early days of the Church the mysteries of the past intrigued and aroused the brethren."⁴¹³

From 1824 onward, Tytler's book was advertised by newspapers in Canandaigua and Palmyra, and a copy was in Joseph's hometown library before he moved from New York to Ohio.⁴¹⁴ There is no available diary for Smith in 1837, and therefore no direct evidence that he recommended this series on "Ancient History" or loaned his own copy of the book for use by *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate*. However, in January 1837 Smith became one of the publishers of this periodical.⁴¹⁵ It is not insignificant (and, I argue, not coincidental) that in June 1837 the LDS periodical extensively quoted a book also in the library at Manchester, New York. This is yet another evidence that Joseph Smith was not indifferent to books available in his New York neighborhood while he was a teenager and young adult. Because he quoted from and possessed such books while LDS president (see above), there is no reasonable argument against his reading and acquiring some of these books in his youth.

A year before he became a Mason, Smith dictated a revelation where God commanded the Mormons "to build a house in the land of promise, that those ordinances might be revealed which had been [occult] from before the world was. For I deign to reveal unto my church things which have been kept [occult] from before the foundation of the world" (D&C 124:38, 41). Brigham Young stated the purpose of those mysteries in 1853: "Let me give you the definition in brief. Your *endowment* is, to receive all those ordinances in the House of the Lord, which are necessary for you, after you have departed this life, to enable you to walk back to the presence of the Father, *passing the angels who stand as sentinels, being enabled to give them the key words, the signs and tokens, pertaining to the Holy Priesthood, and gain your eternal exaltation in spite of earth and hell.*"⁴¹⁶

Although contemporary Freemasonry claimed some derivation from the ancient mysteries (such as the Eleusinian), no Mason at Joseph Smith's time or thereafter defined the central purpose of Masonic rites to be an ascent into heaven.⁴¹⁷ Moreover, in the Masonic magazine sold near Joseph Smith's home in 1826, an article stated: "Freemasonry has likewise been identified, by some zealous Masons, with the Eleusinian Mysteries." The author summarized those ancient rites and rejected their linkage with Freemasonry: "God forbid, therefore, that Masonry should ever have been identified with those mysteries."⁴¹⁸

Apostle Heber C. Kimball, a Freemason for many years, expressed his view a month after receiving the Mormon endowment in 1842: "we have recieved some pressious things through the Prophet on the preasthood that would caus your Soul to rejoice [—] I can not give them to you on paper fore they are not to be riten. ... thare is a similarity of preast Hood in masonary. Br Joseph ses Masonary was taken from preasthood but has become deg[er]nerated. but menny things are [made] perfect."⁴¹⁹ Art deHoyos, one of America's most knowledgeable researchers in Masonic history, has recently written that "there are several allusions to a concept of heavenly ascent in Freemasonry, although they are certainly not the central theme."⁴²⁰

Nevertheless, it is true that a New York anti-Mason complained in 1829 that "many of the fraternity ... rest their hopes for heaven on masonry."⁴²¹ This was a result of Masons like Calcott referring to heaven as "the celestial lodge" and praising Freemasonry as "tending to the glory of God, and to secure to them temporal blessings here, and eternal life hereafter ..."⁴²² Likewise, Town wrote in 1822: "In advancing to the fifth degree, he [the Freemason] discovers his election to, and his glorified station in, the kingdom of his Father. Here he is taught how much the chosen ones are honored and esteemed by those on earth, who discover and appreciate the image of their common Lord. This image being engraved on his heart, he may look forward to those mansions above, where a higher and more exalted seat has been prepared for the faithful from the foundation of the world."⁴²³

However, contrary to Michael W. Homer's use of such quotes to counter my first edition's emphasis on heavenly ascent,⁴²⁴ Freemasonry did not teach that its ceremonies were necessary to ascend to God or to attain the blessings of Heaven. Nor did Freemasons teach that non-Masons were deprived of heavenly blessings for lack of receiving such ceremonies. Rather, because Freemasons sought to do good and please God, they expected his eternal reward for those efforts. Freemasons in Joseph Smith's time and now would not disagree with John G. Stearns who wrote in 1829 that any man "may endure afflictions, live to the glory of his Maker, and die in complete triumph, without the aid, and without the hopes of masonry."⁴²⁵

This generalized expectation of Freemasonry's beneficial results is fundamentally different from Homer's overstated claim that "a central purpose of Freemasonry is to facilitate the ascent of man into heaven." In fact, he even acknowledged the difference between the claims and emphasis of Masonic ceremonies versus the ancient mysteries and LDS endowment: "Freemasonry did not, and does not, teach that its signs and tokens, unlike the signs and tokens of Mormonism, are literally keys which must be given to 'angels who stand as sentinel' to 'walk back to the presence of the Father' ..."⁴²⁶

Modern scholar Ioan Petru Culianu's description of heavenly ascent shows how little it has to do with Freemasonry's claims. "A heavenly ascent is a journey into the divine realms from which the soul—living or dead—reaps many rewards ... even the possibility of divinization, becoming like one of the gods," she wrote. "Rituals of ascent involve a living person who makes the heavenly journey in order to become sanctified as a priest who mediates between his people and their gods, to become initiated into a new, sacred status, or for purposes of healing."⁴²⁷

Freemasonry's minor emphasis on the heavenly outcome of its rituals was a chasm between Freemasonry and the Mormon endowment. A concept of heavenly ascent was completely absent in many pro-Masonic writings before the 1840s. However, such an ascent was central to the occult mysteries of the ancient world. Richard Laurence's translation of the *Ascension of Isaiah* in 1819 stated that "those who watched the gate of that heaven, required a [verbal] passport" from all persons.⁴²⁸ Concerning Jewish Gnosticism, Gershom Scholem wrote that the initiated persons expected that "the soul requires a pass in order to be able to continue its journey without danger: a magic seal made of a secret name which

puts the demons and hostile angels to flight. ... recital of magical key-words with which he tries to unlock the closed door."⁴²⁹ A scholar of Christian Gnosticism added that "in order to reach the highest heaven the spirit must pass through the lower heavens" governed by "rulers" to whom the departed spirit must give "magical passwords."⁴³⁰

None of this emphasis on the magic ascent bore any similarity to Masonic teachings. However, the purpose of the occult mysteries in the ancient world paralleled Brigham Young's explanation of the modern endowment's purpose: "passing the angels who stand as sentinels being enabled to give them the key words, the signs and tokens, pertaining to the Holy Priesthood."

In fact, Hugh Nibley and other LDS scholars have consistently turned to the occult rites of ancient Egyptian and Gnostic mystery religions to demonstrate by parallel evidence the antiquity of Mormon endowment rituals.⁴³¹ As William J. Hamblin has noted: "Much of Nibley's other work [before 1989] also abounds with references to early Gnosticism, which has important links to the hermetic and alchemical traditions of late antiquity."⁴³² Hamblin and fellow FARMS polemicists Peterson and Mitton have added that "there is a large body of work which indicates that the closest analogues [of the LDS endowment] are to the rituals and esoteric doctrines of early Christianity and Judaism in the eastern Mediterranean in the first two or three centuries before and after Christ."⁴³³ In making such comparisons, Hamblin has acknowledged that "there are many elements in Jewish ascension mysticism that we today would find very strange, including various magical incantations and practices and a strong emphasis on gematria. Gematria is a complex system of mystical interpretation of numbers, letters, and words."⁴³⁴ By drawing only on authorized descriptions of the endowment by LDS leaders, it is possible to see how the Mormon endowment reflected the ancient and occult mysteries far closer than Freemasonry.

For early nineteenth-century readers, William Warburton's *Divine Legation of Moses* was the most extensive and available description of the ancient mysteries. It had six separate English printings from 1738 through 1837, plus its inclusion in three editions of his complete works from 1788 through 1841. George S. Faber also published multi-volume studies of the ancient mysteries in 1803 and 1816. These were single-edition works, yet Faber was a very popular writer. His study of the fulfillment of biblical prophecies enjoyed seven English and three American imprints from 1803 to 1816. It was advertised for sale in the Palmyra area, as was a collection of Faber's sermons.⁴³⁵ In 1817 there was an English translation of Sergei Uvarov's book on the Eleusinian mysteries. In 1818 a Philadelphia publisher provided the first American edition of John Leland's criticism of Warburton as an "advocate for the mysteries." Leland devoted two chapters to the ancient mysteries.⁴³⁶ From the 1780s onward, English encyclopedias, their U.S. editions, and the 1829 *Encyclopaedia Americana* quoted freely (and sometimes without acknowledgement) from the earlier studies of the mysteries. During 1835 John Fellows also published in New York his *Exposition of the Mysteries*.

These are fundamental characteristics⁴³⁷ of the ancient mysteries and the LDS endowment:

1. Revealed by God from Beginning, but Distorted through Apostasy. In his

1816 history of the mysteries, Faber noted that the ancient mysteries were actually the result of "a great apostasy from the worship of the true God."⁴³⁸ LDS apostle John A. Widtsoe has written that "there is every reason to believe that from Adam to Noah, temple worship was in operation." John K. Edmunds, former president of the Salt Lake temple, wrote: "The principles and ordinances of the endowment are timeless: they were ordained and established before the world was ..." Edmunds added: "And if this blessing [the endowment] was given to Adam, would it not likely be conferred upon others through the years that followed?"⁴³⁹

Echoing Faber's comment in 1816 about the apostate character of the ancient mysteries, Hugh Nibley noted: "Latter-day Saints believe that their temple ordinances are as old as the human race and represent a primordial revealed religion that has passed through alternate phases of apostasy and restoration which have left the world littered with the scattered fragments of the original structure, some more and some less recognizable, but all badly damaged and out of proper context."⁴⁴⁰

2. Worthiness of Initiates. Warburton observed that "it was required in the Aspirant to the Mysteries that he should be of an unblemished and virtuous Character." According to the 1798 American edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, initiates were "obliged to practise the virtue of chastity a considerable time before his admission."⁴⁴¹

LDS apostle Boyd K. Packer commented that "preparation [involves] faith, repentance, baptism, confirmation, worthiness, a maturity and dignity worthy of one who comes invited as a guest into the house of the Lord."⁴⁴²

3. Washings and Anointings, New Name, Garment. The pseudepigraphic *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* observed: "The first of them anointed me with holy Oyl and gave me the Scepter of Judgment, the second washed me with clean Water, and fed me with Bread and Wine and clothed me with a glorious Robe down to the ground. The third put upon me a Silken Garment ... The fourth girded me with a girdle like to Purple ... and the third shall have a new name." There was an Ohio reprint in 1827 of this immensely popular book.⁴⁴³ Since 1798 the American edition of *Encyclopaedia Britannica* called these the "initatory ceremonies" of the Eleusinian mysteries.⁴⁴⁴

In explaining the pseudepigraphic *Ascent of Isaiah*, its English translator in 1819 referred to the Jewish Cabala to explain "the idea of cloathing [sic] belonging to individuals on earth, and reserved for them in heaven." American John Fellows noted in 1835 that initiates in the ancient mysteries wore "pure whiteness of linnen [sic] garments."⁴⁴⁵ Martha Himmelfarb observes that it was "a garment" that made Isaiah "equal to the angels of the seventh heaven," and Louis Ginzberg also noted the presence of "celestial garments" in the Cabala.⁴⁴⁶

Apostle Packer continued: "The ordinances of washing and anointing are referred to often in the temple as initiatory ordinances. ... In connection with these ordinances, in the temple you will be officially clothed in the garment and promised marvelous blessings in connection with it." Also "members who have received their temple ordinances thereafter wear the special garment or underclothing."⁴⁴⁷ A century earlier, LDS apostle Charles C. Rich stated: "Joseph [Smith] tells us that this new name is a key-word, which can only be

obtained through the endowments. This is one of the keys and blessings that will be bestowed upon the Saints in these last days, for which we should be very thankful."⁴⁴⁸

4. Vows of Non-disclosure. Warburton observed: "Every thing in these Rites was transacted in Mystery, and under the most religious Seal of Secrecy."⁴⁴⁹ The American edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* rendered this in 1798: "Besides, he was to bind himself by the most solemn vows not to divulge any part of the mysteries." More specifically, the encyclopedia noted: "The initiated then bound themselves by dreadful oaths to observe most conscientiously and to practice every precept tendered to them in the course of the teletae; and at the same time never to divulge one article of all that had been heard or seen by them upon that occasion."⁴⁵⁰ In the 1830s the *Encyclopaedia Americana* stated that "secrecy was enjoined under the most dreadful penalties" for those initiated into the ancient mysteries, and Fellows reaffirmed this.⁴⁵¹

Temple president Edmunds wrote: "Because of its sacredness and the prohibitions of the Lord established to protect its sanctity, many of the beautiful ordinances of the holy endowment and much of the detailed instruction involved cannot be disclosed." Apostle Packer noted: "Questions about the temple ceremony usually meet with the response, 'We are not free to discuss the temple ordinances and ceremonies.'"⁴⁵²

5. The Lesser and Greater Rituals. All the publications about the mysteries from the 1700s to the mid-1800s agreed that they were divided into the "Lesser" and "Greater" ceremonies.⁴⁵³ In Mormon theology, the Aaronic Priesthood "is called the lesser priesthood because it is an appendage to the greater, or the Melchizedek Priesthood" (D&C 107:14).

Likewise, Brigham Young publicly taught that there were two portions of the LDS endowment: "when we give the brethren their endowments, we are obliged to confer upon them the Melchisedec [sic] Priesthood; but I expect to see the day when we shall be so situated that we can say to a company of brethren you can go and receive the ordinances pertaining to the Aaronic order of Priesthood ... Now we pass them through the ordinances of both Priesthoods in one day, but this is not as it should be."⁴⁵⁴

6. Presentation through Drama. The U.S. edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* noted that the ancient mysteries were presented in the form of a drama, that "one principal actor in this solemn exhibition ... was to recite every thing that, according to the ritual, was to be communicated to the novices," who were instructed "concerning the origin of the universe."⁴⁵⁵ Faber's 1816 discussion observed that the mysteries involved "a sort of pantomime" that "displayed the lapse of the soul from original purity into a state of darkness, confusion, and ignorance. They effected to teach the initiated how they might emerge from this state, how they might recover what had been lost ... how they might pass from the gloom of error into the splendid brightness of regained Paradise."⁴⁵⁶ Of this, a commentary in 1817 noted that "one of the great objects of the mysteries was, the presenting to fallen man the means of his return to God."⁴⁵⁷

Heber C. Kimball stated in 1863 that the events of the Garden of Eden were "imitated before you in your holy endowments ..."⁴⁵⁸ Twentieth-century LDS

apostle James E. Talmage wrote that "this course of instruction includes a recital of the most prominent events of the creative period, the condition of our first parents in the Garden of Eden, their disobedience and consequent expulsion from that blissful abode, their condition in the lone and dreary world." Apostle Widtsoe added that the LDS endowment is presented, "First by the spoken word, through lectures and conversations ... then by the appeal to the eye by representations by living, moving beings." Apostle Packer added that each of the endowment's actors has "his part" and dialogue.⁴⁵⁹

7. Oath of Chastity. Warburton noted that "the Initiated were enjoined during the Celebration of the Mysteries, [to] the greatest Purity, and highest Elevation of Mind ... They were obliged by solemn Engagements to commence a new Life of strictest Purity and Virtue." The 1830s *Encyclopaedia Americana* described this as the initiate's obligation remain "pure, chaste and unpolluted."⁴⁶⁰

Talmage explained: "The ordinances of the endowment embody certain obligations on the part of the individual, such as covenant and promise to observe the law of strict virtue and chastity."⁴⁶¹

8. Sun and Moon. According to the 1798 American edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*: "The next minister [of the mysteries] was ... attired like the sun ... The third was the person who officiated at the altar. He was habited like the moon."⁴⁶² The sun, moon, and stars were prominent symbols in the exterior decorations of two nineteenth-century Mormon temples at Nauvoo and Salt Lake City (figs. 25-26).⁴⁶³

9. Mortals "Exalted" to Godhood. In 1798 the U.S. edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* stated: "With respect to the origin of these fictitious deities, it was discovered [as part of the mysteries] that they had been originally men who had been exalted to the rank of divinity, in consequence of their heroic exploits, their useful inventions, their beneficent actions, &c." The encyclopedia added that in the ancient mysteries "the unity of the Supreme Being was maintained, exhibited, and inculcated. ... They were instructed to look up to hero-gods and demi-gods, as beings exalted to the high rank of governors of different parts of nature."⁴⁶⁴ Uvarov's 1817 study more briefly noted that at Eleusis "the initiated might even learn that some of their gods had been men, whose meritorious actions had obtained for them the *apotheosis*."⁴⁶⁵

Wilford Woodruff stated: "We are his [God's] children ... by obeying the celestial law, all that our Father has shall be given unto us—exaltations, thrones, principalities, power, dominion—who can comprehend it?"⁴⁶⁶ More recently, Apostle Packer has written: "The blessing of the endowment is required for full exaltation," which Apostle Bruce R. McConkie defined: "Those who attain exaltation are gods."⁴⁶⁷

10. Prophets, Priests, and Kings. The U.S. edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* noted in 1798: "The chief minister of these far-famed mysteries was ... styled King ... This person was likewise styled *Prophet*" (emphasis in original).⁴⁶⁸ Faber's study observed that the ancient mysteries operated within the tradition that "every ancient patriarch was at once a king and a priest."⁴⁶⁹ From the 1840s onward, Mormon leaders affirmed that among the "ordinances of God's house" is "ordaining men to the offices of prophets, priests and kings."⁴⁷⁰

11. God(s) Once Mortal. John Leland wrote that "in the mysteries some account was given of the history of their gods, which led the initiated to conclude, that the popular deities, even the principal of them, had been of the human race ..."⁴⁷¹ In six separate American printings from 1823 to 1839 Jahn's *Biblical Archaeology* (which Joseph Smith had read) also stated that the ancient "Mysteries" taught "that the gods were formerly men" (emphasis in original).⁴⁷²

This instruction is no longer part of the LDS temple endowment, but was the central feature of the "lecture at the veil" given by Brigham Young in the newly completed temple at St. George, Utah.⁴⁷³ Young's Adam-God teachings (see ch. 7) were an expansion of Joseph Smith's sermons in 1839-44: the Garden of Eden's Adam was actually the Archangel Michael who "obtained the First Presidency ... in the Creation before the world was formed"; Adam holds "the keys of the universe" and whenever the keys of priesthood "are revealed from heaven, it is by Adam's authority"; Adam is the one "through whom Christ has been revealed from heaven, and will continue to be revealed from henceforth," and finally, "God himself was once as we are now, and is an exalted man ..."⁴⁷⁴

To be sure, Masonic rituals also shared some similarities with the ancient mysteries, of which Brigham Young was aware.⁴⁷⁵ However, these were not linked to a central concept of heavenly ascent, which was fundamental to both the occult mysteries and to the Mormon endowment. Therefore, it seems more appropriate to regard as superficial the similarities existing between Freemasonry and Mormonism. By contrast, the ancient occult mysteries manifest both philosophical and structural kinship with the Mormon endowment.

The perspectives of magic are broader than parallels between the ancient mysteries and the Mormon endowment. In their *General Theory of Magic*, Mauss and Hubert outlined the characteristics of the ritual-drama in the occult: "When we come to the roles of the magician and his client, in relation to magical ritual, we find they play the same role as the priest and the worshipper in relation to sacrifice. They also undergo preliminary rites which involve the individuals alone, their families or even the entire community. Among many prescriptions, they must remain chaste and pure, washing and anointing their bodies prior to the rite; they may have to fast or abstain from certain foods; they are told to wear special clothes, either brand-new or worn, pure white or with purple bands, etc.; they wear make-up, masks, disguise themselves, put on special headgear, etc.; sometimes they are naked, either in order to remove all barriers between them and magical forces or in order to act through ritual impropriety like the good lady of the fables. Finally special mental states are also demanded—you must have faith, the whole thing must be treated with the utmost seriousness."⁴⁷⁶

I have no respect for the statement of one reviewer who claimed he had read this chapter carefully. "The primary sources, that huge collection of writings and ideas that actually came from the mind and pen of Joseph Smith in 1829 and after, are absolutely barren ground as far as any connection with magic or the occult is concerned," wrote BYU's New Testament professor Stephen E. Robinson.⁴⁷⁷ This is simply polemical defensiveness: he refuses to acknowledge the existence of evidence he is afraid others will accept.

In a similar mode of polemics, FARMS reviewer and political philosopher

Louis Midgley complained: "Though Quinn claims to believe that the Book of Mormon is an authentic ancient text, he has not set forth an explanation that allows that book to be true and still contain all kinds of magic that Joseph Smith was somehow able to sweep up from his immediate environment ..." Midgley has not made the same complaint against Hugh Nibley for using occult texts and ceremonies to explain the LDS temple ceremony.⁴⁷⁸ This chapter's introduction and conclusion provide (as they did eleven years ago) the best response to Midgley's demand for "an explanation."

In his interpretation of the non-magic character of Joseph Smith's experience as church leader, a more careful and charitable BYU professor of religion noted with complete sincerity: "With other major religions, Mormonism holds deep convictions on the sovereignty of God, which traditional magic weakly acknowledges, if at all." Richard L. Anderson continued: "Thus invincible procedures are designed to control supernatural forces in standard situations, not bend to the will of a higher power."⁴⁷⁹

However, there is a certain irony in the fact that FARMS polemicist John Gee has recently used Egyptian/Greek magic papyri to support Joseph Smith's revelatory translation of the Book of Abraham.⁴⁸⁰ Equally ironic, FARMS has continued to showcase Robert F. Smith as one of its authors, despite his circulating the view that Joseph Smith was an early American version of "a Renaissance Magus," and that "certain sections of the Book of Abraham claiming revelatory status appear to have more in common with astrology than with astronomy ..."⁴⁸¹ FARMS has even cited that study, and polemicist Hamblin complained that one author "ignored" Robert F. Smith's "discussion of many of these issues."⁴⁸²

On the other hand, Anderson's inflexible distinction between magic and religion also fails to account for D&C 82:10: "I, the Lord, am bound when ye do what I say; but when ye do not what I say, ye have no promise." With its specific use of "binding" that is so important to ceremonial magic, this 1832 LDS revelation describes the "control [of] supernatural forces" by which Anderson defines "traditional magic." God said his "higher power" (Anderson's term) is actually "bound" to fulfill a request when Smith followed instructions exactly. Where is "the sovereignty of God" in this LDS revelation? More directly, how is this ability to "bind" God in D&C 82:10 different from an incantation of Judeo-Christian magic? (See Intro.)

A younger BYU professor of religion has recently rejected this effort to separate magic from Mormon doctrine. Grant Underwood acknowledges: "Similarities are more noticeable than the old Frazerian distinctions, long since discarded by most anthropologists, that magic is manipulative and religion supplicative, or that magic seeks to influence forces while religion deals with beings." Underwood's study of early LDS millennialism concludes that "it seems unnecessary to disengage magic from either religion or millenarianism. Each espouses a belief in the supernatural and each proposes a method of control."⁴⁸³ Balance between polemical extremes is Underwood's approach, one I have tried to maintain here.

Despite similarities between Mormon scriptures and texts of the occult and esoteric, LDS scripture is no more a canon of magic than is the Bible. Yet like that

holy book, the Standard Works seem to occasionally contain neutral references to magic and the occult within their revelatory, religious, historical, and devotional texts. No evidence proves that early Mormons explicitly identified the magic connections examined here, yet in 1829-30 Smith's claims primarily attracted believers in folk magic (see chs. 2, 4, 5). Occult beliefs continued to influence the first generation of prominent Mormons (see ch. 7). Historians must attempt to explain why, even if the explanations remain tentative.

For example, early Mormon converts seemed to make no distinction between the traditionally religious and traditionally occult elements of their pre-Mormon theological heritage. This synthesis continued with their children and grandchildren born in the Mormon fold (see ch. 7). For Priscilla Parrish Roundy, wife of an LDS bishop in Utah, "the 'power of God' included the use of a magic charm to cure toothaches."⁴⁸⁴

The existence of occult allusions in LDS scriptures may explain why religious seekers from folk religion were attracted to Mormonism from 1829 onward. Diaries and autobiographies clearly show that most of these converted seekers felt at ease in a church organization for the first time.⁴⁸⁵ The subtlety of these allusions to magic also explains why denominational Christians saw only religious content in Mormon scriptures.

7.

The Persistence and Decline of Magic After 1830

Less than two weeks after publishing the *Book of Mormon* in Palmyra, New York,¹ Joseph Smith organized a church on 6 April 1830. Eight years later this organization had a revealed name: "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints."²

During fourteen years as church president, Smith added to Mormon scriptures more than a hundred revelations, plus a revision of the King James Bible and a revelation/translation from Egyptian papyri. His followers practiced believer's baptism, ordination by the laying on of hands, the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and vicarious ordinances for the dead. The LDS church claimed all the gifts of Pentecost, developed an extensive hierarchy, established a woman's auxiliary, fostered adult education, founded cities, and built imposing temples in Ohio and Illinois. Within months of its organization, the church sent missionaries to Canada. A decade later converts were migrating to LDS headquarters from there, as well as from Britain and all regions of the United States. After serving as commander-in-chief of two paramilitary Mormon organizations, Joseph Smith received a governor's appointment to command a militia that soon became the largest in the nation. Secretly he introduced polygamy and polyandry among a few disciples, while publicly he was the most prominent mayor in Illinois and a candidate for the U.S. presidency. By that time he had also commissioned missionaries to the Pacific islands and theocratic ambassadors to England, France, Russia, and the Republic of Texas. This was Joseph Smith's institutional legacy in June 1844, when he was killed by an anti-Mormon mob.³

In addition to his canonized revelations, the founding prophet's public and private teachings have quasi-scriptural status for Latter-day Saints. Smith's more distinctive teachings qualify as heresies among traditional Christians. For example, humanity's God is subject to his God who is subject to his God and so forth without beginning or ending. Humanity's God was once a mortal man. On another earth, this God-in-embryo was a human, experienced mortal death, was resurrected, and "went from one small degree to another" to become our Heavenly Father of eternal flesh and bone. In addition, all humans on this earth are literally spirit children of this God, but human intelligence is individual and uncreated. As a further refinement of his doctrine of God's literal paternity, Smith taught

that unmarried people cannot achieve their godly potential. Instead, husband and wife can be married for "time and eternity." Ultimately each eternally "sealed" couple becomes God and Goddess to their own "increase" (spirit children) and will reign over their own worlds of mortals whom they are preparing for similar godhood. Ruled by their own "exalted" Gods, these inhabited planets are "millions of earths like this." If unable or unwilling to achieve their highest heritage as children of God, all other mortals will be "ministering angels" to the Gods. For the billions of God's children who do not receive these doctrines and divine ordinances in mortality, Mormons will provide those opportunities as a labor of love after death. God allows some of his saints to do things that most people call sins, and punishment for mortal sins is temporary, not endless. Nearly all of God's children will ultimately experience eternal happiness. The only humans who never have complete salvation are "sons of Perdition," because they steadfastly refuse—in mortality and after death—to accept God's plan of happiness.⁴ This breath-taking theology and cosmology had tremendous appeal.

In this dizzying procession of institution and theology, magic was only an undercurrent. During Smith's presidency, most Mormons had no verified experience with folk magic or the occult. Those who did, including the Mormon founder himself, were usually discreet. "For the Smiths, the Whitmers, and the Knights," wrote one reviewer with a taste for the esoteric, "God had to be 'juggled' (conjured) out of his hiding place."⁵ After 1830 these Mormon folk believers were overwhelmingly outnumbered by converts from churches.

Converts to Mormonism came from diverse backgrounds. Some had previously integrated folk magic with conventional beliefs and practices of religion. They were sympathetic to continuing that synthesis. Others seem to have adopted folk magic only after becoming Mormons. For them, something within early Mormonism sanctioned such practices.

Perhaps always a majority after 1830, still other Mormons were never interested in folk magic or most manifestations of the occult. Two exceptions were stone-divination and astrology, which had widespread appeal to pioneer Mormons (see below).

Like the rank-and-file, LDS church leaders in the nineteenth century were all along the spectrum of practice, advocacy, indifference, and condemnation of these beliefs and practices. By the mid-twentieth century, church leaders consistently condemned various manifestations of folk magic and the occult. Not surprisingly, the overwhelming majority of modern Mormons have long since assimilated the general American population's attitude toward magic and the occult. In this respect, current Mormons are virtually indistinguishable from most twentieth-century American Protestants and secular rationalists. This discussion traces the gradual decline of magic in the LDS church throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries—a process of Mormon secularization, high and low.

In this examination of particular individuals (both prominent and little-known), the observation of Gustav Jahoda is crucial. "There is thus a critical difference between the actual thinking processes of particular people," he wrote, "and the *thought-systems* prevalent in a culture" (emphasis in original).⁶ The dominant world view is rarely, if ever, the universal world view.

Early Mormon Folk Believers: "a people already prepared"

At the new religion's founding, non-Mormons claimed that its converts had occult beliefs and practiced folk magic. In June 1830 Palmyra's newspaper ridiculed the town's "motley crew of *latter-demallions*" who first followed "Walters the Magician" (see ch. 4) and then Joseph the prophet (emphasis in original).⁷ This was the earliest-known reference to Mormon self-description as "Latter-day Saints." In Fayette that same month, the Whitmer family's New York minister wrote: "I am acquainted with the Whitmers ... they are gullible to the highest degree and even believe in witches. Hiram Page is likewise full of superstition."⁸ Fayette was one of the sites for the church's organization the previous April.⁹

The minister's description fit the cultural background of the Whitmer family before they moved to New York. The Whitmers were originally Pennsylvania Germans,¹⁰ and these early American ethnics were known for their almost universal belief in witchcraft and counter-charms against witchcraft.¹¹ The Whitmer family's New York minister recorded that Peter Sr. had originally lived in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.¹² That county's 1790 federal census listed Peter Whitmer at Cocalico Township, which included Ephrata where Rosicrucian mystics were performing baptisms for the dead. The Whitmer family was about four miles from the Ephrata commune. In 1800 Whitmer was living in Bart, nineteen miles from Ephrata, whose sectarians continued their practices for several more decades.¹³ By comparison, six miles was the distance between Manchester village and the town of Palmyra.¹⁴ In addition to sharing the folk beliefs common to nearly all Pennsylvania Germans, for more than a decade Peter Whitmer also lived in close proximity to the Ephrata commune and its Rosicrucianism, alchemy, astrology, treasure-divining, and ceremonial magic (see chs. 1, 4, 6).¹⁵ Five of Peter Sr.'s sons and his son-in-law Hiram Page became witnesses to the *Book of Mormon* (one of the Three and five of the Eight).

In 1831 ten Palmyra residents echoed the Whitmer family's minister at Fayette. The Mormons who converted at Manchester and Palmyra "are profound believers in witchcraft, ghosts, goblins, &c."¹⁶ By the late nineteenth century, non-Mormon author Charles Marshall extended this observation to an interpretation of the early appeal of Mormonism: "It was among an ignorant and credulous people of this kind, capable of believing in the necromantic virtues of a big stone held in a hat, and of treasure descending perpetually under the spades of the searchers by enchantment, *a people already prepared for any bold superstition by previous indulgence in a variety of religious extravagances*, that Joseph Smith found his early coadjutors and first converts."¹⁷ As stated throughout this book, such use of "ignorant" was a denial of the fact that intelligent people believed in the "superstition" he described. Also, one person's "superstition" is always another's devout faith (see Pref., Intro., ch. 1).¹⁸

Nonetheless, Marshall was the first to interpret early Mormonism as having special appeal to persons with a magic world view. Peter W. Williams, a historian of popular religion in early America, concluded more than a century later that Smith's "natural constituency was among those who saw the world through the categories of the folk—those to whom special providences and spectral appearances are inherently plausible."¹⁹ As emphasized previously, these "folk believers"

were both urban and rural, religiously unaffiliated and members of churches, educated and uneducated. Most folk believers were middle class or working class, while some came from the extremes of poverty or privilege. A world view—not social characteristics or piety—made them distinct.

A survey of prominent early Mormons also confirms these non-Mormon assessments. Joseph Smith (founding prophet and president of the new church) had unquestionably participated in treasure-seeking and stone divination. Evidence indicates that he also used divining rods, a talisman, and implements of ritual magic. His father (one of the Eight Witnesses to the divinity of the *Book of Mormon* and later the church's patriarch) had also participated in divining and the quest for treasure. His older brother Hyrum (another of the Eight Witnesses, a member of the First Presidency, and church patriarch after their father's death) had also participated in the treasure-quest and was custodian of the family's implements of ritual magic at his own death. His younger brothers Samuel and William (one of the Eight Witnesses and one of the original twelve apostles, respectively) accepted their brother's stone divination and apparently joined some of Joseph's treasure-expeditions. Understandably, they found nothing objectionable in other folk magic practices of their father and brothers (see chs. 2-4).

The Three Witnesses to the *Book of Mormon* were likewise involved in folk magic. Oliver Cowdery was a rodsman before his 1829 meeting with Smith, who soon announced a revelation authorizing Cowdery to continue the revelatory use of his "rod of nature" (see ch. 2). David Whitmer revered Smith's use of a seer stone and may have possessed one of his own. Whitmer authorized a later spokesman for his own religious organization to obtain revelations through a stone (see below and figs. 11-12). Martin Harris endorsed Smith's use of a seer stone for divination and treasure-seeking. Before and after the discovery of the gold plates, Harris himself participated in treasure-digging and identified the Smith brothers Joseph and Hyrum as co-participants (see ch. 2 and below).

Of the remaining Eight Witnesses, Jacob Whitmer (b. 1800) had a seer stone which his descendants preserved (see below and fig. 13). His brother-in-law Hiram Page (b. 1800) definitely had a stone of his own that he used for revelations (see below). Christian, John, and Peter Whitmer Jr. were included in their pastor's accusation of magic belief.

Magic belief and practice also influenced the first Quorum of the Twelve Apostles in 1835. Half of them gave specific evidence of a belief in various practices of folk magic. This included apostles Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Hyde, Luke S. Johnson, Orson Pratt, and John F. Boynton. In addition, William Smith, Parley P. Pratt, and Lyman E. Johnson expressed no known dissent against these views and practices of their brothers (see below). Thus, two-thirds of Mormonism's first apostles had some affinity for folk magic.

Because of the verified presence of folk believers among the founders of Mormonism, magic and the occult exercised considerable influence among the first generation of Mormon converts from New York and New England. This was especially true of those converted before 1831. "Many of the earliest Mormons, including [Oliver] Cowdery, Martin Harris, Orrin P. Rockwell, Joseph Knight and Josiah Stowel, were rodsmen or money diggers but became Mormons for religious

reasons," wrote historian Marvin S. Hill. He interpreted the Mormon conversion of these folk magic practitioners as a "natural" extension of their "mysticism."²⁰

Adopting a broader framework than folk magic, historian John L. Brooke has argued that the "peoples of the Radical tradition were well prepared for the Mormon message." However, "despite the experience in treasure-hunting and Freemasonry of many early Mormons, their frame of reference was overwhelmingly traditional and biblical."²¹ Nevertheless, Brooke noted that Vermont towns "which were the location of—or adjacent to—known episodes of divining and treasure seeking were five times as likely to produce Mormon converts as towns outside these 'metallurgical' localities."²²

A frequent visitor to Palmyra in the 1820s described Peter Rupert as one of the little-known converts from folk magic to Mormonism. Joseph Rogers (b. 1805) watched nighttime treasure-digging on a farm owned by his brother-in-law. Teenage Joseph Smith directed this treasure-quest, "while Peter [Rupert] dug for the chest of gold." Peter's father also joined in this treasure-quest and the Ruperts lived nine miles from Manchester in the town of Phelps, where Rogers also resided. Peter Rupert was disappointed at finding no treasure and was cruelly mocked by Rogers's relatives, yet the young man remained loyal to Joseph Smith: "He believed he was a prophet."²³ Rupert does not appear in the incomplete records of LDS membership in the early 1830s, but his father moved from the Palmyra area before the 1840 census, when a "Peter Rupert" was living in Norton, Ohio.²⁴ As early as 1834 Smith presided at "a conference of the Elders of the Church of Christ" in Norton.²⁵

Another early convert turned to Mormonism after extensive experience in ritual magic. Brigham Young gave the only description of this unnamed adept: "I remember once at the commencement of this church, a necromancer embraced it, but he could not be satisfied." Himself a baptized convert since 1832, Young observed that this necromancer "said he had fingered and handled the perverted priesthood so much, the course I have taken is downwards, the devil has too fast hold of me, I cannot go with you ..."²⁶ As already discussed (see ch. 4), this was probably Luman Walter(s) who had been involved in treasure-digging and astrology in Palmyra and was Joseph Smith's alleged mentor in the mid-1820s.

For Brigham Young this was a cautionary tale of great importance: too much experience with the occult will lead to disappointment with organized religion. From the 1830s onward, that misgiving coexisted with Young's public endorsement of various aspects of folk magic, his warnings about the reality of witchcraft, his private belief in astrology, and his personal use of an amulet (see below).

Before encountering Mormonism, most converts avoided affiliation with any church or were seekers who joined several in a frustrating quest. These seekers wanted both apostolic purity and a church where they felt at home.²⁷ Even beyond the first year's converts, 34.4 percent of North American converts to 1837 were folk believers and seekers who had been unaffiliated with organized religion. When combined, the religiously unaffiliated and multiple joiners were a majority of early Mormon converts in America.²⁸

Beginning with the first proselytizing in England in 1837, "at least 40 percent of the converts could be classed as seekers" who had joined several churches "in

search of religious truth." An additional 14.6 percent of early British Mormons were "religiously inclined but not specifically identified" with any church. Combining the two groups, this was a majority of early British converts to Mormonism.²⁹

English converts from Staffordshire also had a reputation for occult activities. In the early 1800s the county's converts to Methodism had the nickname "Magic Methodists."³⁰ In the 1840s Staffordshire Mormons had magic books "which had been handed down for many generations," and they practiced occult rituals.³¹

Priddy Meeks (b. 1795) is one of the best examples of converting to Mormonism from the magic world view. "As far back as 1814 in the state of Indiana," Meeks wrote, "the people thought that I was gifted in working against witchery." He described what he did upon learning that a neighbor woman in Indiana had "bewitched" his sister-in-law. "I don't like to talk about it. But we got the enchantment broke at the expense of several weeks confinement in bed of the witch, but she did not die and Anna got well also." Shortly afterward Meeks also announced that his brother's "dog is hewitched and the next time he does [have "a fit"] you cut off his ear and throw it in the fire." Converted to Mormonism in 1840, Meeks regarded his fellow-Mormons in southern Utah as more adamant against witches than he was. In 1879 he wrote: "I don't feel like trusting public sentiment with much more of my experience in combatting the evil influence of evil spirits with the human family because of the enthusiasm they are likely to run into on such subjects..."³² Meeks was only one example of many converts who brought a magic world view into their new Mormon faith.

Historian Alan Taylor has commented that "early Mormons persisted in practicing magic because they nurtured a magical world view where the material and the spiritual were interwoven in the same universe."³³ Others adopted or endorsed various forms of folk magic and the occult as Mormons born to LDS parents.

Seer Stones—Joseph Smith's

Before organizing the church in April 1830, Joseph Smith ceased using the brown seer stone he had employed to translate the *Book of Mormon*. According to David Whitmer, Smith gave it to his scribe Oliver Cowdery.³⁴ Until his death in 1850, Cowdery kept this brown stone as a sacred relic of the translation. Cowdery's brother-in-law Phineas Young obtained the stone from Cowdery's widow in 1850 and made a gift of it to Brigham Young, brother of Phineas.³⁵ Three years later at the new LDS headquarters in Salt Lake City, one of Young's counselors informed a congregation that Young had "the Urim and Thummim."³⁶ Mormons generally had renamed Smith's seer stone as "the Urim and Thummim."³⁷

After Young's death in 1877, his widow Zina D. H. Young obtained this seer stone at an estate auction of her husband's personal effects. She and her daughter Zina eventually gave it to his successor, John Taylor.³⁸ In response to a statement by David Whitmer, the *Deseret News* in 1881 commented that Joseph Smith's seer stone "remained with the Church and is now in the possession of the President."³⁹

In 1882 Apostle Franklin D. Richards examined "the Seer Stone that Oliver

Cowdery gave Phineas Young," observing that "the pouch containing it [was] made by Emma [Smith]."⁴⁰ One of LDS president John Taylor's bodyguards recorded in 1887: "On Sunday last I saw and handled the seer stone that the Prophet Joseph Smith had. It was a dark color, not round on one side. It was shaped like the top of a baby's shoe, one end like the toe of the shoe, and the other round."⁴¹ At the dedication of the Manti temple the next year, Taylor's successor, Wilford Woodruff, wrote: "Before leaving I Consecrated upon the Altar the seers Stone that Joseph Smith found by Revelation some 30 feet under the Earth [and] Carried By him through life."⁴²

After Woodruff's death in 1898, his successor, Lorenzo Snow, displayed the brown *Book of Mormon* seer stone to a local bishop of the church. Frederick Kesler wrote in his diary that Snow "showed me the Seerers [sic] Stone that the Prophet Joseph Smith had by which he done some of the Translating of the Book of Mormon with. I handeled [sic] it with my own hands. I felt as though I see & was handling a very Sacred thing. I trust & feel that it will work in his [Lorenzo Snow's] hands as it did in the Prophet Joseph Smiths hands." Kesler added that this stone's "color was mahoganey."⁴³ Throughout the twentieth century, LDS general authorities and the First Presidency's secretary have said that this seer stone is in the presidency's office (actually in its walk-in steel vault).⁴⁴

About 1982 one of Brigham Young's descendants was allowed to see this seer stone in the First Presidency's office. Mary Brown Firmage Woodward afterwards stated: "The stone was not chocolate brown but rather the color of brown sugar. It was 3-4 inches long, 2 inches wide, and had a hump in the middle which made it perhaps 2 inches thick at the thickest point. It was flat on the bottom and had three black, concentric circles on the top 1/2 inch. Below the circles were many small black circles. The stone was not transparent." The First Presidency's secretary told her that the presidency's vault contained two additional seer stones.⁴⁵

After Woodruff's death, Lorenzo Snow exhibited the whitish, opaque stone—the one Joseph Jr. first obtained (see ch. 2). In January 1900 Snow told Richard M. Robinson, a recently returned LDS missionary and his wife: "This is the Seer Stone that the Prophet Joseph used." He allowed the couple to handle it, and the husband wrote: "The Seer Stone was the shape of an egg though not quite so large, of a gray cast something like granite but with white stripes running round it. It was transparent but had no holes, neither in the end or in the sides."⁴⁶ This 1900 description of a grayish, transparent seer stone with white stripes "that the Prophet Joseph used" matches descriptions by the Smith family's neighbors and his fellow treasure-diggers of a "whitish, glossy, and opaque" stone.⁴⁷

Brigham Young University religion professor Richard L. Anderson has asserted that "no type of stone [was] involved in receiving revelation or translation after that [1829]." Such apologists have insisted that "the seer stone, which disappears from historical notice, [was] apparently not operational in Joseph's religious activities" as church president.⁴⁸ To the contrary, for more than a century Mormon sources demonstrated that Smith occasionally used the white stone for various functions in the church. Like their references to the

brown stone, he and others also referred to this whitish seer stone as the "Urim and Thummim" (see ch. 5).

On 4 November 1830 Smith used the white stone to dictate a revelation for recent convert Orson Pratt (D&C 34). Forty-eight years later, Pratt related the circumstances of this experience during a visit to David Whitmer's home: "he asked Joseph [Smith, Jr.] whether he could not ascertain what his mission was and Joseph answered that he would see. & asked Pratt and John Whitmer to go up stairs with him. and arriving there Joseph produced a small stone called a seer stone. and putting it into a hat soon commenced speaking" (emphasis in original).⁴⁹ He met Smith after the church president had stopped using the brown stone. Pratt later told a congregation of Mormons that he was present "on several occasions" when Smith received revelations and that "sometimes Joseph used a seer stone when enquiring of the Lord, and receiving revelation."⁵⁰ Despite this general claim, there is no evidence that Smith used the white stone to dictate any more of the *Doctrine and Covenants* revelations after November 1830.

The LDS president did use the white stone for prophetic statements. On 7 October 1835 he gave a patriarchal blessing "according to the Spirit of prophecy and revelation" to Newel K. Whitney and his wife Elizabeth, "through the Urim and Thummim."⁵¹ This referred to the white seer stone. Whitney was already bishop over the "temporal" (financial) affairs of the church in Ohio and later became presiding bishop over the entire church.⁵² This is the only known use of a seer stone for giving a patriarchal blessing in the church. This event lends credence to the statements of unfriendly neighbors that Smith first used a stone in the 1820s for what they described as "fortune-telling."⁵³ In addition, Fayette Lapham interviewed Joseph Sr. in 1830 and, "as near as I can repeat his words," the father told him that young "Joseph spent about two years looking into this stone, telling fortunes ..."⁵⁴ BYU religion professor Donald Q. Cannon has also written about "so-called peepstones, which were stones used in much the same fashion as a fortune teller's crystal."⁵⁵

Smith also used his whitish seer stone in the 1830s to translate Egyptian papyri for what became known as the "Book of Abraham." Immediately after giving the seer-stone blessing to the Whitneys in October 1835, Smith's diary continued: "this afternoon recommenced translating the ancient records."⁵⁶ In July a report from Ohio stated that Smith was "examining the papyrus through his spectacles."⁵⁷ In February 1842 Apostle Wilford Woodruff recorded in his diary that God was blessing Smith "to translate through the urim & Thummim Ancient records & Hyeroglyphics as old as Abraham or Adam. ... Joseph the Seer has presented us some of the Book of Abraham ..."⁵⁸ In England, Apostle Parley P. Pratt publicly announced six months later that the Book of Abraham "is now in course of translation hy means of the Urim and Thummim."⁵⁹

Church historian Joseph Fielding Smith commented that these Book of Abraham references could not mean the biblical Urim and Thummim, nor the instrument found with the gold plates. He said these statements had to refer to the seer stone.⁶⁰ B. H. Roberts also observed: "It should be remembered in

connection with this 'preparing an alphabet' and 'arranging a grammar of the Egyptian language' that the Prophet still had in his possession the 'Seer Stone.'⁶¹

Joseph Smith exhibited what Brigham Young called the "seer stone" (and Wilford Woodruff called the "URIM & THUMMIM") to the apostles in December 1841. Smith said that "every man who lived on the earth was entitled to a seer stone, and should have one, but they are kept from them in consequence of their wickedness."⁶²

Joseph and his father told New Yorkers the same thing almost twenty years earlier. Of his acquaintance with the Smiths in the 1820s, Palmyra neighbor Christopher M. Stafford testified: "Jo Smith told me there was a peep-stone for me and many others if we could only find them." Stafford married a sister of Palmyra convert Orrin Porter Rockwell. Palmyra neighbor Lorenzo Saunders also remembered that Smith said: "any one can get a stone, & see knowledge of futurity."⁶³ Fayette Lapham reported Joseph Sr.'s statement in 1830 that his son "claims and believes that there is a [seer] stone of this quality, somewhere, for every one."⁶⁴ Here again, Brigham Young (as an unimpeachable Mormon witness) later supported the eye-witness testimony of unbelieving New Yorkers about statements by the Smiths. Although LDS apologists routinely dismiss the accuracy of these unbelievers, their testimony on various matters is repeatedly supported by early Mormon converts (see chs. 2-5).

During the 1840s Joseph Smith made other use of the white stone. He stated that he had obtained the "g[rand] key word" of the temple endowment "by the Urim & Thummim" (now the standard euphemism for his seer stone). In 1842 Smith taught this information to trusted associates.⁶⁵ In 1843 Smith said: "Then the white stone mentioned in Revelation 2:17, will become a Urim and Thummim to each individual who receives one. ... And a white stone is given to each of those who come into the celestial kingdom" (D&C 130:10-11). Three months later Smith's older brother Hyrum asked him to use the stone to dictate the previously unwritten, lengthy revelation on plural marriage and the eternal sealing of husbands and wives. The church president's private secretary William Clayton later testified that on 12 July 1843, "Joseph in reply said he did not need to, for he knew the revelation perfectly from beginning to end."⁶⁶ In May 1844 Smith also gave Apostle Lyman Wight his own "white stone" as part of a secret ordination for Wight to perform a special mission.⁶⁷

After his death in June 1844, the history of Smith's white seer stone is less clear than that of the brown stone he used to translate the *Book of Mormon*. Brigham Young's widow and daughter obtained a second stone at the same time they purchased the brown stone from Young's estate. About 1878 they gave this second stone to the First Presidency.⁶⁸ This was probably the whitish stone which Lorenzo Snow described as "the Seer Stone that the Prophet Joseph used" when he exhibited it to the Robinsons in 1900.

In more recent years, Grant Palmer was "shown by Earl Olson" the three "seer stones in First Presidency Vault." The first was "milk chocolate [in color], like a baseball [in shape, with] no stripes." Different from the descriptions of the founding prophet's dark-colored *Book of Mormon* seer stone, this first stone's origin and chain-of-ownership are unknown (at least outside the LDS Presi-

dency's office). The second was "shiny or polished stone, [with] stripes, dark brown [—] size between egg and a handball." This is close to various descriptions of the stone Joseph Smith obtained from the Chase family's well in Palmyra, which seer stone he used for the *Book of Mormon* translation (see chs. 2, 5). The only description Palmer gave for the third was that it was a "small stone."⁶⁹ That is the only one of the three which matches Robinson's 1900 description of the First Presidency's whitish seer stone in the "shape of an egg though not quite so large." Palmer's description also matches Orson Pratt's reference to "a small stone called a seer stone" which Smith used to dictate a revelation in November 1830. Discovered about 1819, Smith's small whitish stone has always been less impressive to those who saw both it and the brown stone he found in 1822 on the Chase property (see ch. 2). While the First Presidency's secretary told Mary Brown Firmage Woodward that there were three seer stones in the presidency's vault, she saw only one. Grant Palmer saw all three.

The brown and white stones are the only seer stones Joseph Smith definitely used, yet he acquired others as church president. Young told the apostles in 1855 that Smith had five seer stones. With minimal descriptions, Young said that Smith obtained three stones before moving church headquarters to Nauvoo, Illinois, in 1839. There Smith found two more before his death.⁷⁰

In his 1855 remarks, Young referred to the stone Oliver Cowdery had kept until his death. Then he said that Smith's "second Seer Stone Dr. Williams had." Frederick G. Williams was Smith's second counselor from 1833 to 1837. According to Young, the founding prophet's "third one was a very large [seer stone]." His reference to Smith's three pre-1840 stones fits numerous descriptions that during the 1820s Smith used divinatory stones of brown, white, and green color (see ch. 2), but none of those was large. His description of "a very large" stone could refer to the baseball-sized stone of "milk chocolate"-color that Palmer saw.

However, Young's description may also refer to a fourth stone Smith allegedly obtained early in his career, an artifact not in the LDS First Presidency's vault. According to a later newspaper report, Smith allegedly had a crystal seer stone "nine inches in circumference, weighing 22 1/2 oz." According to this article, a Scottish immigrant gave the stone to Smith, and "after the discovery of the famous tablets of the Mormon faith, Smith was assisted by a Mr. Roberts, to whom in reward for his assistance, he gave this crystal." Roberts gave the stone to his son, who gave it to C. E. Boynton, who possessed it in Wisconsin at the time of this article.⁷¹

Young's statement makes it clear that Smith did not regard his seer stones simply as relics of his youth. Rather, as church president Smith continued to discover new seer stones. According to Brigham Young, "Joseph found two small ones on the beach in Nauvoo—a little larger than a black walnut without the shock on."⁷² These two small stones do not match the descriptions of the three stones currently in the LDS First Presidency's vault.

After Smith picked up these two special stones along the Mississippi River's shore between 1839 and 1844, one of them was probably used to manufacture the sandy-colored seer stone preserved by descendants of Charles Bidamon's half-sister. She inherited it from her mother, Nancy Abercrombie, last wife of

Lewis C. Bidamon, Emma Smith's second husband. Emma had adopted Nancy's son (see ch. 3). Family tradition did not indicate whether this stone-tooling occurred before Joseph Smith's death, but in 1943 Wilford Wood obtained the tooled stone.⁷³ This was his last acquisition of the prophet's artifacts as maintained by Emma Smith Bidamon and inherited by her husband after her death, and then inherited by her step-children after Lewis Bidamon's death. The size of a U.S. quarter dollar, this small seer stone is the most intricate of those attributed to Smith. It has a hole through the center surrounded by eight smaller indentations, with tooled ridges around the edge (fig. 10).

Seer Stones—Other People's

Early Mormons valued seer stones as much as Joseph Smith did. The Whitmer family was interested in seer stones long after their association with Smith. David Whitmer's grandson George W. Schweich (b. 1853) preserved his grandfather's artifacts, including a copy of the printer's version of the *Book of Mormon* manuscript. In 1890 Schweich photographed an oblong stone with two holes near the pointed edges. Schweich noted that this was "Used as Seers Stone," and since 1953 this artifact has been in the Library-Archives of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (RLDS) at Independence, Missouri (figs. 11-12).⁷⁴ In view of David Whitmer's frequently expressed reverence for Smith's seer stone, this particular stone may have been David's own. Whether it was originally Whitmer's, this seer stone was probably the one Schweich used to obtain revelations for Whitmer's church during the 1870s and 1880s.⁷⁵

Descendants of David's brother Jacob Whitmer, one of the Eight Witnesses, preserved as "a sacred trust" another seer stone. It is flat and rectangular with bluish-green veining and with two holes drilled about half-an-inch apart at the center (fig. 13).⁷⁶ This stone is almost identical to artifacts found in ancient burial sites of Native American Indians in New York, some in Ontario County. Called a "trapezoidal gorget," the artifact's two holes allowed the flat stone to be tied to a warrior's neck as armor against the thrust of a weapon.⁷⁷ Therefore, Jacob Whitmer apparently obtained this artifact near his home in western New York—from a burial site of those he believed were descendants of *Book of Mormon* peoples. His use of it as a seer stone differed from this flat stone's original purpose, at least as understood by modern archaeologists and anthropologists.

In 1955 Jacob Whitmer's granddaughter Mayme Whitmer Koontz displayed this artifact to a youth group of the RLDS church. She called it "the 'peep stone' which was had by their [the Whitmer group's] last priesthood member, John [C.] Whitmer," Jacob's son (d. 1894). As John C. Whitmer's daughter, she emphasized his use of it in the 1880s for the Whitmer group and referred to the seer stone's first use in the 1830s.⁷⁸ That same year, she allowed LDS history buff Alvin R. Dyer to photograph this seer stone, which she described as "a sacred trust."⁷⁹ LDS general authority Dyer was responsible for the incorrect myth that Jacob Whitmer's seer stone had first belonged to Hiram Page, another of the Eight Witnesses.⁸⁰

After the death of Mrs. Koontz, her daughter sold this Whitmer family seer stone to Mormon collector David C. Martin. In turn, rare book dealer Rick

Grunder sold it in 1984 to Steven F. Christensen. After Christensen's tragic death a year later, Grunder acted as the agent in selling this seer stone to another private collector.⁸¹

Hiram Page's use of a seer stone got him into trouble in September 1830 when he began claiming its revelations applied to the entire church.⁸² "He had quite a roll of papers full of these revelations," wrote early convert Newel Knight. "Even Oliver Cowdery and the Whitmer family had given heed to them, although they were in contradiction to the New Testament and the revelations of these last days."⁸³ In "a History of the Church according to my own knowledge," Emer Harris stated that Page's stone was black in color. In 1830 Smith "got revelation that the Stone was of the Devil [—] then it was Broke to powder and the writings Burnt." An early Palmyra convert, Emer was a brother of *Book of Mormon* witness Martin Harris.⁸⁴ Thus, Hiram Page's seer stone was destroyed in the fall of 1830.

In this instance, Smith's move away from instruments of folk magic as church president contributed to the apostasy of early Mormon folk believers. Members of the Whitmer family were devoted to the importance of seer stones. David Whitmer, John Whitmer, and brother-in-law Hiram Page later said their disenchantment with Mormonism began when Joseph Smith stopped using his seer stone as an instrument of revelation.⁸⁵ As BYU religion professor Dennis A. Wright has recently noted, for some early Mormons there was "a decline of confidence in Joseph's seership when the Prophet announced that he would no longer use the Urim and Thummim or seerstone in the revelation process."⁸⁶

During the 1830s church members used seer stones in and near church headquarters at Kirtland, Ohio. In 1831 a newspaper reported that "some" Mormons there "pretend to have received a 'white stone' ... [as in the Book of] Revelations."⁸⁷ For example, Elizabeth Ann Smith Whitney (b. 1800) had her own seer stone. Bishop Whitney's brother later stated: "Mormon elders and women [in Kirtland] often searched the bed of the river for stones with holes caused by the sand washing out, to peep into. N. K. Whitney's wife had one. I took it to search for a cot [i.e., handage] I had lost from my injured finger. She said it was wicked to trifle with sacred things."⁸⁸ Elizabeth A. Whitney was probably a stone-seer in her own right when Smith gave the Whitneys the privilege of a blessing through the Mormon prophet's white seer stone in October 1835. While Bishop Whitney had his office by priesthood ordination, "Mother" Whitney was the family's seer by spiritual gift.⁸⁹

Visiting Kirtland in December 1835, Missouri's bishop Edward Partridge provided the first-known description of the town's youngest female seer. "This girl sees by the help of a stone," he wrote in December. She accurately described his daughter "Eliza very well as to size &c" as the seeress told what she saw in the stone about his family's circumstances in Missouri. "She told me she saw a seer's stone for me, it was a small blue stone with a hole in one corner, that it was 6 or 8 feet in the ground." His diary and other sources are silent about whether Bishop Partridge tried to dig up this seer stone.⁹⁰ In 1838 Hepzibah Richards identified Kirtland's young seeress as John Thorp's "daughter who sees in a stone." This young girl was the intended victim of a bullet fired into Thorp's house by "two persons [who] were seen to run as soon as they had fired." Richards included

this in her list of abuses heaped upon Kirtland's faithful in January 1838 by "the devil's agents" and "dissenters."⁹¹

Descendants of Elias Pulsipher (b. 1805) have stated that, while in Kirtland, he "found a brown colored stone about 2 1/2 inches wide and 6 inches long with two holes in it. The Prophet Joseph examined it and declared it to be a seer stone. It is not known if Elias could use it but his daughter could. She located drowned persons, lost cattle and other items for people who sought such information. Her daughter [a granddaughter of Elias] also could use it and after [sic] would see whatever she desired. One strange thing happened though: she once asked to see Satan—which she did—but that was the last time that stone ever worked for anyone."⁹² Pulsipher's stone was probably also a "trapezoidal gorget," in this instance from a Native burial site in Ohio.

In November 1837 the Kirtland high council disfellowshipped James Colin Brewster (b. Oct. 1826), his parents, and several associates for claiming that this eleven-year-old boy's revelations and translations of ancient scripture were authoritative. Young Brewster claimed "to have the gift of seeing and looking through or into a stone." His recent biographer concluded that Brewster's "revelations were an outgrowth of his treasure-seeking activities" (see below). He followed the Mormons to Illinois, where the teenager's insistent seership aggravated church leaders all over again.⁹³ Like Hiram Page before him, Brewster exceeded the bounds that church authorities allowed for scrying.

In 1841 a British seer also ran afoul of LDS authorities in Staffordshire. William Mountford is the only Mormon for whom there is a contemporary and detailed description of his seeric beliefs and practices. According to the diary of local leader Alfred Cordon: "This bro Mountford had in his possession several Glasses or Chrystals, as he called them: they are about the size of a Goose's egg made flat at each end. he also had a long list of prayers wrote down which he used. The prayers was [sic] unto certain Spirits which he said was in the Air." Mountford explained: "When I pray to them in the name of the Father, Son, Holy Ghost, any thing that I want will come into the Glass." Cordon described what Mountford did for a young woman who wanted to see her future husband: "He brought out his Chrystals and prayed unto a certain Spirit [—] then she must peep into the Chrystal and in it she would see the Young man that woul[d] become her husband."⁹⁴ In addition, a later reminiscence stated that this involved several Staffordshire Mormons, who "would place these stones upon a table, and kneel down and pray to one who they addressed as SAMEAZER."⁹⁵ These English converts literally worshipped at an "alternative altar,"⁹⁶ which LDS leaders could not allow.

For his combining stone divination with spirit incantation, visiting apostles George A. Smith and Wilford Woodruff disfellowshipped Mountford on 27 March 1841. The next day they warned a general meeting of Mormons in Staffordshire "that no such thing as Magic, Fortune-telling, Witchcraft or any such devices should be allowed in the Church. And that fellowship would be withdrawn from any who used or caused to be used any of the aforesaid things." Instead of witchcraft, Apostle Woodruff's diary used the term "Black art."⁹⁷ At LDS headquarters in June 1841 the church periodical published Apostle Smith's letter about

this matter. As for Mountford, he remained a devout Mormon in England for decades.⁹⁸

According to Cordon, when George A. Smith returned to Nauvoo, he brought the Staffordshire stones for the prophet to examine. Joseph said the stones were "a Urim and Thummim as good as ever was upon the earth." However, "they have been consecrated to devils."⁹⁹

After the prophet's murder, Apostle Woodruff returned to England, where he advised Mormons in December 1845 against placing too much confidence in "some women [who] had got a peep stone, and was picturing some great wonders ..."¹⁰⁰ However, this was less severe than the warning he and Apostle George A. Smith gave previously.

Nearly a year after Woodruff's statement, missionary Oliver B. Huntington described one of these women who had "a glass like an egg, in which she saw." Sister "Margaret Anderton" used the stone to make statements about future events, but "she said she was a seer and not a fortune teller." At one point she handed this stone to English elder George D. Watt (h. 1815) who "looked in it; and saw a ring with 2 personages in it; and then came the forests of America; after that he saw nothing." This English seeress was probably Mary Leather Anderton (b. 1810).¹⁰¹

Seven months before Woodruff gave his counsel in England at the end of 1845, Edwin Rushton (b. 1824) found a seer stone in Nauvoo. As a Staffordshire convert, his interest in seer stones was typical of other early Mormons from that English county. In 1841 the visiting apostles had ordained Edwin Rushton to the office of teacher nine days before they punished Mountford for combining ritual magic with stone divination.¹⁰² Rushton's 1845 seer stone may not have been the first the young man used, but its remarkable transparency gave the stone special significance to him. Although he used it for the treasure-quest in Nauvoo, Rushton's stone gained far more attention among Mormons after they resettled in Utah.¹⁰³

Second LDS church president Brigham Young had no desire to use seer stones himself, yet he endorsed their use. "Joseph said there is a [seer] Stone for every person on Earth," Young reminisced in 1855. Then he admitted: "I dont no [sic] that I have ever had a desire to have one." Nevertheless, at the first general conference after Smith's death, Young told LDS members: "The president of the priests has a right to the Urim and Thummim, which gives revelation."¹⁰⁵

However, the seer's gift extended to males who were too young to serve as priests. In 1858 Mary Ellen Abel Kimball wrote that "Br. [Thomas] Butterfield's little boy came here to day with a seer stone [and] said he would see anything he looked for." Apparently it was her husband Heber C. Kimball, Brigham Young's first counselor, who then tested the boy's ability. Counselor Kimball asked the young seer to tell him the whereabouts of his son William H. Kimball. "It was between 5 & 6 oclock when he [the boy seer] saw William on a horse just ready to start" for home. The next day William arrived at his father's house and "said he started to come yesterday between 5 & 6 oclock." Counselor Kimball's plural wife Mary noted that this "was just at that time the little boy saw him in the seer stone." This "boy" seer was either Almon Butterfield (b. 1844) or his brother

George (b. 1847), and eleven-year-old George Butterfield was more likely this "little boy."¹⁰⁶

In 1860 Young also preached "that the gift of seeing was a natural gift, that there are thousands in the world who are natural born Seers."¹⁰⁷ Shortly after the publication of a summary of this sermon, Apostle John Taylor explained to a church congregation the meaning of Young's remarks in regard to seer stones and church authority: "Brigham Young in saying that He did not profess to be a prophet[,] seer & Revelator as Joseph Smith was, was speaking of men being born Natural Prophets & seers. Many have the gift of seeing through seer stones without the Priesthood at all. He [Young] had not this gift [of using seer stones] naturally yet He was an Apostle & the Preside[n]t of the Church & Kingdom of God on the Earth ..."¹⁰⁸ With such statements from church leaders, it is understandable why many Mormon pioneers exercised "this gift" of using seer stones.

From the 1850s onward, the town of Parowan in southern Utah was a prime example of the seer-stone culture in early Mormonism. Seers and seer stones were so numerous among the LDS settlers that Priddy Meeks "kept the seer stones under my immediate control," and distributed them as necessary. He also described the experiences of teenager William Titt who "was born a natural seer. He was the best hand to look in a seer stone that I was ever acquainted with." Residing as a foster child in the Meeks home from 1857 "until he was quite a man," Titt "did a great deal of good by finding lost property and by telling people how their kinfolks were getting along, even in England." These rural Mormons shrewdly tested whether Titt was a fraud by asking for details about their relatives whom he had never met: "He would satisfy them that he could see correctly [in his stone] by describing things correctly."¹⁰⁹

Hundreds of miles north of Parowan, in 1855 Samuel R. Parkinson (b. 1831) "went to see a man who had a peep stone" in Kaysville, Utah. Parkinson had spent two days in an unsuccessful search for lost mules, and the local seer suggested he look in the stone himself. Parkinson expected more frustration because "there were few people who could see anything in a peep stone." However, "to father's great surprise he could see his mules." Since polygamy was then a commandment, his wife told him: "Ask to see your other wife, if there is one for you." He saw two young women, then handed the stone to his wife who also saw their image. Ten years later the Parkinsons met them at church services in Idaho, and his first wife "reluctantly answered that they were the girls she had seen in the peepstone." He married these two sisters.¹¹⁰

As indicated by this family's faith-promoting narrative, pioneer Mormons did not use "peepstone" as a sarcastic term. Danish convert Jens C. Weibye (b. 1824) also wrote "peepstone" repeatedly in recording a faith-promoting account of Joseph Smith's seer stone.¹¹¹ First Presidency counselor George Q. Cannon published the inventory of an official exhibit of Mormon pioneer "relics," and the catalog listed one "peepstone." It had belonged to "Judge Phelps."¹¹²

William W. Phelps (b. 1792) was the most prominent Utah Mormon known to have his own seer stone. During the five years after his 1831 conversion, he was editor of the first LDS newspaper, a regional church leader, and scribe for the founding prophet. Throughout his life, Phelps had the honorary title of "Judge"

due to his service as the first Mormon judge of a county court. In February 1837 Missouri's governor signed his certificate as judge for Caldwell County, recently formed as a "Mormon County." Phelps is most remembered today as the author of the words for two LDS hymns. "The Spirit of God Like a Fire Is Burning" commemorated the dedication of the Kirtland temple, and "Praise to the Man Who Communed with Jehovah" eulogized the martyred prophet. Phelps was a founding member of Smith's theocratic Council of Fifty, speaker of the House of Representatives in Utah Territory's first legislature, and regent of the University of Deseret. Among Mormons who entered the Salt Lake Endowment House, Phelps was best-known for "acting the part of Satan in the endowment" ceremony.¹¹³ He probably acquired his "peepstone" after Smith promised him "treasures of gold" in an 1835 blessing. No available document links Phelps with the treasure-digging that occurred during the next ten years in Kirtland and Nauvoo (see below).

Born in 1853, J. Golden Kimball later related his early experience with stone divination to a compiler of faith-promoting stories. On one occasion "the family cows wandered away," and teenage Golden unsuccessfully tried to find them. "Someone suggested that they go to a certain person who was known to have a 'seer stone.' ... The person used the stone and told them where the cows could be found."¹¹⁴ The statement does not indicate whether this occurred before his father, Heber C. Kimball, died in 1868, shortly after Golden turned fifteen.

While excavating the foundation of the Logan (Utah) temple during the last half of 1877, workers unearthed a stone that Loganites regarded as special. A local woman ("Peepstone Lady") used it to locate lost animals and the body of a missing person.¹¹⁵ On a happier note, in the early 1900s "the peepstone lady of Tooele, Miss Dunyon," used her seer stone to save the life of "Dan Perry's small son, who had wandered away from home on a winter night, clad only in a nightshirt." The townspeople followed her directions and found the near-dead boy: "He was revived and survived the ordeal."¹¹⁶

Although called "Edwin Rushton's seer stone," his first wife Mary Ann Fowell Rushton (b. 1823) used it for seership from their arrival in Utah until her death in 1915. In 1858 she showed the stone to Heber C. Kimball, claiming that it "formerly belonged to Moses." Kimball's wife noted that "a great many people can see in it," but the First Presidency counselor groused that Sister Rushton had no right to use a seer stone: "Those were sacred things & to be used only by the [male] priesthood ..."¹¹⁷ This was an example of Heber C. Kimball's well-known misogyny.¹¹⁸ In fact, Mary Ann Rushton "was particularly adept with the seer stone and wore it about her neck in a small deer-skin bag." Unlike a flat seer stone with one or more holes for medallion-like suspension (figs. 10-13; ch. 3), the Rushton stone was too thick and crystalline to drill. Whenever Sister Rushton needed to take the stone from the pouch suspended from her neck, she "was able to locate missing cows and horses for their owners, through its use."¹¹⁹

As an example of the transition that was occurring in Mormon world views, in 1882 local bishop Frederick Kesler (b. 1816) examined Rushton's "perfectly transparent" seer stone under a microscope. Kesler "could not see in it as others

could who seem to be natural Seeres." Although not disbelieving, Kesler described Rushton's stone as "a Great curiosity."¹²⁰

At the same time, other Mormons who were not "natural seers" also had complete faith in those who were. In 1890 Christian Anderson (b. 1840) wrote that he "saw a Sister [Sophia J. Romriell] Russell of Salt Lake City who has a seersstone [sic], and she told me that the future was bright for me; that the Lord loved me and that I should gain much power and influence among my brethren." He had already served as Millard Stake high councilman, counselor in the Fillmore Ward bishopric, Fillmore city councilman, justice of the peace, and city recorder.¹²¹

However, by the 1880s the Mormon hierarchy was experiencing a dramatic shift in attitudes toward folk magic. The First Presidency and Quorum of Twelve Apostles no longer had the four men who had personally experienced and publicly endorsed folk magic beliefs and practices. Heber C. Kimball died in 1868, Brigham Young in 1877, Orson Hyde in 1879, and Orson Pratt in 1881. Their successors had more in common with denominational Christianity than with the folk religion of many first-generation Mormons. In 1880 as LDS church president, former Methodist minister John Taylor reestablished a First Presidency and appointed his nephew George Q. Cannon as first counselor.¹²² From the 1880s onward, LDS authorities typically regarded seer stones as unusual relics of an ever-receding sacred past. As Bishop Kesler put it, "a Great curiosity."

In fact, church leaders were becoming suspicious of any Latter-day Saints who used seer stones. "Do not seek for those who have peepstones, for soothsayers" was the warning of First Presidency counselor George Q. Cannon in 1884 to Mormons in the Salt Lake Tabernacle.¹²³ Nine years later James E. Talmage examined Rushton's stone, after which LDS president Wilford Woodruff told this geologist: "He has but little encouragement to offer for the use of seer stones."¹²⁴

Of this February 1893 meeting, Talmage wrote that President Woodruff "sustains me in my opinion concerning Mrs. Russel [sic] and her divinations." Sophia Romriell Russell (b. 1851) had run afoul of church authorities. The day before, Talmage visited her with Salt Lake Stake president Angus M. Cannon. She "claims a standing in the church, and also asserts her ability and right to discern great things through seer stones in her possession." Stake president Cannon "reminded her that she was acting in defiance of the Priesthood, for the High Council before whom she had been tried, had forbidden her using the stone for such hidden purposes, except as she was directed by the [male] Priesthood." Talmage told her "that I thought her divining powers came from an evil source."¹²⁵ This was his "opinion" that the church president endorsed.

Nevertheless, such attitudes in the First Presidency did not diminish the quest for seer stones among Mormons in southern Alberta, Canada. Harriet Maria Carter Thomas (b. 1872) said that during the 1890s (before her marriage at Cardston in 1900) "there was a lot of talk about Peep-stones" in the Canadian Mormon settlements. She found "a beautiful creamy stone" and looked into it: "Well, I had it up to my eye, with both hands cupped around it, so that no light could get in. At first it was all dark, and then gradually it cleared, and I could see

a room." In this room she saw a man, "every feature of his face clearly and distinctly." It was the man she later met and married.¹²⁶

When Richard M. Robinson examined the whitish seer stone in the First Presidency's office in January 1900, he wrote: "I looked into the stone, but could see nothing, as I had not the gift and power of God that must accompany such a manifestation."¹²⁷ This faithful Mormon did not have the "gift" of divination through a seer stone, but respected those who did.

By contrast, in September 1900 Brigham Young's daughter Susa Young Gates (b. 1856) referred to "peep-stones, in the hands of silly and irresponsible people." She warned that such stones "occupy the same place exactly as other forms of witchcraft and fortune-telling." The next year John A. Widtsoe published in the church's official magazine a stark condemnation: "There are men among us, holding the Holy Priesthood, who in events of their lives would rather stare into a bit of flint-glass that enterprising dealers name a seer-stone, for the solution of their troubles, than to go with the power and authority of their Priesthood to the Almighty Father in prayer." Then a college professor, Widtsoe later became university president and an apostle.¹²⁸ In 1902 LDS president Joseph F. Smith publicly condemned Mormon "diviners" and concluded: "These peepstone men and women are inspired by the devil and are the real witches, if any such there be."¹²⁹ Such condemnations guaranteed that the majority of modern Mormons would not share the belief and practice of stone divination common among their pioneer ancestors in Palmyra, Kirtland, Nauvoo, Salt Lake City, Parowan, Kaysville, Logan, Tooele, Cardston, and elsewhere.

Nevertheless, as late as 1906 an assistant church historian recorded that the church's Presiding Patriarch John Smith (b. 1832) had "the Seer Stone formerly in possession of the late Edward [sic] Rushton."¹³⁰ The church patriarch did not own this seer stone; he was using it. Edwin Rushton's daughter later explained that "Patriarch John Smith was much interested in the stone and often borrowed it."¹³¹ Patriarch Smith died in 1911.

Seven years later LDS leaders showed no tolerance for Mormons who combined seer stones with other forms of divination. In April 1918 First Presidency counselor Anthon H. Lund recorded that "Mrs. Fordyce" had been banned from the Salt Lake temple because she "tells fortunes by cards and finds lost articles by a peepstone." When she protested this punishment, Lund's only words of comfort to her were: "I told her to be glad that she has done her own temple work, but that it was better for one to be offended than for the many who attend the Temple should be offended." This was Rose Fordyce, "astrologer."¹³²

Thus, from 1880 to 1920 women are the only known examples of church sanctions against using seer stones, which supports anthropologist Ian G. Barber's interpretation. He wrote that this was part of the male hierarchy's discomfort with spiritually independent women.¹³³

Clearly on the decline, divination by seer stones persisted among some Mormon women for several decades. Women continued seeing visions in the Rushton seer stone. Following her marriage in 1914, Luella Linck Birrell (b. 1893) used the Rushton stone to locate a missing child in Idaho Falls. Through the stone she saw that this girl had drowned in a canal, and "searchers found the little body

as pictured in the peep stone." In the early 1920s sisters Genevieve Leaver Barnes (b. 1881) and Leona Leaver Shurtleff (b. 1894) in Salt Lake City "looked into the Rushton stone and saw their bishop, John C. Duncan crying at his wife's grave." When his wife died in 1925, "the two sisters witnessed in life what they had foreseen in the stone."¹³⁴ As director of the LDS institute of religion, Reed C. Durham lectured at BYU Education Week on seer stones, including the "Fisher Stone, Salt Lake City in the 1920's." I have found no other reference to this family's seer stone.¹³⁵ As late as 1947 at Hunter, Utah, a Rushton woman used the family's seer stone to locate her husband who was missing in the wilderness: "Later he was found."¹³⁶

By the mid-twentieth century most members of the LDS church overwhelmingly regarded seer stones as artifacts of the past.¹³⁷ A Mormon fundamentalist who praised the former use of seer stones and Utah folklorists researching the subject were all unable to find any evidence of continued divination through seer stones. They could verify the continued belief in seer stones, but not current examples of their use.¹³⁸

However, an LDS mission president during the 1940s used a stone for similar purposes. Like all other original users of seer stones in Mormon culture, the high priest solemnly gave his stone to another member of his family. His grandson stated: "When I was twelve years old [in 1958], my grandfather, who had been a mission president in the 1940s, gave me a small stone. He was a Latter-day Saint who frequently had visions and dreams. Grandfather said that he found this stone while he was pondering the significance of the Prophet Joseph's seer stone. Grandfather held this stone in his right hand as he spoke in Church meetings, and rubbed the stone between his right thumb and index finger. He said that when he rubbed this stone it gave him the spirit of inspiration to speak. Grandfather said he carried it in his pocket all the time, and used it whenever he spoke in Church. He told me to carry it with me, and that it would give me inspiration as I spoke."¹³⁹ I initially regarded this mission president's inspiration-stone as the only example of any kind of stone divination among Mormons in the mid-twentieth century.

Therefore, when I spoke on this topic in 1985-87 I was surprised to learn from several LDS women that they had their own "seer stones" to obtain spiritual guidance. This had been their private experience for years, but none claimed to see visions in these stones. One of these women in Salt Lake City was a liberal intellectual, and I had previously regarded her as a secular humanist as well. An interesting discovery of my own biases. The women with seer stones in the Portland area expressed surprise that I was surprised that they used this form of divination. We spoke in the Relief Society room of their ward, and one of these women was a member of the local presidency of this church auxiliary. Likewise, anthropologist Ian Barber has written: "In 1987 I also spoke to several Mormon women in Utah who give predictive and healing blessings, some employing mechanisms such as crystals ..."¹⁴⁰ Thus, forms of stone divination have persisted as folk magic among Mormon women, despite decades of official criticism by the secularized hierarchy of the LDS church. (See "Conclusion" for their secularization.)

Divining Rods

After the organization of the church in 1830, evangelical Protestant converts increasingly outnumbered Mormon converts from folk magic. Those who came from other churches had little sympathy and less experience with such practices as divining rods. In April 1829 a revelation to Oliver Cowdery had warned: "Make not thy gift known unto any save it be those who are of thy faith. Trifle not with sacred things" (D&C 6:12). Later events indicated that "thy faith" meant Cowdery's folk belief in divining rods (see ch. 2).

Church authorities published Cowdery's "rod of nature" revelation (D&C 8) in 1832 and again in 1833. After Eber D. Howe's 1834 *Mormonism Unveiled* ridiculed the Smith family's previous use of divining rods, the 1835 edition of the *Doctrine and Covenants* changed these references to the euphemistic "gift of Aaron."¹⁴¹ Although an unbeliever, Charles A. Shook accurately noted that after the publication of Howe's 1834 book, the revelation's original wording "smacked too much of superstition and dark practices, [and] it was subsequently disguised in 'Doc. and Cov.'"¹⁴² This was early evidence of Mormon secularization.

Nevertheless, early Mormons continued using divining rods. Of his 1830 interview with Joseph Smith, Sr., Fayette Lapham wrote: "He also believed that there was a vast amount of money buried somewhere in the country; that it would some day be found: that he himself had spent both time and money searching for it, with divining rods, but had not succeeded in finding any, though sure that he eventually would."¹⁴³ Thus, according to a New York resident, Joseph Sr. intended to continue using his divining rod for the treasure-quest, even after his son organized the new church (see ch. 2 and below).

A Mormon had personal observation of this activity at church headquarters in Kirtland, Ohio. Disfellowshipped in November 1837, James Colin Brewster claimed six years later that the local elder's quorum president and the church's patriarch displayed "mineral rods" in the Kirtland temple earlier in 1837. The two LDS leaders were Alva(h) Be(a)man and Joseph Smith, Sr.¹⁴⁴ While the highly publicized *Mormonism Unveiled* could have informed Brewster that Joseph Sr. was a rodsman in New York,¹⁴⁵ no publication yet identified Be(a)man in that way. Only early convert Joseph Knight described him as "a grate Rodsman" in a manuscript that was still unpublished when the young man made his claim.¹⁴⁶ A faithful source supports a dissenter's account. Despite being an adolescent, Brewster had obtained some personal knowledge of Be(a)man's divining rod.

Joseph Sr.'s use of a divining rod at Kirtland during 1837 would help explain why Apostle Heber C. Kimball dreamed that Joseph Jr. gave him a rod that same year. On route from Kirtland to a mission in England, Kimball dreamed that this rod ("about three and a half feet in length") helped him to guide the ship in safety.¹⁴⁷ By Kimball family tradition, the LDS president actually did give "a rod" to Kimball and to Brigham Young because of their faithfulness (emphasis in original).¹⁴⁸ In 1841 Apostle Orson Hyde also "used the rod according to the prediction upon my head," to dedicate the Holy Land for its possession by the children of Abraham.¹⁴⁹ Apostles Kimball, Young, and Hyde may have used staff-like rods rather than traditional forked rods. In either case, using a staff or a forked rod to obtain revelation was divination (see ch. 2).

In fact, Heber C. Kimball used a rod for divination during at least twenty years of his apostolic ministry. It is not known how early this began, but his June 1844 diary mentioned a rod as part of a sacred ritual of prayer. The apostle wrote: "Last nite I clothed my self and offered up the Sines [signs] of the Holy Preasthood and called one [on] the name of the Lord. He hurd me fore my heart was mad[e] comfortable. I inquired by the rod. It was said my family was well, that my wife would come to me in the East, and that Congress would not do anything fore us."¹⁵⁰ In 1825 an American book on ancient Greece had called this the magic practice of "prophesying by rods."¹⁵¹ Acting alone in the "true order of prayer," Kimball prayed in the special clothing of the holy priesthood he had received during the endowment ceremony.¹⁵²

If Kimball's "rod" was actually a staff, rather than the more traditional forked rod of early American folk magic, then he still used a very old method of divination, called rhabdomancy. The inquirer obtained answers according to the manner in which the staff fell in response to specific inquiries (see ch. 2).¹⁵³

Since divining rods can give only yes-no answers, either through the falling of the staff or the movement of the forked rod, some LDS scholars want to remove such early Mormon practices from American folk magic. Richard L. Anderson has written: "one cannot be sure, but Kimball's entries suggest more than yes-no questions."¹⁵⁴

To the contrary, in every relevant diary entry about praying "by the rod," Kimball recorded answers consistent with yes-or-no inquiries. In the above example from June 1844, the yes-no questions probably were: Is my family well? Will my wife come to me? and Will Congress do anything for us? The last time Kimball recorded receiving revelations "by the rod" was on 21 January 1862: "In the evening it was told me by the Lord—rod—that Congress of the United States would reject the Saints and would not admit us as a state government, and force their officers on us by their power." Here are his reconstructed questions: Will Congress reject the Saints? Will Congress admit Utah as a State? and Will the federal government force its officers on the people of Utah?¹⁵⁵ While it is true that Kimball recorded "complex answer" revelations, these occur only when he does not describe the inquiry as having occurred "by the rod."

This use of a divining rod for revelation is consistent with other evidence of Kimball's affinity for folk magic. As a member of the LDS First Presidency, he instructed a general meeting of Mormons: "Now, I will tell you, I have about a hundred shots on hand all the time,—three or four fifteen-shooters, and three or four revolvers, right in the room where I sleep; and the Devil does not like to sleep there, for he is afraid they will go off half-cocked. If you will lay a bowie knife or a loaded revolver under your pillow every night ... there is nothing that the Devil is so much afraid of as a weapon of death."¹⁵⁶ This sounds like frontier humor to twentieth-century ears, yet Kimball's sermon reflected the magic world view.

Henry Cornelius Agrippa's *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* affirmed: "the bodies of devils are in a manner materiall, as shadows, and subject to passion, that they being struck are pained. ... Hence it is that they fear the edge of the sword, and any weapon."¹⁵⁷ Puritan minister Cotton Mather also kept "a Pistol to defend him[self]" from witches and evil spirits. This appeared in Robert Calef's

popular history of the witchcraft trials at Salem, Massachusetts, which book had multiple reprints in America from 1796 to 1861. Retitled "Salem Witchcraft" for its 1821 reprint, Calef's book was on sale in 1824 at Palmyra.¹⁵⁸ Joseph Smith's home was less than ten miles from Kimball's residence in Mendon, New York.¹⁵⁹

Even while apostles Hyde and Kimball were using rods for divination, a church court at Nauvoo ruled in 1843 that Benjamin Hoyt should "cease to work with the divining rod."¹⁶⁰ Of this, Anderson noted: "There is consistency in disciplining those using rods and stones 'by art' or 'unlawfully,' whereas limited religious uses of similar objects were not challenged."¹⁶¹ A more important "consistency" is that stake high councils have rarely challenged an LDS apostle, and have never criticized an apostle for using objects he regards as divine. Rank has its privileges.

The most prominent use of a rod in Utah occurred in 1847. The official church historian wrote that Brigham Young held Oliver Cowdery's rod and "pointed out" where the Salt Lake temple should be built. Brigham had obtained this from his brother Phineas Young, Cowdery's brother-in-law.¹⁶²

Two years later Apostle Parley P. Pratt led a group of Mormon explorers into the southern part of the territory: "Bro. Isaac [B.] Hatch says he knows there is Gold & Silver in these Mts. his mineral rod is attracted the strongest kind, [and he] is sanguine [i.e., confident] that he could find Gold."¹⁶³ After his participation as a divining rodsman in this 1849 Southern Exploring Company, Isaac ("Ike") Hatch (b. 1823) headed a gang of rustlers. He died in 1853 at the hands of Mormon enforcer William A. Hickman.¹⁶⁴

Like Brigham Young's other private beliefs and practices of folk magic and the occult, the LDS president did not want to imply that his own use of a rod was church endorsement for divining rods. In 1858 the church newspaper deleted reference to the "rod" from its publication of Kimball's June 1844 diary entry about his special prayers. An 1864 republication of the entry repeated this deletion.¹⁶⁵

In the twentieth century, LDS leaders ignored divining rods. Primarily rural Mormons have continued to use divining rods to search for underground water, minerals, gas and power lines, and buried metal objects.¹⁶⁶ Because this LDS usage occurred in the twentieth century, divining rods were undoubtedly used by pioneer Mormons in addition to Heber C. Kimball and Isaac B. Hatch.

In fact, even some modern Utahns have not regarded the divining rod as a "natural" phenomenon. At Salt Lake City in 1963 a middle-aged man reported: "The forked hazel twig is a magic divining rod that points to the place where precious minerals lay hidden." Folklorists also found rodsman and rodswomen in the Utah communities of Farmington, Heber, Layton, Moab, Ogden, St. John, and Vernal. Their ages varied from nineteen to sixty-seven.¹⁶⁷

Treasure-Digging

In assessing Joseph Smith's leadership from 1830 until his martyrdom, historians Richard L. Bushman and Richard L. Anderson have noted a dramatic absence of such youthful occult practices as treasure-digging. Smith left these behind, they argue, when he obtained the *Book of Mormon's* gold plates in 1827

and began to translate them. They point to Smith's efforts in LDS periodicals and his official history to downplay or denigrate his youthful participation in the 1825 treasure-quest for Josiah Stowell (see ch. 2). Throughout the balance of Smith's life, none of his critics claimed he continued the treasure-digging that characterized his youth. Bushman and Anderson therefore conclude that folk magic ceased to be important to the "mature" Joseph Smith.¹⁶⁶

Nevertheless, it is an overstatement to imply that the quest for treasure no longer interested Smith, other LDS leaders, and ordinary participants in early Mormonism. As church president, Smith side-stepped criticisms of his early treasure-seeking, yet never condemned or discouraged church members from similar activity. Many of the earliest converts and church leaders were sympathetic to folk magic and had experience with it. The treasure-quest continued for them.

After Joseph Smith led the New York Mormons to Kirtland in January 1831, some of them began talking with Ohio's converts about the previous treasure-quest in Palmyra. In October the disaffected Ezra Booth wrote: "Several of these persons, together with Smith, who were formerly unsuccessfully engaged in digging and searching for these treasures, now reside in this [Geauga] county, and from themselves I received this information."¹⁶⁷ Prior to Howe's 1834 book, new converts at Kirtland learned from believers about the prophet's years as a treasure-seer.

One reason for the continuation of the treasure-quest in the LDS church was because its official periodical used the language of folk magic for Smith's obtaining the gold plates and for the *Book of Mormon* itself. In February 1835 Kirtland's *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* published a letter of William W. Phelps asking Associate President Oliver Cowdery "to explain, or state what the angel said when he informed brother J[oseph]. S[mith]. jr. that a treasure was about to come forth to this generation" (italics in original). As part of his answer, Cowdery wrote that one evidence of the truthfulness of the angel's visit in 1823 was that "the vision was renewed twice before morning," a reference to the importance of thrice-repeated dreams in folk magic's treasure-quest (see ch. 5). In this same letter Cowdery also commented that after this thrice-repeated vision, young Joseph Smith thought "of the prospects of obtaining so desirable a treasure—one in all human probability sufficient to raise him above a level with the common earthly fortunes of his fellow men, and relieve his family from want ..." (emphasis in original).¹⁷⁰ In 1835 Cowdery made a second reference to the occult treasure-quest while describing this "rich treasure" of the *Book of Mormon* gold plates and the thrice-repeated "shock upon his system, by an invisible power" which prevented Smith from touching them—"he had heard of the power of enchantment, and a thousand like stories, which held the hidden treasures of the earth ..."¹⁷¹ The words "treasure," "treasures," and "enchantment" had special resonance for those with experience in the treasure quest, such as the Mormon prophet and his father Joseph Sr. (see ch. 2).

In view of these references in the LDS newspaper at church headquarters in 1835, it is not surprising that belief in the occult dimensions of treasure-digging was prominent among the first members of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles.

They were ordained in February 1835. Oliver B. Huntington, a faithful Mormon and Smith's brother-in-law through a polygamous marriage, recorded an 1836 conversation on treasure-digging with two of the original apostles: "One day as I was taking Orson [Pratt] and Luke [S. Johnson] down to my Grandfathers [near Sackett's Harbor, New York] in the carriage; we were passing a spot where but a little time before a thief had hid some money and it could not be found; Luke said to me 'hadent we better go and try? I think we will find it.' I, not understanding his meaning[,] replied I thought it not worth while to try. He said it was not, but Jo. Smith was said to be a great money dig[g]ler and they were his followers." On the basis of this conversation, Huntington concluded that Apostle Johnson was "a cunning man."¹⁷²

Webster's 1828 dictionary defined this term as "a man who pretends to tell fortunes, or teach how to recover stolen or lost goods."¹⁷³ Earlier writers had more pointedly described "cunning men" as "a Wizzard,"¹⁷⁴ as "Magicians, Diviners, &c.,"¹⁷⁵ or as "Conjurers."¹⁷⁶

Orson Hyde, another of the original apostles and Johnson's brother-in-law, told a Mormon congregation about a man in Salt Lake City who was "a natural miner." However, to modern years the rest of Hyde's description was beyond the natural and scientific. Hyde said that this man "has a peculiar gift to discover metals of value, though hidden in the earth at any depth." Hyde and Heber C. Kimball both ridiculed the man for allowing a skeptical woman to persuade him to neglect this "natural gift that God had given him."¹⁷⁷ Twenty years later, in the last year of his life, Brigham Young told Mormons in the Salt Lake Tabernacle of his firm belief that "these treasures that are in the earth are carefully watched, [and] they can be removed from place to place ..."¹⁷⁸ Thus, of the first quorum organized in 1835, apostles Young, Kimball, Hyde, and Johnson all expressed belief in the folk magic of treasure-digging. Young included his belief in treasures that move to avoid discovery (see ch. 2).

Some early Mormons obviously shared a view that caused them to regard certain of Smith's statements about "treasures" in the context of folk magic. First, Joseph Smith never denied the treasure-seeking that had characterized his youth (see ch. 2), yet he downplayed its importance.¹⁷⁹ Historian Alan Taylor viewed this as Smith's way "to further his proselytizing mission" among mainstream Protestants who were "committed" to "a more absolute understanding of religion."¹⁸⁰ Second, one-third of the original members of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles affirmed their belief in the folk magic of buried treasure.

Joseph Jr. also affirmed the treasure-quest in his special blessing to William W. Phelps in Kirtland during 1835: "Because of his liberal soul the lord will make him rich, even with treasures of gold, silver, preious [sic] stones, and with all precious minerals."¹⁸¹ LDS apologists like Richard L. Anderson dismiss such promises as "poetic elements" or "spiritual metaphor."¹⁸² That is an example of "present-mindedness" or the "presentist bias" which ignores the historical context and meaning of experiences in the past, and instead superimposes the perspective of the present.¹⁸³ As a Mormon convert who moved to Kirtland in 1836, Daniel Allen (b. 1804) remembered that "Joseph Said that the shrub of Moses and the Pot of money were in preservation at the Present day."¹⁸⁴ In his

youth Joseph Smith had looked for more than one "Pot of money" (see ch. 2), and using that phrase as church president indicated he still believed in its reality.

A religious Universalist visiting Kirtland in the 1830s observed that the Mormons he met were "holding out the idea that the kingdom of Christ is to be composed of 'real estate, herds, flocks, silver, gold,' &c., as well as of human things."¹⁸⁵ Early Mormon diaries show that these people accepted literally the promises of blessings by the church president and ordained patriarchs. Aside from that explicit faith, early Mormons did not speak of buried treasures as "spiritual metaphor" (to use Anderson's phrase). Instead, LDS church members spoke of "natural miners," mineral seers, "cunning men," and buried treasures that moved to avoid discovery (above and ch. 2).¹⁸⁶

With his own background in the folk magic of treasure-digging (see chs. 2-3), Patriarch Joseph Smith, Sr., gave special emphasis to hidden treasure in some patriarchal blessings. His blessing to Wilford Woodruff proclaimed: "Thou shalt have access to the treasures hid in the sand to assist thy necessities. An angel of God shall show thee the treasures of the earth that thou mayest have riches to assist thee in gathering many orphan Children to Zion."¹⁸⁷

One Kirtland Mormon indicated that his faith began to falter at evidence of the Smith family's interest in the treasure-quest. First, William Harris (b. 1803) emphasized his dismay at reading the statements by the Palmyra neighbors. He concluded: "Here then is a beautiful character to be selected as the chosen vessel of the Lord—a money-digger—(next below a wizzard in respectability) ..." (emphasis in original). Second, Harris underlined the following phrase in a patriarchal blessing that Joseph Sr. gave him in May 1836: "*the riches of the earth shall flow unto thee in time*" (emphasis in original).¹⁸⁸

The first LDS president, patriarch, and several apostles gave verbal encouragement for treasure-digging. Even if these church leaders themselves did not participate, they created a religious environment for the treasure-quest by regular members of the church.

Nauvoo Mormon John Cole (b. 1820) demonstrated this in his letter to schismatic leader James J. Strang. Cole first affirmed that "the Lord said he would give his saints the riches of the earth." Then Cole's letter asked Strang "to look in the urim and thummim and tell us where we should" dig a mine. In imitation of Smith, Strang had his own seer stone which Strang also called a "Urim and Thummim."¹⁸⁹

Apostle Wilford Woodruff also regarded his own treasure-blessing very literally. When Mormons brought him gold they had mined in California he wrote: "And this begins to fulfill A portion of my Patriarchal Blessings which I recieved [sic] under the Hands of Father Joseph Smith in AD 1837."¹⁹⁰

A year before Joseph Sr. gave that blessing, his sons Joseph and Hyrum traveled with Oliver Cowdery and Sidney Rigdon from Ohio to Massachusetts. Their purpose was an unsuccessful attempt to obtain "a large amount of money [that] had been secreted in a cellar of a certain house in Salem, Massachusetts." To get access, these members of the First Presidency tried to rent lodgings in the house itself. Ebenezer Robinson gave the most detailed account, which was based on statements by Joseph Jr.'s brother Don Carlos Smith (co-editor with Robinson

of the church newspaper). Although Robinson waited nearly fifty years to publish this information, his memory was clear enough to accurately identify a Mormon "by the name of Burgess" as the man who informed Smith of the treasure-trove. Cowdery and Rigdon signed a promissory note for \$100 to Jonathan Burgess on 17 August 1836 at Salem.¹⁹¹ Official Mormon histories have affirmed the basic facts of this 1836 quest for treasure in Salem,¹⁹² but some recent LDS historians have tried to downplay its unusual circumstances.

First, LDS writers have described this as a routine trip of the First Presidency. This follows the official account published after Smith's death.¹⁹³ By contrast, Oliver Cowdery's letters to the *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* in 1836 and his brother-editor's published introduction both downplayed the fact that the entire presidency was involved. As the most curious omission, Cowdery never mentioned the church president. The letters referred to his traveling companions once as the "brethren," but scattered instances of "we," "our," and "us" seemed to be Cowdery's use of "the editorial we" for I, my, me. In eleven printed pages, there was no mention of Joseph Smith or his brother Hyrum, and only two references to Rigdon as "Brother R." Otherwise, Oliver's published letters treated this visit to Massachusetts as "my journey" from start to finish.¹⁹⁴

Second, in his published description of the First Presidency's 1836 stay in Massachusetts, Cowdery entirely removed his companions from the visit to Salem itself. "During my tarry in this country [Massachusetts], I have visited Salem, 15 miles from this city [of Boston]." The pages about Salem omitted any reference to his companions, and even his previous use of "we," "us," and "our" disappeared. Oliver's last comment about Salem re-emphasized this as his solitary visit: "I never visited a place of its size where so little bustle and noise were to be seen and heard."¹⁹⁵

Third, contrary to Joseph Smith's official history (written by clerks after his death), the LDS prophet did not participate in "preaching publicly" at Salem.¹⁹⁶ A local historian noted that most of the city's newspapers had previously shown interest in publishing stories about the Mormons, and four Salem newspapers reported Rigdon's sermon during this visit. However, none of Salem's five newspapers reported that Smith was in the city until a Boston newspaper revealed this after his departure. Aside from signing the visitor's book of a museum, Smith did not make his presence known in Salem. The local historian concluded: "So famous a person as Joseph Smith, Jr., the prophet himself, could hardly have gone unnoticed unless he chose to remain so."¹⁹⁷ Smith's concealment from public notice in Salem was duplicated by the LDS newspaper's concealment of the prophet's participation in the Salem trip. Both demonstrated the clandestine nature of this search for buried treasure in 1836.

Fourth, Joseph Smith dictated an August 1836 revelation which showed why Cowdery purposely omitted Smith from these August letters about the Salem trip. "I, the Lord your God, am not displeased with your coming this journey, notwithstanding your follies. I have much treasure in this city for you, for the benefit of Zion," declared D&C 111:1-2, 4. "And its wealth pertaining to gold and silver shall be yours." The opening words of this revelation (received at Salem) show that someone in the First Presidency felt concern that God disap-

proved of this trip. In a letter to his wife Emma from Salem, Smith acknowledged that "we had one spell been most discouraged."¹⁹⁸ This prompted Smith to seek a revelation, and its text showed the reason for doubting that "this journey" had divine approval. The treasure-quest failed to obtain the literal "gold and silver" Joseph Smith sought in July-August 1836, and the revelation substituted instead a spiritual "treasure" of potential converts to the LDS church. As the LDS church's official centennial history stated: "Whereas these brethren had come seeking an earthly treasure, God directs their attention to spiritual things ..."¹⁹⁹

Fifth, there was more than one dimension of the occult in this Salem trip. Although Cowdery's letters deleted any reference to the treasure-quest that brought the First Presidency to Massachusetts, witchcraft dominated his description of the Salem visit. Cowdery devoted three printed pages to an extensive quote from Calef's *More Wonders of the Invisible World* about Salem's witchcraft trials. By contrast, his visit itself occupied only a few paragraphs and even those were dominated by Cowdery's reflections about witchcraft.²⁰⁰

Sixth, the 1836 revelation's text does not support the efforts of some LDS scholars to put a twentieth-century slant on this event. Richard L. Anderson, for example, argued that "Joseph Smith went east in search of treasure, not necessarily to dig for it." In his view the Salem trip was simply a "reasonable ... speculative venture," not a money-digging incident of folk magic.²⁰¹ However, the Salem revelation's reference to "follies" does not support Anderson's "reasonable" perspective of the trip. As another BYU religion professor has acknowledged: "In August 1836, however, they had relied on the arm of flesh, even to the extent of looking for hidden treasure in Salem." Donald Q. Cannon concluded: "It is no wonder that the Lord used the term 'follies.'"²⁰²

Seventh, the treasure-quest in folk magic also included seeking wealth hidden in buildings. Traditional Jewish magic provided for locating treasure in a house.²⁰³ William Lilly's *Christian Astrology* instructed how to use astrology to discover whether there was treasure "in the house or ground suspected." Lilly's popular autobiography (published six times from 1715 to 1829) described how he used a rodsman to locate treasure rumored to be buried in Westminster Abbey.²⁰⁴ Likewise, both Smith and Cowdery had experience as rodsmen (see chs. 2-3). Westminster Abbey's treasure-quest was in histories of England published in the early 1800s.²⁰⁵ Britain's lord of the admiralty also consulted a spirit to look "for treasure at Somerset House." And as an English parallel to Mormon leaders trying to rent a Salem house to discover its hidden wealth, "a house in Holborn [England] was thought to contain treasure guarded by spirits, so [John] Wildman infiltrated himself as a lodger." Wildman was England's postmaster-general and a member of Parliament.²⁰⁶ Moreover, in 1825 an English occult handbook told how nineteen Germans "of consideration, character, and respectability" followed a man who used "magic power" to search for "a considerable treasure" rumored to be concealed in a Dresden palace. "With many mysterious ceremonies he invoked the spirits to appear, and aid his design."²⁰⁷ In Salem itself the treasure-quest was sufficiently common that in 1838 local resident Nathaniel Hawthorne published a story about a Salem man's effort to locate treasure that was concealed in a house.²⁰⁸

Eighth, the August 1836 revelation showed that at least one participant in the Salem treasure-quest was uncomfortable with this failed effort that fit so comfortably within the magic tradition. Sidney Rigdon is a likely candidate as the doubter, since disappointments easily pushed him "into the lowest state of despondency." He was also the only member of the First Presidency at Salem for whom there is no evidence of affinity toward folk magic. Rigdon had previously been an ordained minister, and the Protestant clergy usually led the opposition to folk magic (see ch. 1).²⁰⁹

Ninth, BYU religion professor Cannon has further observed that not even the 1836 revelation's emphasis on "follies" had dampened Smith's enthusiasm for treasure: "From this letter to his wife it is evident that Joseph Smith was still concerned about finding the treasure, notwithstanding the content of the revelation which he had received nearly two weeks earlier." Smith and his companions found it necessary to rent lodgings in a house different from the one with the alleged treasure. In his letter of 19 August he expressed both frustration and hope to his wife: "The house is occupied, and it will require much care and patience to rent or buy it. We think we shall be able to effect it; if not now[, then] within the course of a few months."²¹⁰ However, the LDS church president never acquired access to Salem's mineral treasure-trove.

Even if the Salem trip and revelation occurred in terms that twentieth-century Mormons might be comfortable with, the 1830s perspective was different. The prophet's quest for Salem's "gold and silver" meant only treasure-digging to Mormons who believed in that enterprise. And there were many Mormons at Kirtland who believed in the treasure-quest.

For example, friendly to the Mormons since he attended their religious services in 1831, non-Mormon William Smith (not the brother of Joseph Jr.) described his role as their treasure-digger at Kirtland. When asked: "Did you know anything about their digging for treasure or money in this vicinity?" he replied: "I will fix the time if somebody will tell me when this temple was plastered. I burned the lime to plaster the inside of the temple for a man that belonged to the Church ... and he set me to do that kind of work." The workman did not remember the Mormon's name, but "he was an old gentleman. He was a man who had lost his wife."²¹¹ The Kirtland temple's plastering work began in November 1835, under the direction of Jacob Bump and Artemus Millett.²¹²

Neither Bump nor Millett was "old" in 1835-37, but the latter was apparently this widower. Named Artemus Millettsen at his birth in 1790, Millett's first wife died in 1831, leaving him with several children. While he worked on the Kirtland temple in 1835-36, his second wife was helping to raise those children, plus giving birth to her own. She died in 1841 after he had moved from Ohio to Canada, and he moved back to Kirtland to work for a year in plastering.²¹³ During that time Millett (now as a twice-widowed man in his fifties) undoubtedly associated again with this workman who "burned the lime" for plastering.

The workman continued: "He had found a treasure [himself], and it is true that he did discover a bank of horse bone lime." The digging laborer described how this Mormon widower (Artemus Millett) used divination in the treasure-quest: "he took a little leather bag and he told me to dig. ... there was something

in the bag that the man was very choice [i.e., careful] of, and he kept it in a secure place. He would hold the string up to his eyes, and the bag would begin to vibrate, and whichever way it swayed the farthest that is the way he would dig." The object in the leather pouch was probably a seer stone, but the laborer also described "old widow Petingail" who directed treasure-quests according to visions she had.²¹⁴ This Kirtland treasure-seeress was Lydia Hawkins Pettingill (b. 1773).²¹⁵

According to this workman, belief in the treasure-quest was widespread among Kirtland Mormons: "I will say this, that we burned lime for the Church, and some of them were there for lime twice a day, and there were a good many there that thought there was treasure there. I do not think there was any sanction of [this by] the Church."²¹⁶ Nevertheless, during 1835-36 many Kirtland Mormons had expressed to him their interest in the treasure-quest.

Even more significant, young James Colin Brewster and his father publicly defended their money-digging at Kirtland in 1837. Six years later the Brewsters claimed they had been encouraged by three members of the prophet's family: Smith's father (the church patriarch and an assistant counselor in the First Presidency), Smith's uncle John (also an assistant counselor), and Smith's uncle Asael. In addition, Alva(h) Be(a)man (a Palmyra rodsman and president of the elder's quorum) and Joshua Holman (a member of the church's "Vigilance Committee") advocated the treasure-quest in Kirtland. All five "told us concerning their digging for money in the state of N.Y., and that the places where the treasures were deposited were discovered by means of the mineral rods and a seeing stone."²¹⁷

Brewster could have learned that information about the Smiths from Howe's 1834 *Mormonism Unveiled*, but Holman was a new reference. Before moving to Kirtland, Joshua S. Holman (b. 1794) lived in New York's Genesee County from 1818 to 1834. Aside from Brewster's statement, Holman's treasure-digging experiences are unknown. However, a manuscript history later described treasure-quests in the Genesee.²¹⁸

Far more significant, young Brewster reported a previously unpublished item of information about Joseph Smith, Jr. He said that Smith rented a "house" in Massachusetts "with the expectation of finding a large sum of money buried in or near the cellar." The Salem revelation of 1836 was not yet in print, and Brewster demonstrated that Joseph Sr. actually did describe the Smith family's treasure-seeking experiences to a ten-year-old seer.²¹⁹

The Brewsters also claimed that Kirtland's patriarch Smith and elder's quorum president Be(a)man in 1837 "anointed the mineral rods and seeing stones with consecrated oil, and prayed over them in the house of the Lord [temple] in Kirtland." Young Brewster (b. Oct. 1826) wrote that the patriarch promised "I should have power given me of God to discover and obtain the treasures which are hid in the earth." That is very close to the wording in some of Joseph Sr.'s patriarchal blessings. Then the church's patriarch, his brothers, along with Be(a)man, and Holman "went with me and my father several times in pursuit of the money, but it was not obtained." Because James Colin Brewster was only ten when he first acted as treasure-seer, his father attached a brief statement to confirm this sixteen-year-old boy's memory and published claims. Zeephaniah H.

Brewster wrote: "In the year 1837, in the month of May or June, we commenced the money digging under the kind care and protection of Joseph Smith sen'r ..."²²⁰ This manifested the determination of the elder Smith's 1830 statement to Fayette Lapham, that Joseph Sr. with his divining rod "eventually would" find "a vast amount of money buried somewhere in the country."²²¹

William Riley Hine, "an early settler in Kirtland,"²²² provided separate evidence that during the mid-1830s Joseph Sr. spoke fondly in Kirtland about earlier treasure-digging activities on the New York/Pennsylvania border. In the mid-1820s Hine had resided in New York near the Susquehanna River and listened to Joseph Sr. and Jr. discuss treasure-digging at various places nearby. He even witnessed the younger Joseph using his seer stone for digs "in sight of my house" (see ch. 2). Hine lived seven miles north of the house of Smith's future wife, Emma Hale, in Harmony, Pennsylvania. "When I first saw Emma on the streets in Kirtland, she threw her arms around me."²²³ When stone work began on the temple in 1833,²²⁴ Hine took over a stone quarry and ended the boycott "not to let the Mormons have any stone." The next year he moved to Munson, eleven miles from Kirtland. During the temple's construction from 1833 to 1836, the elder and younger Smith "frequently talked over with me their experiences along the Susquehanna."²²⁵ Thus, Emma Smith's non-Mormon friend verified Brewster's claim that Joseph Sr. liked to reminisce in Kirtland about his family's treasure-quests in New York a decade earlier.

According to Brewster's account, Joseph Sr. in 1837 was also acting in accordance with published instructions for consecrating magic instruments. Out-of-print for generations but still in wide circulation (see ch. 1), Reginald Scot's handbook for ritual magic stated: "anooint them with consecrated Oyl: And lastly, Seal them with holy characters: after all which is performed, an Oration or Prayer must follow."²²⁶ Scot's book was the source for some symbols on the Smith family's magic parchments (see ch. 4). In 1819 a Pennsylvania German also wrote an occult handbook (published in multiple editions since 1820) which included instructions "To Consecrate a Divining Rod."²²⁷ As indicated, Brewster said Patriarch Smith anointed these instruments of folk magic inside the completed temple at Kirtland.

Long after "digging for money in the state of N.Y.," Mormons like Martin Harris cherished the treasure-quest. According to non-LDS treasure-digger William Smith, Harris directed a treasure-dig in Kirtland in the mid-1830s after widow Pettingill located the treasure-site by vision: "I don't know anything about it [directly], but report said Martin Harris caused it to be done."²²⁸ Decades later Harris was still telling his Palmyra treasure-digging experiences as faith-promoting testimony to Utah Mormons.²²⁹

In May 1843 the church newspaper at Nauvoo seemed to endorse the treasure-quest. In an introductory comment about the "Kinderhook Plates," editor John Taylor commented: "It will be seen by the annexed statement of the Quincy Whig, that there are more dreamers and money diggers, than Joseph Smith, in the world ..." The LDS newspaper's quote from the *Quincy Whig* included this statement: "It appeared that a young man by the name of Wiley, a resident in Kinderhook, dreamed three nights in succession, that in a certain

mound in the vicinity, there was treasures [sic] concealed.—Impressed with the strange occurrence of dreaming the same dream three nights in succession, he came to the conclusion, to satisfy his mind by digging into the mound."²³⁰ Like Oliver Cowdery's comment about Joseph Smith's 1823 experience, this 1843 account emphasized the importance of a thrice-repeated dream in the treasure-quest.

Again not surprisingly, the search for treasure continued to involve rank-and-file Mormons during the 1840s. A frequent visitor to Joseph Jr.'s home, Reverend George Moore commented in his diary: "At Nauvoo, they have what is called a 'peep stone,' and two boys, who are believed to have the power of looking into this stone, and seeing what people are doing at a distance, and of discovering stolen and lost property. Many people in Nauvoo have such implicit faith in this, that they go to see the peep-stone boys as soon as they lose any thing." One of the two young seers was probably James Colin Brewster. The other may have been Edwin Rushton (b. 1824).²³¹ Rushton later described how he found a stone during a treasure-dig at Nauvoo with early convert Joseph Knight (b. 1772).

Convinced by Rushton's thrice-repeated dream of "a beautiful seer stone, clear as crystal" lying on top of "a pot of treasure," Knight joined the young man in a treasure-quest. "We obtained the stone May 4, 1845."²³² To Joseph Knight, it was like old times in New York and Pennsylvania with another young seer, the recently martyred Joseph Smith (see ch. 2). Knight (who died in 1847) provided a link from one generation of Mormon treasure-digging to another.

In September 1845 Nauvoo police captain and local Seventy's president Hosea Stout (b. 1810) recorded a treasure-quest in Nauvoo. He joined fellow Seventy's presidents Jesse P. Harmon (b. 1795) and Alvin Horr (b. 1799), and the three went "to see a boy look in a 'peep Stone,' for some money which he said he could see hid up in the ground, he would look and we would dig but he found no money [—] he said it would move as we approached it. I came home about ten oclock at night."²³³ This "boy" may have been a third treasure-seer at Nauvoo, because Rushton was twenty-one that year and Brewster was living elsewhere. In any case, buried treasure moved through the earth at Nauvoo in 1845 as it had during Joseph Smith's treasure-quests in the mid-1820s at Palmyra, New York, and at Harmony, Pennsylvania (see ch. 2).

As church president, Brigham Young kept such beliefs alive in Utah. For example, in 1877 he told a congregation about Porter Rockwell's treasure-digging as an early Mormon in Palmyra. The treasure-chest moved deeper into the earth, "making a rumbling sound." Young added: "These treasures that are in the earth are carefully watched, they can be removed from place to place according to the good pleasure of Him who made them and owns them. He has his messengers at his service, and it is just as easy for an angel to remove the minerals from any part of these mountains to another, as it is for you and me to walk up and down this hall." His views reflected the treasure-digging culture of his birthplace in Whittingham, Vermont (see ch. 1). More important, the church president's statements actually encouraged two levels of folk magic: (1) the use of divining rods or seer stones to locate the moving treasure, and (2) rituals (such as drawing magic circles) to keep the treasure from moving again. However, his next comment in

this 1877 sermon showed that Young regarded believers in folk magic as a minority among faithful Mormons: "I relate this because it is marvelous to you. But to those who understand these things, it is not marvelous."²³⁴

George Q. Cannon was an example of this split in belief systems among faithful Mormons and among their pioneer leaders. He was Young's private secretary and assistant counselor when the LDS president enthusiastically described this "marvelous" treasure-digging in Palmyra, yet Cannon regarded even Joseph Smith's treasure-quest as "sordid."²³⁵

Despite Cannon's increased influence after Young's death in 1877, Mormon belief in folk magic's treasure-quest persisted. For example, in the early 1880s the Salt Lake Stake high council struggled to sort out the financial disputes of three Mormon men in a mining company that one high councilman described as "sometimes in accordance with law, at others based upon the relationship of brotherhood, and at other times [with] a little astrology mixed with it." Aside from their use of "a little astrology," the men also referred to this mining venture as "their hidden treasure."²³⁶ In December 1890 "a number of the brethren" went with "Sister S. J. Russell" who used "her stone" and "located a mine" in Chalk Creek Canyon, near Fillmore, Utah.²³⁷ Sophia J. Romriell Russell (b. 1851) was an English convert visiting from Salt Lake City.²³⁸ As previously indicated, stone divination got her in trouble with LDS authorities.

By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, church authorities were prepared to publicly denounce the treasure-quest. They extended that prohibition to any mining venture based on "unscientific" principles. John H. Koyle (a Mormon bishop in central Utah) had organized a mining company, sold public stock, and directed the mine operations according to dreams he regarded as divine. Recently appointed an apostle, geologist James E. Talmage reported negatively about the scientific and religious dimensions of Koyle's activities. As a result, the First Presidency issued a statement published twice in the *Deseret News* in August 1913, once the next month in the church magazine *The Improvement Era*, and again in the *Deseret News* in 1914, 1932, 1945, and 1946. Without mentioning Koyle or his "Dream Mine" specifically, the First Presidency warned: "We feel it our duty to warn the Latter-day Saints against fake mining schemes which have no warrant for success beyond the professed spiritual manifestations of their projectors and the influence gained over the excited minds of their victims."²³⁹

These announcements involved official condemnation of folk magic's treasure-quest in two ways. The First Presidency's statement began by using Hiram Page and his seer stone as a point of reference. An editorial postscript for the 16 August 1913 reprint of this statement seemed to denounce specifically the folklore of the treasure-trove: "Almost everyone have [sic] heard stories of how Such-and-Such found a rich mine by following directions given in a dream, and many fondly hope for similar luck, but in most instances it will be found, on investigation, that such stories have little or no foundation in fact."²⁴⁰ In the eyes of church authorities, Koyle's Dream Mine in Salem, Utah, was superstitious and schismatic. At the urging of Apostle Mark E. Petersen, local leaders excommunicated Koyle

in 1948, even though he had already publicly renounced all claims for divine intervention in mining activities.²⁴¹

Despite decades of the First Presidency's official announcements against belief in non-scientific treasure-trove, some Mormons have continued the occult quest. "Tom McNelly was a spiritualistic medium who came with John Barbee to help him locate mines," reported a woman in 1939 at St. George, southern Utah. "He was a strange man but a real wizard. Barbee's claims were laid out just as the spiritualist told him to."²⁴² Concerning Utah's miners, fewer of whom were LDS, folklorist Wayland D. Hand reported in 1941: "Old time miners recall the use of divining rods of various kinds ... Today one encounters an occasional divining rod operator. These practitioners employ everything from the traditional forked stick, usually the willow, to mechanical contraptions of one kind and another."²⁴³ In Monticello, southeastern Utah, "a man came in here with a girl who was a medium," a local resident reported in 1946. "They would hold these meetings night after night and the spirits would tell her where the mine was." At Ogden (northern Utah), in 1960 a woman reported that "black goats on lonely paths are a sign of hidden treasure," while the next year another Utahn reported that "serpents and demons are supposed to guard the mines from intrusion." In 1963 belief in the "magic divining rod" was part of the treasure-quest in the canyons of Salt Lake Valley.²⁴⁴ The published folklore studies do not indicate the religious affiliation of these people. Outside the mining camps, these informants may have reflected the 89-90 percent Mormon majority in Utah's population during those years.²⁴⁵

Amulets

As editor of the official church periodical in June 1842, Joseph Smith reprinted a section from Josiah Priest's 1833 *American Antiquities* to support the idea that "the Ten Tribes came over to America." Priest's book, in turn, was quoting from and commenting on the 1825 *View of the Hebrews* "by the Rev. Ethan Smith, Pultney, Vt." From a book full of potential excerpts about the American Indians, the LDS president selected quotes that introduced his Mormon readers to Indian artifacts with occult meanings.

The first excerpt described an 1815 discovery in Pittsfield, Massachusetts. This "thick raw-hide" artifact "contained four folded pieces of parchment. They were of a dark yellow hue, and contained some kind of writing" (emphasis in original). After neighbors destroyed one parchment, the finder sent the other three parchments "to Cambridge,—where they were examined, and discovered to have been written with a pen in *Hebrew*, plain and legible. The writing on the three remaining pieces of parchment, was quotations from the Old Testament" (emphasis in original). The inscriptions were from Deuteronomy 6:4-9, Deuteronomy 11:13-21, and Exodus 13:11-16, "to which the reader can refer, if he has the curiosity to read this most interesting discovery." These parchments were currently "in the possession of the [American] Antiquarian Society."²⁴⁶

However, Joseph Smith did not have to travel to Massachusetts to examine such parchments. Nor was the LDS president in 1842 publishing a description of some random oddity beyond his own experience. There was a happy coincidence

in the Mormon prophet's selection of this particular excerpt from all others he could have quoted from Josiah Priest's 400-page book.

At this time in Nauvoo, his brother Hyrum was the Smith family's patriarchal custodian of magic parchments (figs. 50-53; ch. 4).²⁴⁷ These, too, had a few biblical quotations (from Numbers). The most intricate parchment also was inscribed "with a pen in *Hebrew*, plain and legible" (figs. 50, 79). However, most of the inscriptions on the Smith family's parchments came directly from Ebenezer Sibly's *Complete Illustration of the Occult Sciences* (see ch. 4).

The balance of the church periodical's excerpt referred to some Indians in Stockbridge, Massachusetts. They had in their possession "a *book*" which "had been handed down from family to family, or from chief to chief as a most precious relic, if not as an amulet, charm, or talisman" (emphasis in original). The last phrase was Priest's addition to Ethan Smith's account of this matter. Joseph Smith deleted one passage of seventy words from this section of Priest's book, but chose to retain the magic references.²⁴⁸

The appearance of the words "amulet," "charm," and "talisman" in a single sentence from *Times and Seasons* also demonstrates a problem in the efforts of LDS apologists and polemicists to deny that Joseph Smith (or any Mormon they respect) had affinity for the occult. Writing on behalf of the Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies (FARMS) in 1994, three authors claimed that "we undertook a computer search of early LDS historical writings" to determine "early LDS attitudes on these matters." Their key-word search included all LDS periodicals published during Joseph Smith's life: "the *Times and Seasons* (TS), the *Messenger and Advocate* (MA), *The Evening and Morning Star* (EMS), and the *Elder's Journal* (EJ)." The three authors wrote: "Based on this extensive (but admittedly incomplete) survey of early Mormon writings, we can arrive at three logical conclusions." After an initial comment about the author of the book they were reviewing, their conclusions were: "(2) early Mormons seldom concerned themselves with things occult; (3) on the infrequent occasions when they mention the occult, it is without exception viewed negatively."²⁴⁹

Why did the FARMS study not acknowledge the existence of "charm" and two other common terms of magic and occult in one sentence from a publication included in this "computer search"? The key-word search did locate John Greenhow's criticism of Egyptian "charms" in an 1844 letter to the *Times and Seasons*, and (without identifying him) the three authors quoted Greenhow's reference to "grossly superstitious" manifestations of "magic." The FARMS article mentioned this just before stating the above-quoted findings of the "computer search." It is inconceivable that these authors did a key-word search only for the plural form of each magic/occult term they selected. However, because the term "magic" was in the same sentence as "charms" in the Greenhow statement, the latter term may have been an accidental discovery of this computer search on the word "magic." Magic was one of the specified search-terms.²⁵⁰

Nonetheless, if this computer study stumbled on the word "charms," why did these FARMS authors not include a key-word search on the singular form, "charm"? I think the answer lies in the intent of William J. Hamblin, Daniel C.

Peterson, and George L. Mitton to present only the evidence which supported their generalization: "on the infrequent occasions when ['early Mormons'] mention the occult, it is without exception viewed negatively." By contrast, as editor of the church's periodical Joseph Smith published a reprint about "amulet," "charm," and "talisman" that did not support their conclusions. At best (from the FARMS point of view), the LDS president's attitude in this example was neutral toward these magic artifacts. At worst, this *Times and Seasons* reference actually seemed approving in two ways: first, in Smith's choice of this "extract" from all others he could have selected, and second in the absence of even an editorial hint of disapproval about the magic artifacts emphasized by his selection. Either way, Joseph Smith's 1842 reprint about "amulet, charm, or talisman" was more significant than criticism of "charms" in 1844 by a man who within months began affiliating with schismatic Mormon groups. Greenhow first joined Sidney Rigdon and then James J. Strang. Strang's group dismissed him as "the apostate John Greenhow, comrade of [John C.] Bennett and [William E.] McLellan."²⁵¹

Hamblin, Peterson, and Mitton presented only those findings which supported their effort to disassociate magic practices and beliefs from Joseph Smith and early LDS publications. If their key-word search did not actually include "amulet," "charm," and "talisman" at some point, this oversight occurred because these FARMS authors did not want to find those terms in early LDS publications. If those terms were included, these FARMS authors deceived their readers.

There was an even more compelling reason why this 1994 study did not refer to the Mormon prophet's 1842 reprint which described "parchments" with strange inscriptions and referred to "talisman." For a decade before this computer study's publication, various FARMS authors had denied that Joseph Smith possessed a Jupiter talisman later passed down from his widow to her stepson (see ch. 3). Like the parchment described in Smith's quotation as editor, his Jupiter talisman had Hebrew inscriptions (fig. 28a). These FARMS authors also claimed there was allegedly no evidence that Joseph Smith even knew about talismans or magic parchments, and allegedly no evidence that Mormonism's founding prophet would ever look favorably on such occult artifacts.²⁵² It would not be helpful for the FARMS agenda to alert readers to the founding prophet's use of this amulet-talisman-parchment reference in *Times and Seasons*.²⁵³

Aside from Joseph Smith's Jupiter talisman (see ch. 3), Brigham Young was the next most prominent Mormon with verified use of an amulet. For more than seventy years, the Daughters of Utah Pioneers Museum in Salt Lake City has displayed a flat green stone with red mineral veins, mounted in a gold frame with eyelets (fig. 41). The museum office index calls this stone an "AMULET," and the display-case label reads: "BLOODSTONE. Pres. Brigham Young carried this stone on chain when going into unknown or dangerous places." Its donor was Marion J. Folsom, niece of Young's plural wife Amelia Folsom Young.²⁵⁴ In early America the bloodstone was a well-known amulet in folk medicine to prevent or stop bleeding.²⁵⁵ According to the museum label, Young's family understood that he used the bloodstone as a protection against dangers other than nosebleeds.

One early Mormon and church leader also used a verbal amulet (or charm) which he instructed should be ceremoniously conferred from father to eldest son.

Zebedee Coltrin (b. 1804) joined the Mormon church in 1830 and became one of the first presidents of the Seventy in 1835. He saw a vision of Jesus Christ in 1836 and remained a faithful Mormon despite his release as a Seventy's president the next year. In 1887 Zebedee died as an ordained patriarch in Utah.²⁵⁶ According to one of his descendants, Coltrin conferred what the family called "magic words" upon his eldest son, explained the use of these words for protecting the family, and told his son to pass on this occult knowledge to his own eldest son. The Coltrin family maintained this folk magic practice until about 1900, when the informant's father refused to receive the "magic words" because he did not believe in the practice. Since the designated recipient refused to learn the charm, specific knowledge of the "magic words" died out in the Coltrin family in the early 1900s.²⁵⁷ However, two decades later a Salt Lake City resident described a similar idea: "The ability to charm is passed from male to female and female back to male members of a family."²⁵⁸

Another LDS authority officially endorsed an instrument of folk magic: the madstone. John Heydon's *Theomagia* referred to amulets that "have cured those, that have been bitten by Serpents, Scorpions, mad Dogs."²⁵⁹ One folklorist has noted: "Madstone is a term that almost certainly originated in the United States," and America's first scholarly exhibit of amulets included "a madstone."²⁶⁰ In April 1869 the *Deseret News* editor George Q. Cannon reported a recent conversation with a visitor concerning "the mad-stone in his possession [which] is about the size of a hen's egg." A member of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, Cannon concluded that "we are converted" to "the efficacy of the mad-stone in curing the bites of mad dogs, cats, snakes, spiders, or other venomous animals or insects."²⁶¹ A consistent opponent of any kind of belief in astrology and other occult sciences (see below), Apostle George Q. Cannon nonetheless believed in the amuletic healing properties of the madstone.

An English Mormon in pioneer Utah also used a parchment amulet (fig. 54) to protect his house against evil spirits. In 1974 a non-Mormon couple informed the LDS church's Historical Department that they had found this 2-1/2-inch by 3-inch parchment while remodeling a house originally constructed in 1865 in Bountiful, Utah. The house was built by Henry James Harrison (b. 1834), a handcart pioneer who immigrated from England in 1860. This parchment rested above a doorway leading to an addition constructed in the 1880s.²⁶²

This was a modern example of a long tradition of using amulets to protect houses. For example, in the period of "roughly 300-600 C.E.," both Jews and Christians used "magic bowls" for "protection for houses and property." Frequently inscribed with the names of Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and YHWH (see ch. 1), these pottery bowls also had "a magic formula used to drive away evil spirits or to invoke the help of a deity in preserving and protecting individuals or a family."²⁶³ The recent sixteen-volume *Encyclopedia of Religion* explained: "An amulet is an object, supposedly charged with magical power, that is carried on a person or displayed in a house, barn, or place of business in order to ward off misadventure, disease, or assaults of malign beings, demonic or human."²⁶⁴

The Harrison family's parchment amulet in Utah was also consistent with house-amulets and barn-amulets in England and Wales, some dating as late as

the early 1900s. "One of the [paper] charms, folded and wrapped in lead foil, was found in a groove made in the door lintel" of a house in Wales. One Welsh barn-amulet also had a protective symbol originally published in Reginald Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (editions from 1584 to 1665), while another had the same Latin incantation inscribed on the Harrison amulet. The symbols were republished in Sibly's *Complete Illustration of the Occult Sciences* (thirteen editions from 1784 to 1826), and the Latin incantation in Peter Buchan's chapbook, *Witchcraft Detected & Prevented* (three editions from 1823 to 1826).²⁶⁵ Two years after this discovery of the first verified house-amulet in Utah, an excavation of a Pennsylvania house in 1976 discovered the first American example of a "witch bottle." Previously known as a house-amulet only in England and Continental Europe, this witch-bottle dated from the mid-1700s and was of American manufacture.²⁶⁶

The pioneer Utahn's house-amulet was also very similar to the Joseph Smith family's "Jehovah, Jehovah, Jehovah" magic parchment (fig. 53; ch. 5). This earlier Mormon lamen served as a personal amulet in connection with a magic character taken from Reginald Scot's 1665 *Discourse Concerning The Nature and Substance of Devils and Spirits*. The Harrison parchment lacked this magic character of a guardian angel, and therefore more closely adhered to Scot's instructions for a parchment charm to protect a house from spirits as published in his 1584 *Discoverie of Witchcraft* and its 1665 expansion. Scot (and Buchan's 1823 reprint) also gave the "Fiat, fiat, fiat" formula of exorcism for commanding evil spirits to depart that distinguishes the Harrison parchment.²⁶⁷ The Harrison family did not follow the instructions in Scot and Buchan²⁶⁸ to put this parchment charm in all four corners of the house.

However, the Harrison parchment's location above a doorway was consistent with a contemporary manuscript of magic. This 1852 American handbook allowed a house-amulet to be "put in door post."²⁶⁹ More precisely, this Mormon family's house-amulet of the 1880s duplicated the findings of a researcher in Pennsylvania in the late 1880s: "To keep witches from entering the house, bore holes in the doorsill, and place in them pieces of paper containing mysterious writing. Then plug up the holes."²⁷⁰

Manufacturing a protective house-amulet was probably the reason William Clayton wrote a New York City bookseller in November 1863 to request "the finest and best article of Parchment that can be obtained. I want it for a very important use and hence wish the very finest & best" (emphasis in original). Immediately after that request, Clayton asked his New York supplier for two copies of Charles W. Roback's out-of-print *Mysteries of Astrology, and the Wonders of Magic*. He later told this company that he requested the parchment "for drawing important deeds on," which was an unlikely excuse in view of the fact that Utah's county clerks prepared "important deeds" every day on paper stock sold by local merchants. More revealing about his intent for the parchment was Clayton's 1864 explanation for why he wanted to obtain a "Secret Talisman" from an occult practitioner, also in New York City. "I never sought to injure anyone or to retaliate for injuries done to me," explained Clayton. "Self protection is all my object."²⁷¹ Protection was one purpose of amulets and talismans, even though (as Clayton

recognized) a person could also use counter-charms "to retaliate" (see below, concerning belief in witchcraft).

Several hundred miles south of the Harrison family's amulet-protected house in Utah, John Steele (b. 1821) fashioned paper charms in Parowan and Toquerville from the 1860s to his death in 1903. Steele was prominent in local church and civil offices. Among his surviving artifacts is a paper charm with Scot's magic symbols and seals against witchcraft.²⁷²

For eleven years LDS apologists have remained silent about the significance of Reginald Scot's occult instructions reaching two different sets of pioneer Mormons more than 200 years after his book's last edition in England. This inconvenient evidence shatters the apologist argument that it was allegedly impossible for the founding prophet to know about occult instructions published 150 years earlier. Republished in early nineteenth-century occult handbooks, Scot's symbols and occult instructions were part of British and American folklore.

In fact, Francis Barrett's 1801 occult handbook influenced Joseph Smith beyond its role as the source for his Jupiter talisman and for inscriptions on the Smith family's ceremonial dagger and magic parchments (see chs. 3-4). In the 1840s the LDS church president gave a prominent Mormon some religious instructions based directly on Barrett's *The Magus*.

A history of Alpheus Cutler stated: "Joseph Smith revealed to Alpheus Cutler, by revelation, that a sign of 'two crescent moons with their backs together,' would be seen by him when the proper time to reorganize the church had arrived."²⁷³ Since 1833 Cutler had served on the building committee for temples in Kirtland and Nauvoo. In 1843 Smith initiated him into the little-known Anointed Quorum. In March 1844 Cutler was a founding member in the prophet's theocratic Council of Fifty.²⁷⁴

Barrett's *The Magus* gave an illustration of back-to-back crescents among the moon's occult symbols.²⁷⁵ One of America's most knowledgeable researchers of Masonic literature has verified that this illustration had no connection with Freemasonry. "I have examined literally hundreds of Masonic rituals, dating from the 1700s through the 1850s and have never come across the back-to-back moons," explains Art deHoyos. "The only time I found anything close was in occult literature (such as the guard to the magical sword in the *Clavicula Salomonis*)."²⁷⁶

If Barrett's book had no demonstrable impact on Joseph Smith's life, one could argue that Cutler borrowed from this occult handbook and lied about Smith's instruction. Since two different branches of the Smith family preserved artifacts based on *The Magus*, an apologist argument of "coincidence" lacks credibility as an explanation for Cutler's claim. As another historian has recently written: "Alpheus Cutler [b. 1784], like Joseph Smith, was steeped in the magical worldview that pervaded American culture of the period."²⁷⁷

After Smith's death, Cutler became increasingly independent of Brigham Young's leadership. By the late-1840s Cutler gathered a group of followers with affinity for occult beliefs in the church he soon organized. Counter-charms against witchcraft (see below) were very common among the "Cutlerites."²⁷⁸ In 1849 Apostle Orson Hyde dismissed Cutler's followers as too "metaphysical."²⁷⁹

On the other hand, in their public condemnations of occult practices, LDS leaders usually ignored amulets and luck-charms. As already noted, Joseph Smith's single published reference to amulets and talismans was neutral. The only criticism I have found was in a church magazine in 1900 by Young's daughter. Silent about her own father's use of an amulet, Susa Young Gates criticized "wearing charms to keep off the toothache, or rheumatism, or what not."²⁸⁰

Because of the LDS hierarchy's virtual silence about amulets, folk beliefs continued their natural course. Since the nineteenth century, Mormons have often adopted ordinary objects as luck-charms. In the 1840s one man gave a U.S. copper penny "as a good luck 'charm'" to a departing missionary who donated it in 1913 to the Daughters of Utah Pioneers Museum.²⁸¹ In interviews from the 1940s to the 1960s, Utahns reported their belief and practice in wearing amulets of coins, of plants (such as four-leaf clover), of human parts (such as lock of hair), of animal parts (such as rabbit's foot), or of a small bag of salt. Most often these people specified that they wore these objects to bring good fortune or to ward off spiritual evil and witchcraft. This daily use of amulets included males and females from Utah's cities to farms, from teenagers to middle-aged.²⁸²

Some Utahns and Idahoans have also apparently adopted a practice of protecting barns with "hex signs" (from the German word for witch). "I have seen witch signs on barns around Park City" (in rural Summit County), reported one Utahn in 1960. "The signs are supposed to keep the barn from burning down." The young man added that this was "probably a cross-cultural transplant." Some Utahns were advocates of these hex signs, not just observers. In 1942 a middle-aged Provo man told how to paint a barn with "a hex sign and frighten away evil spirits." In 1964 a nineteen-year-old advised: "Put hex signs on your barn to ward off evil and keep it safe."²⁸³ Architectural historians active in Utah since the 1970s have not noticed any hex signs on the now primarily-unpainted barns of Utah. However, in Blackfoot, Idaho, during 1973 a folklorist photographed a red-painted barn, which was decorated with a large symbol described by the folklorist as an "ornament of [a] flower." At its center is a six-pointed star similar to Pennsylvania-German "hex signs," including one repeated six times on a barn.²⁸⁴

This cultural borrowing of barn-amulets is curious for two reasons. First, specialists on Pennsylvania "Dutch" (actually, *Deutsch* = German) history and architecture agree that Pennsylvania's barn-owners always regarded these symbols as merely decorative. A newspaper reporter invented the term and concept of "barn Hex signs" in the 1920s.²⁸⁵ Second, if these Utahns and Idahoans (who apparently did believe in barn amulets) were of Pennsylvania-German descent, their Mormon ancestors had left that area decades before the publicity about "barn Hex signs." Pennsylvania Germans like Jacob Zundel (see below) and Martin Bushman converted to Mormonism in the 1830s and 1840s before moving to Utah.²⁸⁶ "From the beginning an unusually large percentage of" the population of Blackfoot (with its example of a Pennsylvania hex sign on a barn) "were former Utahns."²⁸⁷ However, the published family histories for the area do not refer to Pennsylvania German ancestry.²⁸⁸

This is an intermountain example of a process in folk-magic transference suggested by one critic of the modern definition of Pennsylvania's hex signs:

"Since farmers in the Dutch Country have *heard* it said now for thirty years that they put hex signs on their barns to ward off witches, it is not inconceivable that some farmer or other, who still believes in witchcraft, might just possibly try a hex sign against a witch" (emphasis in original).²⁸⁹

Without the need of a Pennsylvania German connection, other Utahns into the 1960s also reported using horseshoes to protect their houses from evil spirits or witches.²⁹⁰ As Buchan's English handbook of the occult advised its mass-circulation audience in the 1820s, "nail a horse-shoe at the inside of the outermost threshold of your house, and so you shall be sure no witch shall have power to enter thereunto."²⁹¹ Belief in witches was also the cause for other counter-charms and various forms of ritual magic (see below).

In a very different context, faithful Mormons have often regarded the temple "garment" as a kind of spiritual amulet. In LDS practice since the 1840s, this underclothing is worn night and day by all persons who have received the endowment.²⁹² Some ancient magic traditions also employed "an amuletic garment" of protection for the wearer.²⁹³ LDS leaders have taught that the temple garment "becomes a shield and protection to the wearer."²⁹⁴

In Mormon folklore the temple garment sometimes functions as a classic amulet that has power in itself. "A devoted Mormon was in a hotel fire and all the clothing was burned from his body except where his garments were. The only burns he suffered were on his hands and feet, which were not protected by the garments."²⁹⁵ If the man's righteousness alone were the source of this protection, he would have escaped all injury. Yet to some Mormons this "garment" has power to protect only what it touches. Utah folklorists Austin and Alta Fife recorded more such testimonials: "In war, shrapnel and slugs have penetrated the outer clothing but failed to penetrate the garments. When a Saint was caught in a treacherous snowslide all his clothing save the garments was torn to shreds."²⁹⁶ Because of this belief, a local Relief Society president instructed women in her neighborhood "that they must never take their garments entirely off. She said when taking a bath to always leave one leg and one arm in the garments."²⁹⁷

By the early 1960s some LDS leaders were openly criticizing this common Mormon reverence for the temple garment as a virtual amulet. General authority Marion D. Hanks told his missionaries in England not to regard the temple garment "as some kind of talisman."²⁹⁸ Less blunt, William E. Berrett (director of the church's seminary and institute program) said of the garment: "God, not the raiment, protects and blesses those who keep their covenants."²⁹⁹

Aside from the above evidence of amuletic practices in daily living, there is widespread use of charms and amulets during sports competition.³⁰⁰ Like their non-LDS counterparts, Utah's Mormon competitors give special attention to wearing items of clothing that bring "good luck" and avoiding items of clothing that bring "bad luck" in their particular sport. Athletes often use folk amulets and religious talismans to achieve success in sports, but I have found no evidence of Mormon athletes using specifically magic talismans (such as a Jupiter talisman).

Nevertheless, among Utah's downhill skiing competitors, the traditional terms of folk magic are common. In 1959 a nineteen-year-old woman noted: "A Ullr medal will protect one while skiing." In 1960 a Salt Lake woman preferred

"a St. Bernard medal," while a twenty-year-old female competitor said: "Good luck charms are worn for luck in ski races." Also in 1960 a twenty-year-old male skier insisted: "Never go skiing without a good luck coin. It's bad luck."³⁰¹ Because published studies of Utah folklore do not identify the religious affiliation of informants, one can only assume that the state's Mormon majority of 89 percent during the late 1950s was well represented (perhaps proportionately) in such findings.³⁰²

However, Canadian researchers discovered (to their surprise) that Mormons use luck-charms and amulets in sports competition more than non-Mormons. Based on a study of 529 basketball players (182 were LDS) from 1979 to 1982, the researchers found that "Mormon basketball players consistently subscribed more often to superstitious and ritualistic beliefs and behaviors than either Catholics or Protestants." Among the "magical" practices these athletes employed to guarantee sports-success were double-knotting one's shoelaces, wearing socks inside out, wearing "lucky" item of clothing, or wearing a lucky charm (either hidden or observable to others).³⁰³

Astrology

An emphasis on astrology lingered in the church long after its organization on an astrologically beneficial day in 1830 (see ch. 5). John F. Boynton (b. 1811) served as a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles from 1835 to 1838, when he left Mormonism. After Boynton resided in New York state for decades, his obituary in Syracuse reported: "He was a physician, an astrologer, an astronomer, and knew a thing or two about what is going on in the terrestrial sphere."³⁰⁴ Described as "an astrologer" at the end of his life, Boynton probably followed astrology as a Mormon apostle. This occult science had more popular support and media endorsement up to the 1830s than during Boynton's later years (see ch. 1). Like Welsh convert Thomas Job (see below), this early apostle was known as an expert in both occult astrology and scientific astronomy.

In 1837, for example, Apostle Parley P. Pratt made a non-judgmental comment about the predictive use of almanacs. "Now the predictions of the Prophets can be clearly understood, as much so as the almanac, when it foretells an eclipse ..." ³⁰⁵ Because Pratt mentioned only the astronomical predictiveness of almanacs, it is unclear what his attitudes were at this time toward the astrological information still provided by American almanacs (see ch. 1). A decade later, his brother and fellow apostle Orson Pratt began publishing almanacs with astrological information.

Appointed an apostle in 1841, Lyman Wight had some affinity for astrology. Six years later he founded a separatist colony of Mormons and named it "Zodiac."³⁰⁶

In April 1842 Joseph Smith included astrology in his only public statement about the occult sciences. In an editorial titled "Try the Spirits," he referred to "the peculiar situation, power, and influence of, the magicians of Egypt, the wizards, and witches of the Jews, the oracles of the Heathen; their necromancers, soothsayers and astrologers; the maniacs or those possessed of devils in the apostle's days." This was an introduction to Smith's discussion of "some few

instances of the developement of false spirits in more modern times, and in this our day."³⁰⁷ Although the reputed astrologer Boynton (now an ex-apostle and non-believer) visited Smith in 1842, his visit occurred five months after this editorial.³⁰⁸

Smith seemed to equate astrology with witchcraft and evil in this public statement, yet it is well-known that his public statements did not always agree with his private practices. The obvious example was the prophet's explicit denials during this same period that he sanctioned or practiced polygamy, while at the same time he was cohabiting with plural wives and secretly performing polygamous marriages for others.³⁰⁹ As previously indicated (see ch. 3), he married many of his wives on days designated astrologically for marriage. When his secretary William Clayton worried about the consequences of his own polygamous wife's pregnancy, Smith reassured him: "if they raise trouble about it and bring you before me I will give you an awful scourging and probably cut you off from the church and then I will baptise you and set you ahead as good as ever." Smith had performed this polygamous marriage for Clayton.³¹⁰ Thus, even some of Smith's public denunciations concealed his private practices. Aside from his possession of an astrological Jupiter talisman (see ch. 3), some "Nauvoo Mormons" later claimed that "the Prophet helieved in ... astrology."³¹¹

In fact, some of Smith's closest associates in publicly-denied-polygamy also did not regard his published 1842 editorial as a repudiation of astrology. Clayton studied astrology and relied on it for the rest of his life. Deeply involved as apostles in Smith's secret practice of polygamy at this time, Brigham Young later acknowledged his own private belief in astrology and Willard Richards provided astrological information to the general LDS membership (see below).

A month after this editorial, Joseph Smith scheduled one of the most important events of his church presidency in conjunction with his ruling planet of Jupiter (see ch. 3). On 4 May he introduced what is known as the "endowment ceremony" to nine men.³¹² The next day (Thursday), Brigham Young's history noted: "I attended Council as yesterday, and we administered to brother Joseph the same ordinances."³¹³ In astrology "Jupiter is Lord on Thursday."³¹⁴ When Joseph Smith received the endowment ceremony on 5 May 1842, the moon was also in Pisces, and Jupiter rules over that zodiacal sign.³¹⁵

Oliver B. Huntington, Smith's brother-in-law through plural marriage, also provided a contemporary example of continued interest in astrology despite Smith's April 1842 editorial. On 21 January 1844 Huntington wrote in his diary that he "attended a general meeting at the Temple with preaching by the Prophet." Without any other description of the sermon, Huntington then inscribed within four quadrants of a rectangle, the astrological symbols for Aries, Virgo, Taurus, and Scorpio, with the symbol for Pisces underneath the rectangle (fig. 19, compare fig. 16c).³¹⁶

Through this occult symbol, Huntington attempted to give astrological expression to Smith's sermon. According to contemporary records, Smith spoke on Malachi 4:5-6, which reads: "And he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers."³¹⁷ Nowhere in that sermon

is there evidence of occult teachings, yet Huntington used astrology to apply Smith's sermon to his own family. Huntington's father was an Aries, his mother was a Taurus, and his sister Prescendia (one of Smith's plural wives) was a Virgo. Huntington tried to apply this occult symbol to his entire family, but he and his other siblings were born just before or after the zodiacal signs on his illustration.³¹⁸

Nevertheless, Huntington's approach was consistent with some recent books on the occult. The *Beverly Gipsy* (published at New York City in 1800) and Pinchbeck's *Witchcraft: Or the Art of Fortune-Telling Unveiled* (published at Boston in 1805) both ignored the exact dates the sun passed through the zodiacal signs and assigned the entire month to one sign. In the 1820s three editions of Buchan's paper-bound handbook also listed each sign for a full month.³¹⁹ In this way, the other surviving Huntington children joined their parents in the occult symbol Oliver B. Huntington used to summarize Smith's interpretation of Malachi.

In the crowning event of his life, on 11 April 1844 the theocratic Council of Fifty anointed and ordained Joseph Smith as Prophet, King, Priest, and Ruler over Israel on Earth.³²⁰ This was Thursday, Jupiter's day. In addition, the 1844 almanac made special note that on this particular Thursday, Saturn was in conjunction with the moon.³²¹ Saturn ruled over Smith's zodiacal birth sign of Capricorn, and Jupiter ruled over the Decan of Capricorn in which Joseph was born (see ch. 3). Intended for general readers, astrology handbooks did not recommend days for the coronation of monarchs, but 11 April 1844 was the moon's second day in Aquarius, when one should "Lead an Army."³²² Joseph Smith could not have chosen a more astrologically significant date in 1844 for his theocratic kingship.

In late 1844 Orson Pratt (an ordained apostle since 1835) also included astrological information in his *Prophetic Almanac* for 1845. It gave the names and characters of the planets, the zodiacal signs, and the planetary aspects necessary for astrological calculations (fig. 20h). Pratt's 1845 almanac made no disclaimer about astrology. In fact, the title of his publication was a three-way play on words: it was published by *The Prophet* (the LDS newspaper in New York City), it emphasized latter-day prophecy, and its presentation of the moon's place in the Zodiac invited the astrological use of the almanac for prediction (fig. 20a). For reasons presently unclear, Pratt's almanac the next year included the same kind of information yet described astrological uses of the Zodiac as "the vulgar [i.e., common] and erroneous ideas of the Ancients."³²³ The apostle repeated that view in his 1848 manuscript for the next year's almanac, which remained unpublished because a printing press did not arrive soon enough at Winter Quarters, the resting place for Mormons on route to Utah. LDS historian David J. Whittaker noted: "But the fact that Orson included astrological information in his almanacs suggests that his intended audience expected it to be there."³²⁴

Apparently in response to the widespread Mormon interest in astrology, in 1848 the British Mission's president (an American) attacked this occult science. Orson Spencer editorialized that "astrology is an apish effort to pry into the knowledge of the laws of the planetary bodies, and discover their influences upon the human organization, and human conduct and destiny." Spencer did not dispute that planets exerted a real influence on humans. He insisted that astrology

was a "rival" to Latter-day Saint understanding of "revelation, prophecy, angels, visions, and miracles."³²⁵

Nevertheless, when Willard Richards published the first edition of the church's *Deseret News* in June 1850, he included an astrological calendar.³²⁶ Now the First Presidency's second counselor in Utah, Richards ignored the earlier criticism of astrology in Pratt's second almanac and in the British Mission's publication.

As editor, Richards assumed Mormon readers had extensive knowledge of astrology. In showing the movement of the moon through the Zodiac, the *Deseret News* did not give the symbol for the sign. Instead the church newspaper gave the part of the body over which the zodiacal sign ruled (fig. 21a). It had been decades since national almanacs assumed that readers had so much knowledge of astrology (see ch. 1; figs. 16b-17b). Without explanation, Richards stopped publishing the monthly astrological calendars in October 1850.³²⁷

Six months later the First Presidency publicly criticized astrology. In their April 1851 "general epistle," Brigham Young and his counselors wrote that "another token of Messiah's near approach" is "the increase of seers, and wizards, and diviners, and familiar spirits, and soothsayers, and astrologers, who are charming the nations with their magic arts, lulling the foolish to sleep with their magnetic influence, deceiving priests and people by their necromancy [i.e., spiritualistic seances], calling rain, snow, and fire from heaven ..."³²⁸

Not surprisingly, William W. Phelps followed the national trend of eliminating astrology from his *Deseret Almanac*. In the church newspaper of February and March 1851, Phelps criticized almanac astrology, and his almanac for that year "omitted as useless" the Zodiac's "arbitrary characters, as well as the signs." Apparently by popular request, his 1852 almanac relented by giving the Zodiac's signs and the body part they ruled, but Phelps commented: "The influence of signs, stars, &c." is "doubtful, and unworthy of the confidence of saints" (emphasis in original). To prevent astrological use of his almanac, Phelps did not give the moon's daily place in the Zodiac. The 1853 almanac added that "Signs of the Zodiac ... Are considered useless." His 1854 almanac quoted seventeenth-century English laws against "Conjuration, Witchcraft, Prophesying." Presidency counselor Richards, who had previously indicated a pro-astrology stance in his own calendars, was now publishing Phelps's anti-astrology comments.³²⁹ Richards died in March 1854.

Ironically, staying with Phelps at this time was Thomas Job (b. 1812), early Utah's only academic astrologer. Probably due to Phelps's anti-astrology views, Job did not disclose to his landlord and employer the fact of Job's occult knowledge or academic background. Trained at a Welsh college to read Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, Job could also speak seven languages. He began studying astrology at age seventeen with a local astrologer: "Most of his library was in manuscripts." Also trained in modern astronomy, Job published an astronomical tract and in 1847 presented a paper at a meeting of the scientific Royal Society in London. At his arrival in Utah in September 1853, he brought with him occult books by Ptolemy, William Lilly, Henry Coley, Joseph Blagrave, William Salmon, "Placidus" (Placido Titi), and "Raphael" (Robert C. Smith).³³⁰ The astrology

works of Coley and Blagrave had not been reprinted since their publication in 1676 and 1682, respectively. In 1707 William Salmon published his last edition of writings by Hermes Trismegistus.³³¹

Thus, in 1853 a Mormon pioneer owned astrology books that had been out-of-print for 170 years, plus Hermetic texts published 146 years before his arrival in Utah. In January 1855 Job wrote the *Deseret News* a letter about the Zodiac, and got into a debate with Apostle Orson Pratt about astronomy.³³²

By the time Thomas Job immigrated from Britain to Salt Lake City in September 1853, some Utah Mormons were already meeting to study astrology. "There was a man in the city by the name of John Sanderson who was teaching a class of men in astrology. He had no books but [was] giving lessons from memory, having his books stolen from him on his voyage from England," Job wrote. Because Job initially remained quiet about his being an astrologer, it was a year before Utah's students of astrology learned about his expertise: "When these men heard of me and learnt that I had books, they applied to me for assistance." Now that they had an academically trained astrologer with a library of famous books on astrology, these Mormons decided to organize "an institution to teach these things to them and their children." The group's principal benefactor was William Clayton, Joseph Smith's former secretary, who "gave part of his house for the occasion. He also furnished me with a house and every thing I wanted till I would get a start in establishing a tuition in the place." To establish this astrology school, Thomas Job stopped residing with Phelps in February 1855 and moved to the house Clayton provided.³³³

This Mormon school of astrology lasted only a few weeks. On 28 February official Church Historian George A. Smith wrote: "At a meeting of the Astrological Society Prest Young advised them to drop it altogether. When the association adjourned sine die."³³⁴ In May, Young alluded to the society and criticized astrology in a public meeting: "Again, many people in this city do not know whether astrology is true or not, whether it is of God or of the devil; hence they are liable to be deceived. ... If there are any brethren here who have been studying astrology, and they were called upon to speak, would they not say that they believed it to be a true science? They would; they testify that they know it to be true. But what does it do for them? It leads them into thousands of errors. ... The Lord does not deceive people, but astrology and Mesmerism [i.e., hypnotism] do lead them astray."³³⁵ Events in 1855 gave Phelps, Sanderson, Job, and other Mormons every reason to believe that Brigham Young opposed astrology.

Nevertheless, as historian Whittaker has observed, "the average Mormon farmer probably took seriously the astrological content of almanacs."³³⁶ Apostle Franklin D. Richards publicly acknowledged in September 1855: "There are millions of mankind who more or less believe in witchcraft, necromancy, and planetary influences."³³⁷

Despite the church president's published criticism, faithful Mormons also continued to patronize Mormon astrologers. About forty miles north of Salt Lake City, Moses Clawson (b. 1801) wrote in May 1856: "This morning went to Br. Allen, the astrologer, for information concerning my horses."³³⁸ Associated with Isaac Morley in the Missouri Danites of 1838 and in the Lima Stake

(Illinois) in the 1840s, Clawson was briefly imprisoned with Joseph Smith and loyally followed Brigham Young.³³⁹ Clawson's 1856 description of "the astrologer" referred to one of the dozens of faithful Mormon men named Allen who lived in the Ogden-Willow Creek area that year.³⁴⁰ Brother Allen was undoubtedly the "eminent" astrologer that the *Deseret News* later mentioned as a resident "in a town north of" Salt Lake City.³⁴¹

In addition to this persistence of astrology among Mormon pioneers, Brigham Young's views were complex and seemed to contradict his public stance. For example, in 1853—while John Sanderson was starting classes in astrology for Mormons in Salt Lake City—the LDS president gave specific instructions for the architectural drawings of the Salt Lake temple to contain "Saturn-stones." These were eliminated after his death because "granite could not accept the fine details required by many of the symbols." However, these intended "representations of the planet Saturn [were] above the sunstones on the north and south walls at the top of each buttress" in the architectural drawings.³⁴² Young laid the cornerstone for the Salt Lake temple this year, and astrologically Saturn was "ruler of the year" 1853.³⁴³ In refutation of current readers who would dismiss that as mere coincidence, Young soon acknowledged that he believed in astrology.

William W. Phelps learned this directly when he told the church president of his own uncertainty about astrology in June 1857. Apostle Wilford Woodruff recorded the conversation: "Preside[n]t Young Askes Wm. W Phelps if Asstrology [sic] is true. Phelps says I dont know. BY. Brother Woodruff write that down. This is the first thing I ever heard off [sic] but what Brother Phelps knew. He [Phelps] says he dont know any thing about Asstrology. But I helieve it is true."³⁴⁴ Young's private disclosure must have stunned Phelps, in view of the previous six years of anti-astrology statements published by the Mormon hierarchy.

Nevertheless, the church president's expression of helief in astrology was consistent with Young's general affinity for folk magic—evident in his bloodstone amulet and his sermon about spirit-guardians who move buried treasures. Like some non-Mormon writers (see ch. 1), Young apparently regarded astrology as a fallible guide, yet he believed in its general principles. That is the context in which he privately confided: "But I believe it is true."

On the basis of this conversation, Phelps concluded that Young had reprimanded him for not having a firm belief in astrology. The next day, he wrote an apology to the LDS president: "I believe I did wrong, in saying 'I did not know what astrology was.'" Phelps concluded this long letter: "So I will now say *Astrology is one of the sciences belonging to the Holy priesthood perverted by vain men*" (emphasis in original).³⁴⁵

From then on, the Phelps almanac was decidedly pro-astrology (figs. 22-24). It detailed the names and characters of the planets, the signs of the Zodiac, and the daily progression of the moon through each sign. In 1860 Phelps commented about the Mormons who used his astrological almanac: "A person without an Almanac is somewhat like a ship at sea, without a compass; he never knows what to do, nor when to do it." From 1861 through 1864 the Phelps almanac further observed: "The moon's days in the signs of the Zodiac are also given near enough for the general reader." After noting the signs of the Zodiac and the astrological

characters of the planets in his 1863 almanac, Phelps combined astrology with religious eschatology: "Look for war to be poured out upon all nations, after the year 1866; also, for a total eclipse of the sun at Jerusalem at 7 a.m., April 6th, 1875; also, at Zion (Jackson county, Mo.) same year, Sept. 20th, at 2 p.m. Great things await this generation." The last *Deseret Almanac* in 1865 also gave its readers astrological information about the Zodiac and the moon.¹⁴⁶

Despite his private belief in astrology (or at least in its general principles), Brigham Young as church president wanted no formal promotion of astrology. He preferred to leave astrology in the private sector rather than give it institutional approval of any kind. In 1861 he privately commented on the request of Thomas Joh and William Clayton to open a "school to teach astrology" in Salt Lake City. Young said: "it would not do to favor Astrology—an effort was made in the days of Joseph to establish astrology."¹⁴⁷ The LDS president did not support efforts to convert Utah Mormons to astrology.

Nonetheless, his 1857 conversation with Phelps had reversed the anti-astrology approach of the *Deseret Almanac*, and Young showed no disapproval of the new enthusiasm for astrology in this almanac. The church president apparently regarded astrological information in the almanac as a courtesy to those Latter-day Saints who already believed in this occult science. Young publicly favored certain folk beliefs, yet he declined to encourage those who might regard astrology as too dependable. While most astrology-inclined Mormons may have followed Young's stance of non-advocacy, William Clayton studied astrology for the rest of his life and privately encouraged others to do likewise.¹⁴⁸

Clayton's mentor was John Sanderson (b. 1806), a fellow-English convert. A year after receiving his patriarchal blessing in 1850, Sanderson was one of the exploration missionaries Brigham Young sent to establish an iron mining settlement in southern Utah. John Steele wrote that after a dispute erupted over his choice for the proposed settlement of Parowan, "I had an open vision of a city there. ... Dr. Wm Morse, John Sanderson, an astrologer, and many others fell in with my views."¹⁴⁹ In fact, both Morse and Sanderson were astrologers in 1851, and Steele soon became one. (See below.)

The first teacher of Utah's Astrological Society before 1855, Sanderson moved to Springville, about fifty-five miles south of downtown Salt Lake City.¹⁵⁰ In this small community he had no social status aside from his role as astrological mentor to Mormons in the northern part of Utah. Some regretted not following his advice. For example, Henry C. Jackson's son wrote that "the astrologer, Saunders [sic] ... had been working on father's horoscope." He warned Jackson against doing business in Cache Valley, Utah, "or you will lose every dollar you possess. Remain where you are [in Salt Lake City] and you will grow wealthy." Jackson ignored the astrologer's advice, with the result that "the prophecy of the Salt Lake City astronomer [sic] had been fulfilled, and H. C. Jackson was a bankrupt." The story is interesting, but equally significant is the fact that Jackson's son included this information in his father's biographical sketch decades later.¹⁵¹

After the abrupt end of the Astrological Society in 1855, Thomas Joh likewise moved from Salt Lake City to Springville. There he received a rent

contract for "Br. Job the Astrolloger [sic]." However, Job became disaffected from the LDS church after 1860, was excommunicated in 1863, joined the Reorganized church in 1864 and became president of its Utah Mission. In the process, he became estranged from the loyal Mormons who followed astrology. Living in Spanish Fork and Goshen for the next two decades, Job provided astrological charts for numerous Utahns who were probably also LDS dissenters and/or "Reorganites" (RLDS).³⁵²

At the same time, William Clayton and John Sanderson as loyal Mormons continued their astrological quests. Aside from their meetings in Salt Lake City, Clayton wrote requests for Sanderson to give his "judgement" about Utah's future events such as the outcome of the territory's 1862 application for statehood. In 1863 Clayton asked him to assess the rumors that federal troops had an "evil design" against Utah's Mormons: "are the indications favorable for us or against us?" He also asked Springville's astrologer to draw "the Church figure," as well as draw astrological charts for Clayton and son. For this personal request in February 1865, he helpfully provided Sanderson with Clayton's own reading of the planets "from Zadkiel's Ephemeris."³⁵³ "Zadkiel" was the astrologer Richard James Morrison (1795-1874), succeeded by Alfred James Pearce (1840-1923), who published under the same astrological pseudonym.³⁵⁴

In July 1865 Brigham Young publicly "rebuked astrologers and referred in pointed terms to their statements, which are calculated to lead weak minds astray."³⁵⁵ Three months later Clayton learned that the church president told someone else that Smith's former secretary had been studying astrology for years. Miffed by the criticism, Clayton wrote Young: "I suppose from that, that you certainly consider me an astrologer. This idea I beg leave respectfully to correct." However, another statement in the letter was clearly false: "President Young I have not studied Astrology from that time [when Young dissolved Thomas Job's school in 1855] to the present."³⁵⁶ Despite his disclaimer, Clayton continued to privately promote astrology among his like-minded friends.

It is significant that Utah's only academic astrologer was absent from this correspondence of the 1860s. Despite Clayton's thirst for increasing his knowledge of astrology, he did not approve of Thomas Job's religious dissent and did not correspond with him.

A month after Sanderson died in March 1869 at age sixty-three, the *Deseret News* described him in an editorial about an astrologer who "is dead now; his name shall not be breathed." Apostle-editor George Q. Cannon wrote: "Now the old man was very learned in his way, and very religious too ... learned in trines and quadratures, that is in an astrological sense ... This almanac was to him what the Shaster is to the Hindoo, or the Koran to the devout Musselman [Muslim]; in it he sought for his every rule of conduct ..."³⁵⁷

Significantly, Sanderson's occult protégé was even more critical. Eight months after the Springville astrologer's death, Clayton wrote that Sanderson "got considerably reckless and led away by unprincipled men and I think it is well the Lord took him, or he might have apostatized." The protégé explained: "Men, who get a little understanding of the science of Astrology, act so unwisely, generally, that it takes those who are true friends to the science a great deal of time to

counteract the influence so foolishly created." Clayton saw himself as a true friend to astrology and shared this faith with like-minded Utahns: "I have seen a copy of Zadkiel's Almanac for 1875. George Lawrence says we will have more peaceable and better times next year."³⁸

One of Clayton's correspondents about astrology was Jonathan C. Royle, then a distinguished Utah attorney and formerly Judge Advocate General for the Confederate States of America. Another of Clayton's astrology confidants was Samuel H. W. Riter (b. 1835), a handcart pioneer, Seventy, and brother-in-law of general authority Seymour B. Young. Riter's obituary noted: "His faith remained ever unshaken in the [LDS] gospel he espoused in his youth."³⁹

Likewise, John Steele practiced astrology in southern Utah from the late 1850s onward. His predecessor was William A. Morse (b. 1786), "not only a doctor but an astrologer," who served on Parowan's city council from 1851 to his death in 1853.⁴⁰ Unlike Job or Sanderson, Steele had prominent positions in his community and in the LDS church. He was counselor in the Iron County Stake presidency in the 1850s and served several proselytizing missions. Steele drew astrological charts for his business decisions while serving as county marshal and mayor in the 1850s, as assessor and collector in the 1870s, as mayor again in the 1870s, as prosecuting attorney and justice of the peace in the 1880s and 1890s. He also drew horoscopes for departing Mormon missionaries, for the sick before he performed LDS healing ordinances, and for couples he married. In 1900 Steele wrote a professional astrologer: "I have worked in the Science for the last 40 years."⁴¹

For the remainder of Young's presidency, LDS authorities were on both sides of the question concerning astrology's legitimacy. The 1865 astrological almanac was the last Phelps published.⁴² The following year, *Deseret News* editor Albert Carrington began publishing a monthly "Calendar" which was even more astrological than those previously printed by Phelps and by First Presidency counselor Richards. In addition to a column for the "Moon's place" in the Zodiac daily, Carrington's calendar had a separate column ("Signification of Signs") which listed the body parts ruled by the zodiacal sign of each day (fig. 21b). From 1866 to October 1867 Carrington continued publishing these astrological calendars in two versions of the church's newspaper, a weekly and a "semi-weekly." In nearly every issue of both, Carrington put this astrological calendar on the front page.⁴³

A member of the theocratic Council of Fifty since 1845, Albert Carrington became an apostle in 1870 and a special counselor to Brigham Young three years later. Carrington had graduated Phi Beta Kappa from Dartmouth College and was the only Ivy League graduate in the Mormon hierarchy during the nineteenth century.⁴⁴ He was a Mormon example of astrology's persistence within America's intellectual elite.

With the issue of 16 November 1867, George Q. Cannon began his service as editor of three editions of the *Deseret News*—the weekly and semi-weekly, plus a new daily evening news. A self-educated man, Apostle Cannon obviously did not like publishing astrological information. First, he immediately moved the calendar from the front page to the back pages in all three versions of the church's

newspaper. Second, he virtually dropped the calendar from two of the *Deseret News* editions: it was in only one issue of the weekly from 27 November 1867 through 1 January 1868, and in no issues of the daily from 30 November through 4 January. However, the astrological calendar appeared in every issue of the semi-weekly during December 1867.³⁶⁵

Although the daily *Deseret Evening News* printed the calendar three times from January 6th to 25th,³⁶⁶ editor Cannon attacked astrology in an editorial on 28 January 1868. Probably referring to Thomas Job's conversion to the RLDS church, Cannon wrote that Mormon astrologers "are either complete apostates, or are on the verge of apostacy. Those who patronize it [astrology], if they persist in doing so, will go the same way." He was especially opposed to "judicial [or horary] astrologers—that is, those who pretended to foretell mortal events [for individuals], as if they were directed by the stars." Significantly Apostle Cannon admitted that "there may be some truth in the system. ... But it is that truth which makes it the more dangerous."³⁶⁷

In view of George Q. Cannon's public denunciation of astrology, it is not surprising that Salt Lake City's School of the Prophets ratified this view. Presided over by Brigham Young (with Cannon as secretary), the School on 3 February "decided that Asstrology [sic] was in opposition to the work of God. Hence Saints Should not be ingaged in it."³⁶⁸ The available records indicate that Young made no mention of his private helief in astrology at this meeting. This probably puzzled another member of Salt Lake City's School of the Prophets—William W. Phelps.

After the harshly worded decision of 3 February, it was extraordinary that the *Deseret News* did not immediately stop printing astrological calendars. They continued in the daily edition until 12 February and in the semi-weekly until 15 February 1868.³⁶⁹ After that, the church's newspaper did not print monthly calendars of any kind. In March the *Deseret News* published a satire against local astrologers. In an 1869 editorial about astrology, Cannon wrote: "No system, which has been the subject of human investigation, has been so thoroughly tested, and has failed so completely."³⁷⁰

Nevertheless, the Talmage family of Mormon converts was thoroughly indoctrinated with astrology in England by the early 1870s. Without naming his seventy-year-old grandfather as the "aged sage who placed implicit trust in the indications of the stars," James E. Talmage (b. 1862) wrote: "He devoted himself with great energy to instruct me in the mysteries of this species of the black art."³⁷¹ Grandfather James was "a practising herbal physician," and his grandson credited him with the boy's first instruction about botany and nature.³⁷² Traditional handbooks advocated astrology as part of herbal medicine (see ch. 1). Before the grandson "was ten years old" in 1872, "I had learned to cast the horoscope, and to compute the benign and the malignant spirits of any person, the exact time of whose birth I could learn."³⁷³

James J. Talmage delayed his son's LDS baptism "for various considerations," but father and grandfather did not postpone tutoring in astrology, since the two elder Jameses were both herbal doctors. The father inscribed a copy of Ebenezer Sibly's *A Complete Illustration of the Celestial Science of Astrology*. This 1,126-page book had been out-of-print for decades, and Talmage's copy was

published more than eighty years before his pre-adolescent son (James E.) studied it.¹⁷⁴ Its pagination and content were identical to this handbook's other editions with *Occult Sciences* in the title.

Sibly began the English-language occult revival in the 1780s with this occult handbook (see ch. 1). He also added "occult properties" to the title of Nicholas Culpeper's *English Physician*, which mixed herbal remedies with astrology. Sibly's "occult" reprinting of Culpeper had thirteen editions by 1812, while Sibly's own herbal handbook *A Key for Physic and the Occult Sciences* had five editions by 1814.¹⁷⁵

Ebenezer Sibly's occultism sold well in the first decades of the 1800s, and the Smiths and Talmages demonstrate that it reached early Mormon families on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. The youngest of the three Talmages linked his astrological training to "the black art" because Sibly's *Complete Illustration* emphasized ceremonial magic. Consistent with James E. Talmage's mention of "the benign and the malignant spirits," Sibly gave instructions for summoning the former and repelling the latter.¹⁷⁶ Eight of this handbook's thirteen editions had the title *A New and Complete Illustration of the Occult Sciences*, and Sibly was the main source for inscriptions on the magic parchments possessed by Joseph Smith's family (see ch. 4). Like the use of long out-of-print books for those parchments and for Joseph Smith's talisman (see ch. 3), the Talmage family of Latter-day Saints acquired a rare book in order to give patrilineal instruction in the occult sciences.

After Apostle Brigham Young, Jr., became joint-editor of the *Deseret News* in August 1877, the church's newspaper began reaffirming astrology. In November apostles Cannon and Young published as a "Local News" item: "Zadkiel's Almanac for 1878 is at hand. It is the forty-eighth yearly edition, and contains the usual amount of prognostications." This was the most popular astrological almanac in the nineteenth century.¹⁷⁷ The LDS newspaper's free promotional showed how thoroughly Brigham Jr. had silenced co-editor Cannon's anti-astrology views. Eight years earlier Apostle Cannon had sarcastically written: "If the ancients had their soothsayers and astrologers, the moderns have their fortune tellers and Zadkiels."¹⁷⁸ This change in editorial policy suggests that President Young had merely acquiesced to the anti-astrology campaign of Apostle Cannon, and now Brigham's namesake was exerting his own influence as an apostle in astrology's favor.

In response to nationally publicized predictions by astrologers of upcoming calamities, in May 1879 the *Deseret News* reassured its readers that they need not fear those predictions. By the joint editorship of apostles Cannon and Young, their editorial added this clarification: "We do not mean by this to cast any slur upon those who study the influences of the heavenly bodies. ... It is quite probable that some planets exert a baneful and others a beneficial power on the earth and its inhabitants." However, before Brigham Jr. became joint editor, Cannon was eager to "cast any slur" upon astrologers, whom he had previously labeled as "complete apostates." This 1879 editorial further admitted that "some knowledge may perhaps be obtained in regard to planetary and zodiacal influences." It concluded: "The so-called science of astrology, particularly in these latter times, is so

imperfect and unreliable that it forms no proper guide for the Latter-day Saints."³⁷⁹ The last phrase reflected the view of co-author Cannon, while the first quotes reflected the pro-astrological stance of co-author Brigham Young, Jr.

This limited endorsement of astrology in 1879 echoed the early position of the recently deceased LDS president, but certainly did not reflect the pronounced anti-astrology views of co-editor Cannon. Brigham Jr. obviously controlled the editorial position regarding astrology. This is all the more extraordinary because the Quorum of Twelve Apostles ranked Cannon above Brigham Jr.³⁸⁰

After Young left the editorship of the *Deseret News*, an unnamed editor (Charles W. Penrose) wrote in September 1880: "But we are surprised that sensible people, and particularly any one professing to be a Latter-day Saint, should place confidence in the 'star gazers' and persons of that ilk."³⁸¹

In May 1883 a local leader wrote a letter to LDS president John Taylor about the practice of astrology in his congregation in North Ogden, Utah. "One of my counselors visits Astrologers very regular," the ward hishop complained. "He will call in the Elders to lay hands on him [to heal sickness] and then goes and see[s] the Astrologer and sometimes he sends for the Elders." In his own defense, bishopric counselor David J. Evans (b. 1829) explained that "a Friend advised me to go and see Mr. Furniss who professes to be a Doctor and an Astrologer [—] He drew a [horoscope] figure and give me a prescription to go to the drug store for medicine."³⁸² The exact identity this astrologer is unknown, but there were two LDS men named Furniss living in Ogden at this time.³⁸³ In describing this situation to a Mormon congregation two weeks later, President Taylor said: "I told him to drop that Counselor, that he was not fit to be a Bishop's Counselor, nor to hold the holy Priesthood. We must not permit such practices to exist among us..." If the bishop did not drop his astrology-inclined counselor, Taylor promised to release the bishop.³⁸⁴ As a stern departure from Brigham Young's private belief in astrology and disinterest in punishing LDS astrologers, John Taylor had been a Methodist minister in England and Canada before converting to Mormonism.³⁸⁵

Nevertheless, through the 1880s, published statements against astrology continued to affirm George Q. Cannon's acknowledgement that "there may be some truth in the system." In a June 1889 *Deseret News* editorial, Charles W. Penrose wrote: "Its prognostications, while appearing to bear a grain or two of truth, abound with errors ... Even if astrology were founded on correct principles, there are conditions and influences in the astral universe of which it gives no particulars, and on which it cannot calculate. It is, therefore, unreliable and delusive ..." ³⁸⁶ Again, the message was that astrology was unreliable because it was a human endeavor based on incomplete information, while divine revelation came in its fullness to God's prophets.

Soon LDS publications moved away from partial endorsements of astrology to absolute repudiations. In February-March 1890 the *Deseret News* reprinted an article from a Philadelphia magazine which concluded: "But it cannot be too often asserted that there is no truth in the art [of astrology] and never was."³⁸⁷ Despite its publication in the church's newspaper, this was not a Mormon voice of total repudiation.

The first Mormon denial of any truth in astrology came from a former

practicing-astrologer, James E. Talmage. In 1892 he was about to reformulate Mormon doctrine in a series of university lectures later printed as *The Articles of Faith*.³⁸⁸ That same year his article "My Study of Astrology" related his childhood indoctrination in this occult science. Due to one unsuccessful effort, Talmage concluded as a young man that "astrology was a fraud."³⁸⁹ This article in the LDS magazine for young men indicated that church headquarters was concerned that teenage Mormons were engaging in astrology. In 1893 an article in the same magazine referred to astrology as "this delusive science."³⁹⁰

The church's early twentieth-century campaign also verified that astrology had widespread influence among faithful Mormon adults of the nineteenth century. In his 1901 repudiation of "The Folly of Astrology," John A. Widtsoe candidly told readers of the *Improvement Era*: "And, I grieve to say, there are men holding the Melchizedek Priesthood, whose books on astrology are worn with much use, while their patriarchal blessings, clean and bright, are mislaid with other antiquated documents."³⁹¹

In LDS publications, there were more references to astrology than to all other occult sciences or folk beliefs. This demonstrates that church leaders and writers regarded astrology as widespread in Zion and more popular among Mormons than other occult beliefs. LDS leaders also recognized that astrology was linked with the rest of the occult. Thus, in the *Improvement Era* of 1902 church president Joseph F. Smith listed: "Magical formulae, lucky and unlucky days, incantations, horoscopes" and rites of "magicians, astrologers, soothsayers, diviners, wizards, witches, sorcerers, necromancers, conjurers, and enchanters." He said: "Word comes from a northern stake of Zion which indicates that in a certain settlement the belief in these things is fairly rampant ..."³⁹² In an alternate version of this article the same month of 1902, President Smith referred to "those of our brethren and sisters who are weak-minded enough to consult those who deal in magic."³⁹³

However, for the next fifty years, LDS headquarters remained relatively silent about this occult science. The only two references to astrology at the twice-annual general conference were so neutral that some Mormons may have regarded them as endorsements.³⁹⁴ In October 1933 Seventy's president Levi Edgar Young said that Austrian author Walther Eidlitz had recently published "his two volume work entitled ZODIAC," which he wrote after visiting Utah and staying with Young's family. This general authority said the book deserved "the Nobel Prize for literature this year."³⁹⁵ To support the historicity of the *Book of Mormon* as an ancient American text, in April 1955 Seventy's president Milton R. Hunter used quotes from "an account of Hueman, the astrologer." In this reference the general authority made no comment against astrology.³⁹⁶ Midway between those two conference talks, Apostle John A. Widtsoe wrote an anti-astrology article for the LDS magazine. It referenced his 1901 essay, which had appeared twenty years before Widtsoe's call to the Quorum of the Twelve.³⁹⁷

Folklore studies show that during this period some Mormons continued to believe in astrology. For example, from 1920 onward, residents of Salt Lake County privately expressed confidence that "the positions of the sun, moon, stars, and planets influence human life," or "influenced one's destiny," or "govern one's

life." In 1948 a young man in Salt Lake City cautioned: "Always follow what your horoscope tells you to do, and never go against it, or you'll never have good luck."³⁹⁸

However, in 1958 there was a marked departure from the hierarchy's previous decades of relative silence about astrology. Seventy's president Bruce R. McConkie's *Mormon Doctrine* specifically linked astrology with "sorcery," condemning both as "abominations."³⁹⁹

Two years later a young man in the town of Price said that "reading the Star Gazer [in the newspaper] often determines the events of the rest of any day." As an echo of pioneer Mormon confidence in astrology, a 94-year-old Salt Lake City woman had direct advice in 1964: "Rely on astrologers; after all, they predicted the crash in the stock market of 1929."⁴⁰⁰ In 1966 the second edition of McConkie's book repeated his original condemnation.⁴⁰¹

By 1970 it was clear that LDS leaders were aware that many Mormons continued to follow astrology in some form. In May 1970 a *Church News* editorial concluded: "It is more than fantastic that people who have access to the Prophets of God would give heed to astrologers."⁴⁰² Apostle Mark E. Petersen wrote these unsigned editorials.⁴⁰³

In 1972 LDS headquarters reacted very quickly when a major New York publisher released *The Occult Explosion*, which began with an example from Salt Lake City.⁴⁰⁴ In April the church magazine for teenagers published a BYU religion professor's answer to the question: "What Should Our Attitude Be Regarding Zodiac Signs, Astrology, and Horoscopes?" In October 1972 Apostle Petersen followed up with an unsigned editorial against astrology.⁴⁰⁵

This anti-astrology campaign continued throughout the 1970s. In March 1974 the *Ensign* magazine for adults published a doctrinal assault by BYU's religion professor Robert J. Matthews against several occult sciences. Astrology was the first.⁴⁰⁶ That same year the LDS church's publishing company reprinted George Q. Cannon's rejection of astrology a century earlier: an astrologer acknowledges "no prophet but his prophet."⁴⁰⁷ That represented the main concern of LDS leadership: astrology rivals exclusive prophetic claims. A century earlier Apostle Brigham Young, Jr., had moderated Cannon's assessment, but in the 1970s the Mormon hierarchy had no general authorities with any apparent sympathy for astrology. In March 1979 the *New Era* provided LDS teenagers with three back-to-back attacks on astrology: "Questions Astrologers Avoid Like Cancer," plus "What Do the Scriptures Say About Astrology?" and a condensed version of Talmage's "My Study of Astrology."⁴⁰⁸

Not surprisingly, Mormon popular culture picked up this anti-astrology emphasis of the 1970s. For example, the Osmond family's *The Plan* tried "to proselyte through religious rock [music]," and its lyrics said that "patrons of Zodiac revelations" were among the signs of "The Last Days."⁴⁰⁹

Nonetheless, in April 1998 an LDS apostle (ordained in 1976) presented an astrological correlation for the organization date of the LDS church. "I would imagine that on the night of April the 6th, 1830, there was a full moon shining," David B. Haight told the general conference. This possibility was sufficiently important to him that the apostle inquired with the director of a local planetarium,

who had to contact associates in England for evidence that "there was a full or beautifully shining moon those days before and after April the 6th." The apostle did not explain why he initially assumed there was a full moon when "the glories of the Lord had been poured out upon the occasion," but this was obviously more significant to him than a mere coincidence of astronomy.⁴¹⁰ In fact, published nine miles from Joseph Smith's home and on sale by "E.B. Grandin, Palmyra," Canandaigua's astrological almanac for 1830 showed that there was not quite a full moon at the church's organization. On 8 April 1830 the moon reached its fullness (fig. 18).⁴¹¹

Without mentioning astrology, Apostle David B. Haight in 1998 reinvoked the astrological principle that people should "do nothing without the assistance of the Moon" (see ch. 3).⁴¹² As mentioned previously (see ch. 5), there were clearly published reasons of folk magic and astrology for Joseph Smith's selection of 6 April 1830 (a Tuesday) for the organization of the new church, rather than on Sunday of that week.

Ritual Magic and the Belief in Witchcraft

Magic rituals involved all the previously discussed activities of post-1830 Mormonism. Ceremonies were part of the treasure-quest. Ritual magic used astrological symbols and was timed according to astrological instructions. Occult handbooks provided ceremonies for manufacturing talismans and for consecrating natural amulets like Young's bloodstone (see chs. 1-4). Rituals were especially important against witchcraft and witches.

Throughout his ministry, Joseph Smith affirmed the reality of witchcraft and sorcery. While the 1830 *Book of Mormon* contained ancient condemnations (Alma 1:32, 3 Ne. 21:16, 24:5, Mormon 1:19, 2:10), his revelations in 1831 and 1832 reaffirmed the reality of sorcerers (D&C 63:17, 76:103).

This was consistent with the current belief of many Americans. Accusations of witchcraft continued throughout the United States during this time.⁴¹³ In April 1835, for example, Ohio newspapers reported a witchcraft accusation near Zanesville, Muskingum County.⁴¹⁴

Concerning the Old Testament's "witch of Endor," Joseph Smith in 1842 described her "powerful agency" and "the power she possessed."⁴¹⁵ Aside from his knowledge of the Bible, this also reflected an impressive event in Palmyra of his youth. Just before his nineteenth birthday, a visiting exhibition set up "a MUSEUM consisting of 32 WAX Figures, as large as life." Nearly 10 percent of the exhibit focused on the Witch of Endor: "A Scriptural group, representing King Saul, and the Witch of Endor raising Samuel the Prophet from the tomb." These three were the only biblical characters in this Palmyra exhibit of 1824.⁴¹⁶

In his 1842 editorial, Smith added: "Who could have told whether the power of Simon, the sorcerer was of God, or of the devil?"⁴¹⁷ There is no mystery about why faithful nineteenth-century Mormons feared witchcraft and used rituals to defend themselves against it.

In his 1845 *Lecture on the Occult Sciences*, a Massachusetts author noted: "It is less than two centuries since all Christendom believed in witchcraft, demonology, and all similar systems. Now, almost all Christendom laughs at such things.

In this, there is no proof for or against their truth. Are our school boys wiser than the philosophers of old?"⁴¹⁸ It is clear that many early Mormon schoolchildren and their parents accepted the "old" views of witchcraft.

Despite Mormon doctrine's affirmation of the existence of witches and sorcerers, LDS leaders criticized church members for trying to protect themselves against witchcraft. In 1843 church authorities at Nauvoo instructed Benjamin Hoyt to "cease to call certain characters witches or wizards." His belief in witchcraft had led to his "burning a board or boards to heal those whom he said were bewitched." In 1844 he became a high priest.⁴¹⁹ In 1850 Apostle Parley P. Pratt warned Salt Lake Mormons against various "systems of necromancy."⁴²⁰

Nevertheless, Brigham Young continued to affirm the current reality of sorcerers, witches and witchcraft. Among those "I have nothing but chastisement for" in 1855, Young listed "the sorcerer," and for the next several years he and his counselor Heber C. Kimball reaffirmed the modern existence of sorcerers.⁴²¹ In February 1868 Young told the Salt Lake City School of the Prophets that "there were witches in the midst of this people, by whose influence suffering and distress were wrought among the people."⁴²² He stated this more emphatically to the School of the Prophets in December 1869: "Witch Craft is true hut not of the Lord but is of the eavil [sic] one & of eavil Spirits & of Spirits of wicket men who have onste [once] lived upon this Earth. Witchcraft is Car[r]ied on here & in this City & many are Sent to thare graves by thare inff[l]uance."⁴²³ Aside from the affirmation of witchcraft in Smith's revelations and teachings, Young was restating the beliefs of his Vermont birthplace. At the time of his hirth, "nine tenths of all the inhabitants of Whittingham believed Mrs. Lamphear to be in league with the devil, as a witch."⁴²⁴ However, as church president in 1869 Young warned Mormons that Utah's witches could actually kill them.

In the mid-nineteenth century, Young's witchcraft belief was common. Accusations against alleged witches occurred in the western territories well into the nineteenth century. In England there was a formal trial of an accused witch in 1816, and as late as 1863 an eighty-year-old man died after local authorities subjected him to a trial-by-drowning "for a wizard." Criminal trials for witchcraft and sorcery occurred in France throughout the nineteenth century. A Dutch researcher has also noted: "Going through nineteenth- and early twentieth-century newspapers, I have unearthed around 300 witchcraft cases, scattered all over the Netherlands."⁴²⁵

By affirming the reality of witches, Young inadvertently encouraged Mormons like Henry James Harrison to use house-amulets against witches (see above). Pioneer Mormon belief in witches also led to other counter-charms, including ritual magic against witchcraft.

For example, ritual magic was part of the occult experience of John Steele in southern Utah. He inscribed a charm "To find the Thief and make them [sic] bring back the things stolen." He also wrote instructions for using wax images to "make two persons Enemays [sic] and hate one another." His instructions "To Destroy Witchcraft" required obtaining a bird or animal ("a male animal for a wizard and a female animal for a witch"), and sticking a copper nail or "needle

in its belly" as "a proxy" for the wizard or witch. "You can injure any one by making his image in wax," Steel wrote, "and stick a copper nail in the image where you want it hurt and bury it in Earth." Steele's granddaughter matter-of-factly referred to his interest in "black magic, astrology, and numerology."⁴²⁶ This Utah Mormon adept in the occult did not invent his magic instructions. English archaeologists have also found "a crude wax figure with left arm broken off [and the wax image] was pinned through a hole in the centre." This artifact dated from the nineteenth century.⁴²⁷ If ever there was a Mormon candidate for accusations of sorcery and witchcraft, it was John Steele from the 1850s through 1890s. However, he regarded these activities as benign counter-charms against evil.

As an author wrote of an Englishman who died in 1860: "Wherever the fear of witchcraft survived, there also would be found the Cunning Man who, with his knowledge of counter-spells and herbal medicine, was a very necessary social institution." For decades, "villages of south-east Essex [County]" had known this man "as a herbalist and animal healer, and as an astrologer."⁴²⁸

Utah Mormons like Steele were the reason for the First Presidency's 1884 warning against "those who profess to be able to counteract the influence of witchcraft." George Q. Cannon concluded: "All who take these methods and encourage these practices I say that the anger of Almighty God will descend upon them unless they repent."⁴²⁹ Instead, in the 1880s and 1890s John Steele remained an honored citizen of Parowan, where stake authorities knew of his occult ceremonies and residents throughout southern Utah petitioned him for horoscopes.⁴³⁰ Likewise, in Lancashire and Yorkshire during the same time-period, English "suppliers of spells and charms, providers of astrological and magical advice, clearly remained trusted and important figures."⁴³¹

Church leaders like Cannon did not seem to recognize that Mormons would continue seeking counter-charms until LDS headquarters repudiated the view that witches and sorcerers currently exist. The difficulty was that this would implicitly deny the truth of authoritative statements in canonized revelations and in the teachings of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young.

In 1902 Joseph F. Smith was the first LDS president to end the contradiction of affirming the current reality of witchcraft while discouraging remedies against it. In the *Juvenile Instructor* of September 1902, he condemned the "pernicious superstition" of witchcraft as an "outrageous" belief that persisted among "members of the Church of Christ." Without acknowledging that the Standard Works and the church's first two presidents also expressed this "pernicious" and "outrageous" belief, Joseph F. Smith published a similar editorial in the LDS magazine for adults.⁴³² This was another example of the post-1890 reformulation of Mormon doctrines by LDS headquarters. As with the modern hierarchy's other revisions of nineteenth-century Mormon doctrines/teachings, LDS headquarters did not mention that these official 1902 statements amounted to a rejection of earlier theology.⁴³³

Despite the condemnations of witchcraft remedies by the First Presidency's counselor in 1884 and the church president in 1902, southern Utah's well-known witchcraft-detector continued his active LDS service. As a practicing astrologer and manufacturer of charms against witchcraft, John Steele "participated regu-

larly in church services, and was a conscientious St. George Temple worker." An apostle ordained him a patriarch in March 1903, and Patriarch Steele died as an honored member of his community the following December.⁴³⁴

Steele's darker practices continued for decades among Mormons living far closer to LDS headquarters than he did. From 1920 to the early 1960s residents of Salt Lake City and Provo recommended: "Make an image of someone and stick pins in it, and you will bring bad luck to that person."⁴³⁵

Born in 1875, one woman also retained incantation beliefs throughout her life. Living in Salt Lake County in the mid-1960s she reported that "magic words, when uttered, summon spirits."⁴³⁶ Patrilineal conferral of "magic words" may have ended among descendants of former general authority Zebedee Coltrin in 1900 (see above), but the concept continued among men and women in Utah for decades. Born two years before Brigham Young's death, this woman demonstrated that spirit incantation remained part of the world view of some Utahns to the mid-twentieth century.

Palmistry, Cards, and Tea-Leaf Divination

The LDS newspaper's *Church Section* published the statement of a Palmyra resident that Lucy Mack Smith "turned many a penny by tracing in the lines of the open palm the fortunes of the inquirer." This was consistent with the report of early Palmyra convert Orrin Porter Rockwell that the prophet's mother also practiced another form of divination—using her dreams to locate treasure-digging sites (see ch. 2).⁴³⁷

Young Joseph Jr. followed his mother's example of performing palmistry. Christopher M. Stafford (b. 1808) attended school with the Smith children and had "meals at the Smith's." He said: "Joe claimed to have revelations and tell fortunes. He told mine by looking in the palm of my hand and said among other things that I would not live to be very old." He said this at age seventy-six.⁴³⁸

From the founding prophet's mother onward, Mormon women practiced palmistry, card-divination, and tea-leaf reading. As the *North American Review* observed in 1832, "there is scarcely a village so poor, as to be without its wise woman, who reads one's fortune in the lines of his hand, or the grounds of an exhausted tea-cup."⁴³⁹ Aside from Joseph Smith as a teenager, there is no known record of Mormon males performing these kinds of magic divination.

For example, in March 1850 Patty Bartlett Sessions wrote that "Sister Hatch told me many things by cards." Wife of Meltair Hatch, Permelia Snyder Hatch (b. 1827) was a generation younger than this prominent Mormon midwife who recorded the detailed predictions of Sister Hatch's card-divination.⁴⁴⁰ Her husband was not related to Utah rodsman Isaac B. Hatch. However, at this time Permelia was a niece of Jane Snyder Richards, first wife of Apostle Franklin D. Richards. He soon married Laura Snyder, sister of card-diviner Permelia.⁴⁴¹ From Palmyra families onward, evidence indicates that siblings often had like-minded views about folk magic, and therefore it is likely that the apostle's wife shared her sister's interest in divination by cards.

Apparently not until 1883 was there public criticism of LDS women who participated in divination. In its November issue, the *Woman's Exponent* published

a brief article by "Ruth" who criticized young LDS women for going "to some one who shuffles a pack of cards, or turns a teacup to find out what their fortune is."⁴⁴² The editor was Emmeline B. Wells, polygamous wife of a current "counselor to the Quorum of the Twelve" and former counselor to Brigham Young.⁴⁴³ In view of later events, it is significant that she did not express such criticism as an official editorial or even in an article with a full byline.

Prominent Mormon women continued to seek occult guidance. These included Wilhelmina Cannon (b. 1859), daughter of Salt Lake stake president Angus M. Cannon, niece of First Presidency counselor George Q. Cannon, and polygamous wife of Seventy's president Abraham H. Cannon (who was also her first cousin). In 1887 her husband (soon to become a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles) wrote: "Mina, being troubled and unsettled about moving to her house, went to Madam Mizpah today who is said to have double sight and asked her advice. The woman offered to tell her whole history for \$1.00 to which Mina consented." Abram grouched: "I was annoyed that Mina should have anything to do with things of this kind that are of the devil and used as a trick to make people miserable."⁴⁴⁴

In fact, despite publishing the 1883 criticism of occult divination, Emmeline B. Wells (b. 1828) was interested in both "omens" and palmistry. In 1894 her diary referred to "the first man who had been inside [the new house] since I had moved in, and as he is dark complexioned it is said to be good luck." In 1901 she wrote: "A bird flew in last night—some say a bad omen [—] we shall see if it be or not." She also joined with other elite Mormon women in practicing palmistry. Her diaries do not indicate how long or often she participated, but she recorded one instance in 1902: "Sister Walden told Em's [Emmeline B.'s granddaughter] fortune in her hand also Anna Henderson's."⁴⁴⁵ This palm-reader was Augusta Montgomery Walden (b. 1866), who lived a few doors from Anna Henderson.⁴⁴⁶

Divination by cards also persisted among Mormon women. As previously noted, one of the reasons Rose Fordyse lost her temple recommend in 1918 was because she "tells fortunes by cards."⁴⁴⁷

In the official church magazine of November 1944, Apostle John A. Widtsoe referred to palmistry as one of the "superstitions."⁴⁴⁸ This was four years after the *Church Section* published an account of Lucy Mack Smith's practice of palmistry.

In 1949 the *Daughters of Utah Pioneers* published a testimonial of tea-leaf divination. Mary E. Hales wrote about an incident she observed (apparently in the 1890s): "Mrs. Angel asked Aunt Annie to tell her fortune in a tea cup," which her aunt did reluctantly "because she had been told it wasn't right for us to tell fortunes." This Mormon woman predicted a wedding and monetary gain for Mrs. Angel. "Well, in less than three weeks this lady married a prominent man and in less than three months they separated." The "old gentleman" gave his briefly-married wife a monetary settlement that was large in its day. Mary Hales saw this as evidence of her aunt's gift. This was part of the annual "lesson" material for the DUP.⁴⁴⁹

In 1960 a woman in Salt Lake City said that "a person's future may be revealed by the lines and markings in the palms of their hands," and in 1963 a

sixty-seven-year-old woman affirmed that "the future of a person can be determined by tea leaves." Thus, LDS headquarters had reason to include "Palm-reading" and "Tea-leaf Reading" in the LDS youth magazine's 1979 condemnation of occult practices.⁴⁵⁰

Although LDS headquarters denounced various forms of magic and the occult throughout the 1970s, this criticism became strangely silent after 1979. By the 1980s published evidence was mounting of Joseph Smith's involvement in folk magic. In 1987 anthropologist Barber found that "cards" were used by "several Mormon women in Utah who give predictive and healing blessings."⁴⁵¹

According to both printed indexes and computerized text of LDS publications, the next criticism of the occult did not occur until 1995. First presidency counselor James E. Faust warned: "The mischief of devil worship, sorcery, casting spells, witchcraft, voodooism, black magic, and all other forms of demonism should be avoided like the plague."⁴⁵² This condemnation omitted various forms of "white magic" (see Intro.), such as palmistry, astrology, divining rods, and folk magic's treasure-quest.

New Manifestations of the Occult

Beyond Joseph Smith's known pre-1830 experiences, new expressions of the occult or magic surfaced in the nineteenth-century Mormon church. Most prominent were teachings of the Jewish Cabala,⁴⁵³ the practice of alchemy, the "scientific" occultism of phrenology, the pyramidology of Protestant evangelicalism, and certain Christian primitivist dimensions of healing by folk magic.

Cabalistic Occultism

In its summary of the kinds of occult works already in print by 1828, a New York magazine included "text books of Cabala."⁴⁵⁴ From the translation of H. C. Agrippa's occult handbook in 1651, to the final edition of pseudo-Agrippa's handbook of rituals in 1783, to Francis Barrett's *The Magus* in 1801, various occult works had provided English versions of the Cabala's occultism. Although Agrippa's works went out-of-print, several rationalist authors complained about the continued circulation of his books and ideas.⁴⁵⁵ In 1827 Palmyra's newspaper gave the table of contents for a periodical that featured an article on Agrippa, including one of his book's views about the Cabala. This periodical was on sale locally.⁴⁵⁶ In 1828 Palmyra's newspaper published a story which portrayed Agrippa favorably as "the Magician" and "dealer in wonders."⁴⁵⁷

More comprehensive views of cabalistic philosophy were also available. For example, in 1733 Bernard Picart's *Ceremonies and Religious Customs* explained that the "Cabala is divided into speculative and practical," the latter of which involved Jewish "Talismans, the Magic Power of their Characters, and many other Things of the like Nature ..."⁴⁵⁸ From 1732 to 1748 four English editions of Johann A. Eisenmenger's *Traditions of the Jews* had devoted a twenty-five-page section to the Cabala itself, with many other references to it throughout his two-volume study of Jewish teachings. In one of those passing references Eisenmenger wrote: "Some Rabbins, particularly those who are *Cabbalists*, look upon Necromantick Knowledge to be a necessary Qualification for a Seat in the Sanhedrim or grand

council and Court of Justice among the Ancient Jews" (emphasis in original).⁴⁵⁹ In the early 1800s William Enfield's *History of Philosophy* explained that the "concealed doctrine of the Jews was called the Cabbala ... They derive these mysteries from Adam ... they were restored, by special revelation to Abraham ... [and] the revelation was renewed to Moses."⁴⁶⁰ With three printings by 1819, Enfield's book was on sale near Smith's home from 1804 to 1828.⁴⁶¹

John Allen's 1816 *Modern Judaism* (second edition in 1830) had thirty pages specifically on the Cabala, with scattered references throughout his book. Allen also frequently cited Eisenmenger's work. Allen observed: "The practical [Cabala] is nothing more than a system of magic ..."⁴⁶²

Thus, John Allen published his study of the Cabala during Joseph Smith's youth and issued its second edition the same year Smith published the *Book of Mormon*. In addition, a less detailed study of the Cabala was on sale in Smith's neighborhood. This certainly does not support the claim of FARMS polemicist William J. Hamblin that the Mormon prophet lived in "the period of kabbalism's least influence—between its decline in the mid-eighteenth century and its revival in the late nineteenth."⁴⁶³

In fact, Joseph Smith's diary commented on a doctrine of the Cabala in November 1835. During two days of private conversations with Robert Matthews (Matthias, "Joshua the Jew"), this religious radical spoke of a doctrine which Smith described as "transmigration of soul or spirit." The Mormon prophet wrote: "I told him that his doctrine was of the Devil."⁴⁶⁴ This was the doctrine of reincarnation, and "only with the spread of the Cabala did it begin to take root in Judaism."⁴⁶⁵

Both Eisenmenger and John Allen used the term "transmigration of the souls" and discussed its emphasis in the Cabala. Eisenmenger devoted fifty-three pages to this doctrine, while Allen gave it fourteen pages.⁴⁶⁶ However, it was absent from other contemporary discussions of the Cabala in encyclopedias and religious dictionaries.⁴⁶⁷ In 1833 a concluding volume of *Encyclopaedia Americana* mentioned Judaism in only one phrase of a two-page entry about "transmigration of the soul," and instead emphasized the popularity of this doctrine among ancient pagans and among the religions of Asia. There was no mention of this doctrine in the *Americana's* entry on the Cabala.⁴⁶⁸

Smith's diary entry suggests that he himself, rather than "Joshua the Jew," used the term "transmigration of soul or spirit." The Mormon prophet was already familiar with this term, since the church periodical in 1832 quoted a British article about "the Hindoo creed" concerning "the transmigration of souls." In June 1835 this was reprinted at church headquarters in Kirtland, Ohio.⁴⁶⁹ If Smith did not previously associate this doctrine with Judaism, "Joshua the Jew" made that connection in November 1835. A week after this doctrinal dispute, a local newspaper reported that Smith allowed "the notorious MATTHIAS" to continue preaching "among the Mormons, at Kirtland."⁴⁷⁰

The official LDS newspaper contained the first specific reference to the Cabala in May 1842. As editor of *Times and Seasons*, Joseph Smith reprinted an article from London's *Jewish Intelligencer*, which referred to the "Cabala" and to teachings of the "Sohar" (*Zohar*) about the "three degrees" (see ch. 6). His

editorial comment of one full column almost equalled the size of the reprint, but did not mention the *Zohar* or the Cabala. Instead Smith emphasized the “consummate ignorance” of Protestants for “quoting the New Testament to the Jews, as proof of the divine mission of Jesus Christ.”⁴⁷¹

Also in 1842 was the first English edition of the writings of Manasseh ben Israel. Although this had only a six-page section on the Cabala, each time he gave a “Reconciliation” of difficult passages in the Hebrew Bible, he often noted that “the Cabalistic theologians maintain the contrary” or “the cabalistical theologians ... are of a different opinion.”⁴⁷²

In June 1843 *Times and Seasons* (now edited by Apostle John Taylor) began publishing Alexander Neibaur’s two installments on “THE JEWS.” Neibaur was a Jewish convert from London, and this was Mormonism’s first explicit instruction about the Cabala.⁴⁷³ Even polemicist Hamblin has acknowledged it is “indisputable” that “Neibaur mentions or cites from kabbalistic texts in an article in *Times and Seasons*.”⁴⁷⁴

Nevertheless, Hamblin wrote a seventy-five-page FARMS attack on an article by Lance S. Owens that cabalistic ideas influenced Joseph Smith’s teachings.⁴⁷⁵ Claiming special credentials to write about the Cabala,⁴⁷⁶ Hamblin actually misrepresented scholarly understanding of the Cabala—both current and at Smith’s time.

For example, Hamblin claimed: “Although kabbalistic literature uses anthropomorphic language extensively, the kabbalists were insistent that such language was strictly metaphorical and did not literally describe the nature of God.”⁴⁷⁷ His polemic frequently cited three Jewish scholars of the Cabala, but did not acknowledge that they specifically contradicted Hamblin’s claim. Gershom Scholem wrote of the Cabala’s “almost provocatively conspicuous anthropomorphism,” and Moshe Idel wrote that the *Zohar* “is manifestly anthropomorphic.” Elliot R. Wolfson insisted that “in the Kabbalah we are dealing with a full human form” of God.⁴⁷⁸ Hamblin also willfully ignored Scholem’s emphasis that medieval Jewish scholar Moses Maimonides rejected the Cabala because it described God as having a body.⁴⁷⁹

Allen’s hook gave the scholarly assessment of the early 1800s concerning the cabalists: “They represent Deity—as existing in a human form ...”⁴⁸⁰ Hamblin emphasized his own view of the Cabala’s content, while English-language scholarship of the Cabala in the early 1800s anticipated Joseph Smith’s statement in 1843: God, “the Father has a body of flesh and bones as tangible as man’s; the Son also ...” (D&C 130:22). Modern scholars (at least the reputable ones) do not disagree with Allen’s statement, nor would they regard Smith’s statement as inconsistent with the Cabala’s view.

Likewise concerning polytheism, John Allen also quoted the same passage about “three degrees” from the *Zohar* that was in Smith’s 1842 excerpt. With editions in 1816 and 1830, this book prefaced the same quote by “observing that there are numerous passages in the Cabbalistic writings, which are far more intelligible on the supposition that their authors had some belief of a plurality in the divine being, and that plurality a trinity, than they are upon any other supposition.” This was also Eisenmenger’s previously published view.⁴⁸¹ On the

other hand, Hamblin has insisted: "Although some Jewish opponents of Kabbalism accused them of polytheism, the Kabbalists themselves rejected this criticism."⁴⁶² While Hamblin's argument may be technically true, it is beside the point: English-language scholarship in the early 1800s maintained that the Cabala promoted the idea that there was more than one God. That is the obvious answer to Hamblin's rhetorical question: "Why is the [Mormon] concept of the plurality of gods found in 1832, if it derives from the *Zohar*?"⁴⁶³

Smith's 1832 revelation (D&C 76:57-58) announced that mortals who become "priests of the Most High, after the order of Melchizedek ... as it is written, they are gods, even the sons of God." His 1843 revelation (D&C 132:20) proclaimed: "Then shall they be gods, because they have all power, and the angels are subject unto them." In April 1844 Smith's King Follett Discourse instructed Mormons that "you have got to learn how to be gods yourselves, and to be kings and priests to God, the same as all gods have done before you," and eleven days before his death in June the prophet said: "I wish to declare I have always and in all congregations when I have preached on the subject of Deity, it has been the plurality of Gods."⁴⁶⁴

Regarding the King Follett Discourse, Hamblin relentlessly attacked the claim of Owens that Joseph Smith derived the following statements from the Cabala: "The head God called together the Gods and sat in grand council to bring forth the world," and: "In the beginning, the head of the Gods called a council of the Gods; and they came together and concocted [prepared] a plan to create the world and people it."⁴⁶⁵ Instead, Hamblin claimed that these ideas and phrasing were Smith's unique contributions, yet based on the Bible. Hamblin asserted: "The ideas that Joseph allegedly borrowed from kabbalism are also found in biblical texts," but this FARMS polemicist well knows there is no biblical reference to "council of the Gods."⁴⁶⁶

Contrary to Hamblin, Joseph Smith apparently borrowed this idea directly from Eisenmenger's *Traditions of the Jews* (last published in 1748). In his discussion of the seventy angels who figure so prominently in the Cabala, Eisenmenger wrote: "The Seventy Princes are called *Elohim*, i.e. Gods. ... They are also called God's Council; and the Words, *Go to, let us go down, and there confound the Language*, are said to have been spoken of them" (emphasis in original).⁴⁶⁷ Smith adopted this polytheistic use of *Elohim* and the concept of God's Council of Gods, then shifted those concepts from Eisenmenger's discussion about the Tower of Babel. Before the King Follett Discourse applied Eisenmenger's concepts and phrasing to the creation-account a few chapters earlier in Genesis, Smith had already applied this "let us go down" phrasing to the creation. Smith's translation/revelation of the writings of Abraham (4:1) stated: "And then the Lord said: Let us go down. And they went down at the beginning, and they, that is the Gods, organized and formed the heavens and the earth." This "let us go down" phrase is not in Genesis 1 or 2 about the creation, but was in Genesis 11:7 about the Tower of Babel, where Eisenmenger emphasized *Elohim* and a Council of Gods. In its discussion of the Hebrew Bible's verses regarding Babel, the 1842 English version of *Manasseh ben Israel* did not refer to *Elohim* or to Gods.⁴⁶⁸

The Mormon prophet's reading of Eisenmenger's book on Judaism also explains a matter that has long puzzled many Mormons.⁴⁸⁹ As the Greek version of the name Elijah, the biblical use of "Elias" occurs only in the New Testament.⁴⁹⁰ During Joseph Smith's youth, neighborhood newspapers advertised biblical dictionaries which did not even index the name "Elias," and in later life Smith definitely owned one of these.⁴⁹¹ In the early 1800s most biblical dictionaries simply stated: "ELIAS. See ELIJAH," with no explanation. This included Alexander Cruden's *Concordance*, which was on sale near Palmyra,⁴⁹² as well as the name-index in the Bible edition owned by both Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum.⁴⁹³ A few dictionaries gave the explanation in the early 1800s that the biblical name Elias was "the same as Elijah."⁴⁹⁴ However, in 1836 (D&C 110:12) Joseph Smith referred to Elias as an angel who held the priesthood keys for "the dispensation of the gospel of Abraham," as if Elias were a name in the Hebrew Bible.

This contradicted biblical dictionaries available in the 1820s and 1830s, yet Smith's use of the name Elias reflected earlier English-language publications about the Cabala. Jacques Basnage's 1708 study of Judaism commented about "these apparitions of Elias" to medieval cabalists.⁴⁹⁵ However, subsequently it was Eisenmenger's *Traditions of the Jews* which described Elias as both an ancient and modern messenger: "as we find it set forth in *Emek Hammelech* in the following Manner: 'The Prophet Elias is the Angel Sandelson ... but in the Treatise *Anunda Schibba* it is said, 'Elias has been an Angel which did come down from Heaven, that he might dwell among those below on the Earth.'" Significantly, Eisenmenger also wrote: "That Elias makes his Appearance frequently here on Earth to one or other, is set forth in the *Jalkut Rubeni* ..." (emphasis in original).⁴⁹⁶ Thus, he provided an emphatic basis for Smith's 1836 view of Elias as a Hebrew name and as an angel known to the children of Abraham. As noted, Eisenmenger's book also seems to be the direct source for the prophet's 1844 statement about a Council of Gods who began the creation by saying: "Let us go down." In the Mormon view of revelation (see ch. 6), Smith's reading of Eisenmenger's *Traditions of the Jews* would be a catalyst for the prophet's own inquiries and independent revelations, yet this source also gives a context for understanding such epiphanies.

Even Smith's 1844 emphasis on the word *Bereshit*⁴⁹⁷ reflected centuries of emphasis by English authors. During the Renaissance, Robert Fludd's writings used the word "Bereshith" as a generic term for the "true Kabbalah."⁴⁹⁸ This emphasis came from the cabalistic phrase "*ma'aseh bereshit* (literally, 'the work of creation')."⁴⁹⁹ Basnage explained: "Salomon Meir only took for his Text the first Word of Genesis, *Bereschit* in the beginning, wherein he found all the Mysteries of the Christian Religion" (emphasis in original).⁵⁰⁰ The English version of Manasseh ben Israel also noted briefly that cabalists "say that the word 'Bereshit' contains many mysteries." However, in his own commentary on Genesis 1:1, Manasseh did not even mention the first word in the Hebrew Bible and declined to summarize what "has been written in a cabalistic sense on this subject."⁵⁰¹ John Allen gave the longest discussion in 1816 and 1830: "Bereshith, literally translated, signifies *In the beginning of*, leaving an ellipsis, which some have supplied by inserting *all* ... This elliptical form of expression was used by God, not for want of other words, but from design, to indicate some hidden mystery" (emphasis in

original).³⁰² In 1844 Joseph Smith explained this mystery by affirming that a Council of Gods created the earth "in the beginning."

In a clear misrepresentation of the English-language understanding of the Cabala in the early 1800s, Hamblin has also written: "Although the *Zohar* has a complicated understanding of creation by emanation, its fundamental understanding of *bara* is 'to create' *ex nihilo*."³⁰³ By contrast, Allen's study of the Cabala explained this matter to English and American readers of Joseph Smith's generation: "1. From nothing, nothing can be produced.—This is the foundation or principal point of the whole Cabbalistic philosophy, and of all the emanative system ... 2. There is no essence or substance, therefore, which has proceeded from nothing, or been created out of nothing."³⁰⁴ It was the concept of creation *nihil ex nihilo*.

Compare this English-language understanding of the Cabala in the early 1800s with Smith's rejection of creation *ex nihilo*: "You ask the learned doctors why they say the world was made out of nothing ... And they infer, from the word create, that it must have been made out of nothing. Now the word create came from the word *baurau*, which does not mean to create out of nothing; it means to organize ... Hence, we infer that God had materials to organize the world out of chaos—chaotic matter, which is element ..." (emphasis in original).³⁰⁵ By repeatedly emphasizing his own 1990s view of the Cabala and imposing it on Joseph Smith's time, historian Hamblin is engaging in the "fallacy of presentism."³⁰⁶

Worse, Hamblin also misrepresents current scholarship on this matter. Scholem wrote of the Cabala's "radical transformation of the doctrine of *creatio ex nihilo* into a mystical theory stating the precise opposite of what appears to be the literal meaning of the phrase." This modern Jewish scholar explained that creation in the Cabala involved "the primordial element behind the nought and underlying all existence." Hamblin had read Scholem's study before this BYU historian wrote his polemical review for FARMS.³⁰⁷

Allen's publication on the Cabala in the early 1800s was also very close to some of Smith's revelatory statements. Continuing the previously quoted discussion, Allen explained: "5. Hence it follows [in "Cabbalistic philosophy"], that there is no such essence as matter, properly so called, in the universe. 6. The conclusion deducible from these premises is,—that all that exists is *spirit*. 7. This spirit is uncreated, eternal, intellectual, sentient, possessing inherent life and motive power, filling immensity, and self-existing by necessity of nature" (emphasis in original). Allen added: "Before the creation or emanation of the universe, all space was filled with the infinite light. There was no vacuum, or empty space ..." ³⁰⁸ Before Neibaur's Mormon conversion (but after Allen's book on the Cabala), Smith's revelation (D&C 88:7, 12) declared that "the light of Christ" comes "from the presence of God to fill the immensity of space." Another revelation (D&C 93:29) stated: "Intelligence, or the light of truth, was not created or made, neither indeed can be." Smith also instructed (D&C 131:7): "There is no such thing as immaterial matter. All spirit is matter, but it is more fine or pure ..."

In fact, Smith's phrase "Which light proceedeth forth from the presence of God to fill the immensity of space" (D&C 88:12) seems to be a conflation of Allen's two phrases "filling immensity" and "all space was filled with the infinite

light." This is one evidence that the Mormon prophet had previously read John Allen's study of the Cabala (first published in 1816). Neither "immensity" nor "immense" was in the King James Version of the Bible.⁵⁰⁹

Another evidence for the influence of John Allen's book is Smith's use of the technical word "coeval" (meaning, of the same duration of existence or coexistent). In 1816 and 1830 Allen used "coeval" in his discussion of the nature of God in the Cabala and *Zohar*.⁵¹⁰ Five months after quoting a statement about the "Sohar" as editor of *Times and Seasons*, editor Joseph Smith in October 1842 used the phrase "coeval with their existence."⁵¹¹ Concerning Smith's King Follett Discourse of April 1844, Louis C. Zucker wrote: "The sermon was taken down by four faithful and trained reporters, but their composite record was not free from errors. Ira N. Hayward has pointed out that the recorded statement 'The mind or intelligence which man possesses is coequal with God himself' should probably read '... coeval with God himself.'" In other words, the Mormon scribes mistook Smith's spoken use of "coeval" in the 1844 sermon for the similar-sounding "coequal," which was a more familiar word to the scribes.⁵¹² The *Times and Seasons* demonstrates that eighteen months before the King Follett Discourse, Smith was using the phrase "coeval with their existence."

I agree with Hamblin that "the real question here is what primary sources were available in the early 1840s—to which Joseph had access ..."⁵¹³ However, this polemicist demonstrates either an ignorance of the English-language sources available to Joseph Smith or a refusal to acknowledge to FARMS readers that those sources existed for the Cabala in the 1840s.

Since Joseph Smith had little knowledge of Aramaic ("Chaldee") and only rudimentary facility with Hebrew, Hamblin is probably correct in denying that the Mormon prophet examined those previously published texts of the Cabala.⁵¹⁴ However, it is ironic for this LDS polemicist to stridently insist that Smith could not have understood the Aramaic/Hebrew text of the *Zohar*, since Hamblin just as stridently insists that Smith understood the "reformed Egyptian" text of the *Book of Mormon*.⁵¹⁵ Neither text was accessible to Smith through his actual knowledge of Near Eastern languages. He could have also understood sections of the *Zohar* by the same "gift and power of God" which rendered the Mormon text into English (see ch. 5). In any event, a Jewish convert was on hand to verbally summarize his knowledge of at least one Hebrew book about the Cabala (see below), while Eisenmenger's and Allen's books on the Cabala in English were the apparent sources for some of the Mormon prophet's own phrasing and concepts.

By the time of his death in 1844, Joseph Smith had also reversed his prior rejection of the Cabala's doctrine of "transmigration of the souls." Two of the women Smith secretly married as plural wives in the 1840s said that he privately affirmed reincarnation. Apostle Lorenzo Snow said that "his sister, the late Eliza R. Snow Smith, was a firm believer in the principle of reincarnation and that she claimed to have received it from Joseph the Prophet, her husband." Prescendia Huntington Buell (later Kimball) also affirmed her belief in "plural probations," referring to a statement "in confirmation" by her polyandrous husband Joseph Smith.⁵¹⁶ In the 1840s their polygamous relationship to the Mormon prophet was as secret as his conversion to reincarnation.⁵¹⁷

The year 1843 was probably when the Mormon prophet reconsidered his position on reincarnation. In June Neibaur's article was about the "very singular notions of the Jews, with regard to their resurrection," which was the term Neibaur used repeatedly and quoted his cabalistic sources as using. However, in one instance, the first of Neibaur's two articles said this concept was "called by them Gilgool."⁵¹⁸ This was an English phonetic spelling of "Gilgul (Heb.), transmigration of souls, metempsychosis. Kabbalistic doctrine (fr. 12th c.) that souls go through several bodies."⁵¹⁹ Since January 1843 Joseph Smith had noted that his "German Lesson" lasted as long as an hour-and-a-half, and his diary later mentioned that Neibaur was his personal instructor in both German and Hebrew.⁵²⁰ Neibaur's verified knowledge of the Cabala's doctrine of transmigration of the soul in 1843 provides one explanation for the Mormon prophet's conversion to the reincarnation doctrine he had previously condemned. Smith's apparent textual indebtedness to the books by Eisenmenger and Allen also demonstrates that he had access to their extensive discussions of the Cabala's doctrine of transmigration of souls.⁵²¹

Whether or not Brigham Young knew that the founding prophet had confided a belief in reincarnation, Smith's apostolic successor publicly condemned the doctrine of transmigration. In 1852 Young observed: "It has been, and is now, believed by numerous individuals, that the brute creation[s], by increase in knowledge and wisdom, change their physical or bodily organization, through numerous states of existence, so that the minutest insect, in the lapse of time, can take to itself the human form, and vice versa." Young declared: "This is one of the most inconsistent ideas that could be possibly entertained in the mind of man; it is called the transmigration of souls."⁵²²

In refutation, a year later Apostle Orson Pratt used the term "transmigration" to describe the very process Young had denounced. In his periodical *The Seer*, Pratt wrote: "there was an endless duration, and each particle of our spirits had an eternal existence, and was in possession of eternal capacities. ... A *transmigration of the same particles of spirits from a lower to a higher organization*, is demonstrated from the fact that the same particles exist in a diffused scattered state, mingled with other matter; next, they exist in a united form, growing out of the earth in the shape of grass, herbs, and trees; and after this, these vegetables become food for celestial animals, and are organized into their offspring, and thus form the spirits of animals. Here, then, is apparently a transmigration of the same particles of spirit from an inferior to a superior organization, wherein their condition is improved, and their sphere of action enlarged. Who shall set any bounds to *this upward tendency of spirit*? Who shall prescribe limits to its progression? If it abide the laws and conditions of its *several states of existence*, who shall say that it will not progress until it shall gain the very summit of perfection, and exist in all the glorious beauty of the image of God?" (emphasis added).⁵²³ Brigham Young and his counselors notified all Mormons that such ideas "as advanced by brother Pratt in an article in the *Seer*, entitled 'Pre-existence of man,' and in his treatise entitled 'Great First Cause,' are plausibly presented. But to the whole subject we will answer in the words of the Apostle Joseph Smith, on a similar occasion. ... 'It is not true.'"⁵²⁴

Lance S. Owens also claimed that in 1853-54 Orson Pratt used "a Rosicrucian emblem" when *The Seer* had a masthead with a radiant (all-seeing) eye inside a heart. Owens compared that to an illustration of a non-radiant eye-within-a-heart in a 1617 Latin book on Rosicrucianism.⁵²⁵ However, in English-language books as early as 1635, this emblem (with a non-radiant eye) had no association with the Rosy Cross.⁵²⁶ Thus, without separate evidence that Pratt had an affinity for Christian occultism, there is no reason to conclude he adopted a symbol because of its similarity to an emblem that once had a connection with Rosicrucianism. Also, Pratt's symbol used a radiant eye, an important addition which moved beyond any demonstrable linkage to Rosicrucianism.

Polemicist Hamblin further attacked the discussion of Owens concerning the Cabala and Brigham Young's teachings. According to Owens: "The Adam-God doctrine may have been a misreading (or restatement) by Brigham Young of a Kabbalistic and Hermetic concept relayed to him by the prophet."⁵²⁷ Young's views on this matter are documented in multiple sermons during twenty-five years—from the LDS president's 1852 remarks in the Salt Lake Tabernacle to his 1877 "lecture at the veil" for the endowment ceremony as administered in the newly completed temple at St. George, Utah.⁵²⁸

First, Hamblin attacked the emphasis of Owens on "a Kabbalistic cipher: the numerical value in Hebrew of the names Adam and Jehovah (the Tetragrammaton, *Yod he vauv he*) was 45 for both. Thus in Kabbalistic exegesis Jehovah equaled Adam: Adam was God."⁵²⁹ In the nineteenth century, JHVH was the most common English-letter equivalent for the Tetragrammaton (see ch. 1). Hamblin disagreed with the numerical equivalents given by Owens: "Jehovah=Yahweh=YHWH does not equal 45, but 26" in "standard gematria" (the Cabala's system of giving numerical values to Hebrew characters). Hamblin insisted that one must use a "special system of gematria" before "the letters of YHWH can equal forty-five."⁵³⁰ Likewise, Basnage's 1708 *History of the Jews* and Allen's *Modern Judaism* in 1816 and 1830 gave a table showing that JHVH or YHVH [sic] equalled 26 in the Cabala's *Gematria*.⁵³¹ The 1842 English version of Manasseh ben Israel also specified that "the Tetragrammaton is numerically 26," yet noted that in the Cabala, 42, 45, 63, 86, 130, "and many other numbers proceed from the fountain-source of the Tetragrammaton."⁵³² Therefore, this 1842 English book simply noted that 45 was one of many cabalistic numbers for the Tetragrammaton, and gave no special emphasis to 45 as *the* number.

Concerning Owens's claim that Jehovah equalled 45 in "Kabbalistic cipher," Hamblin issued a challenge: "Are we to believe that Joseph Smith secretly transmitted such an idea to Brigham Young? The real question here is what primary sources were available in the early 1840s to which Joseph had access—that expounded this idea?"⁵³³ Although Hamblin was unaware of John Allen's book (or at least did not cite it for the benefit of FARMS readers), Allen's publication shows that standard studies of the Cabala "available in the early 1840s" were not the source for the idea that 45 was the numerical equivalent of the Tetragrammaton or Jehovah.

In other words, by the early 1840s what published sources used the "special system of gematria" that identified 45 as *the* mystical number for Jehovah? That

is easy to answer. Barrett's 1801 *The Magus* stated that 45 was the Hebrew-character number for "Jehovah extended." From 1823 to 1826 three editions of Buchan's occult paperback also stated that "45 [is] Tetragrammaton extended." Those authors were simply restating that 45 was the number for "Jehovah extended," as published in Agrippa's still-circulating *Occult Philosophy*.⁵³⁴ To the mid-1820s popular English-language handbooks of the occult used the "special system of gematria" that Hamblin assured FARMS readers was unknown to Joseph Smith's generation. In addition to providing 45 as the specific Hebrew number for God, Barrett's occult handbook was the direct source for Smith's Jupiter talisman (see ch. 3). As shown above, *The Magus* was also the source for the Mormon prophet's instructions to Alpheus Cutler in the 1840s.

Continuing his polemic against Owens's statements about the Adam-God doctrine, Hamblin next asserted: "Adam Kadmon, the Primordial Man of kabbalism, is not Adam the first man of the Garden of Eden."⁵³⁵ However, that was what readers could reasonably conclude from pre-1844 English-language publications about the Cabala.

In 1816 and 1830 John Allen wrote about "the first emanation of Deity, called Adam Kadmon."⁵³⁶ On sale in Joseph Smith's neighborhood, Enfield's *History of Philosophy* also referred to "ADAM KADMAN [sic], the First Man, the first production of Divine Energy, or, the Son of God."⁵³⁷ With more detail Basnage wrote: "The first Emanation, more perfect than the rest, is called *Adam Kadmon*, the first of all that was created in the beginning. His name is taken from Genesis, where God said, *Let us make man*, or *Adam*, in our Image, after our likeness; and this Name was given him ... As Man holds the first rank upon Earth, so the Celestial Adam enjoys it in Heaven ..." (emphasis in original).⁵³⁸ There was no mention of Adam Kadmon in the 1842 English version of Manasseh ben Israel's discussion of Genesis and the Cabala,⁵³⁹ but the above publications on Adam Kadmon had widespread circulation. Available near Smith's home throughout his youth,⁵⁴⁰ Enfield's book specifically stated that the Cabala's Adam Kadmon was "the First Man."

Contrary to Hamblin, early nineteenth-century readers had good reason to equate the Cabala's Adam Kadmon with "Adam the first man of the Garden of Eden." In fact, Basnage's previously published statement implied the Cabala taught that "the Celestial Adam" was co-creator of Eden's Adam. This was very close to Joseph Smith's teachings that Adam "obtained the First Presidency ... in the Creation,"⁵⁴¹ and to Brigham Young's teachings about Adam-God who instructed the first man (Adam) in Eden. In his FARMS version of the Cabala, it is polemicist William J. Hamblin himself who "demonstrates an unfamiliarity with many important secondary sources and recent scholarship, which leads to numerous errors of fact and interpretation."⁵⁴²

Still, I am not claiming that Brigham Young ever read Basnage, Enfield, or Allen. However, the evidence indicates that Joseph Smith had read John Allen's book and also Johann A. Eisenmenger's English-language study of the Cabala. Existing evidence (see ch. 6) shows that Joseph Smith read and possessed books about a wide range of subjects, including a book published 84 to 141 years before the founding prophet's verified ownership of the volume. Reading Basnage's

History of the Jews, for example, would be consistent with the founding prophet's interests and with his possession of a rare book of similar age. As a further consistency, Young credited the martyred prophet with teaching him the Adam-God doctrine.⁵⁴³

I have no special interest in arguing that Alexander Neibaur had a personal "library" of multiple books about the Cabala, either in Nauvoo or in Salt Lake City. At the least, he had carefully studied one book which cited other cabalistic studies.⁵⁴⁴

However, BYU historian William J. Hamblin misrepresented the facts when he insisted that cabalistic books, "despite their undoubtedly great value and bulk, they are not mentioned in Neibaur's estate."⁵⁴⁵ The Owens article specified that "documents relating to his estate do not list personal effects such as books. See documents relating to the estate of Alexander Neibaur, LDS archives."⁵⁴⁶ In his point-by-point "review" of the Owens article, Hamblin misled his readers into concluding that the estate inventory itemized Neibaur's books, which booklist allegedly did not contain any cabalistic works. Hamblin made this explicit: "Thus, only one book need have been misplaced or overlooked in Neibaur's estate, rather than an entire kabbalistic library." To limit the possibility that his readers might check the accuracy of his two statements about Neibaur's estate, Hamblin did not acknowledge Owens's explanation nor cite a source for Hamblin's claims about the estate.⁵⁴⁷ Devout Mormons do not deserve such tactics from a FARMS polemicist who has proclaimed: "I am proud to be a defender of the Kingdom of God."⁵⁴⁸

Alchemy

Alchemy was part of the family background of at least one prominent early Mormon. Converted in 1830 Reynolds Cahoon (b. 1790) served as counselor to Ohio's bishop Newel K. Whitney, as member of the Missouri Danites, as member of Joseph Smith's Anointed Quorum, and as founding member of Smith's theocratic Council of Fifty.⁵⁴⁹ His uncle Ehenezer Cahoon (b. 1763) was a physician who reported in 1788 that he successfully made "alchemical silver" from a base metal.⁵⁵⁰

The founding prophet himself had more distant connections to alchemy. His aunt Lydia married a second cousin twice-removed of Joseph Bill who spoke of his "experiments" in "the transmutation of metals."⁵⁵¹

Jacob Zundel (b. 1796) converted to Mormonism in 1836 after three decades of his family's affiliation with George Rapp's communitarian Harmony Society in Pennsylvania. As one evidence of Rapp's interest in the occult, his commune's prayer "Grotto" had a prominent illustration of "the blue and gold eight-pointed star of Zoroaster."⁵⁵² By then, various publications described Zoroaster as "one of the first magicians," or even as the father of magic.⁵⁵³ The Rappite library also had the complete works of Paracelsus, and Rapp himself began conducting "alchemical experiments" as early as 1827. In 1833 Zundel temporarily broke with Rapp and endorsed the alchemical claims of Bernard Muller ("Count Leon"). When Count Leon's promises of "gold began to fail, members of the New Philadelphia congregation began to leave" him. Three years later Zundel immediately con-

veried when an LDS missionary visited the Rappite community, even though "the Zundels were one of the most healthy, intelligent, pious, and idealistic families in the Harmony Society." After all, he had been twice-disaffected within this alchemical society.⁵⁵⁴

Zundel was the only early Mormon with a verified background of belief in alchemy.⁵⁵⁵ A decade after his LDS conversion, Zundel wrote that the recently dedicated temple in Nauvoo was "an image of the Sun Woman." Rapp had defined his alchemical commune as "the Sun Woman described in Revelation 12:1."⁵⁵⁶

However, contrary to John L. Brooke, I do not regard counterfeiting as the poor man's alchemy on the American frontier or in early Mormon culture. For example, when towns had incidents of both treasure-digging and counterfeiting, Brooke defined that as evidence of a shared a world view that was both metaphysical and hermetic.⁵⁵⁷ Yet the dynamics of the two activities were fundamentally different. Persons who accepted the treasure-quest had faith in an adept's metaphysical power with the divining rod, seer stone, "second sight," or ritual magic. Persons who accepted counterfeit coins as payment had no idea that they were produced by a person's private skills, and I find no credible evidence that American counterfeiters saw themselves as engaged in an alchemical quest. An early American town's incidents of counterfeiting involved no more metaphysical belief than the town's incidents of burglary, whereas the metaphysical was fundamental to participation in the treasure-quest of early America (see chs. 1-2). As I myself have demonstrated, counterfeiting was a significant dimension of early Mormon experience. Prominent Mormons accused other prominent Mormons of counterfeiting, but there was never any suggestion of alchemical belief or metaphysical context. Aside from illicit gain, taking vengeance on the "gentiles" was the only other motivation claimed by early Mormon counterfeiters.⁵⁵⁸

In the early years of pioneer Utah, Mormons made few references to alchemy. In 1856 Apostle Orson Pratt preached: "Again, alchymists tried for generations to transmute the coarser materials into gold, and hundreds of individuals have spent all their time in the pursuit of that vain phantom, when with a knowledge of the chemical properties already sought out, no one would ever think of accomplishing transmutation."⁵⁵⁹ Likewise, in 1857 the *Deseret News* published "The Philosopher's Stone," a poem that included: "What folly it seems to be striving to gain/ Heaven's alchemy with efforts so vain."⁵⁶⁰

However, nearly twenty years after Joseph Smith's murder, his private secretary manifested a sudden interest in alchemy. In March 1864 William Clayton subscribed to a New York City publication called *Cabala*, which primarily emphasized the alchemical transformation of base metals into precious metals. By May he and twelve other aspiring occultists had formed a secret Utah organization to study alchemy and perform experiments. Within a few months this short-lived organization had dozens of members. There were no LDS general authorities in pioneer Utah's secret society of alchemists, who called themselves the British Metallic Mutual Association.⁵⁶¹

This alchemical society included both English and American-born men, many of whom had local prominence in northern Utah.⁵⁶² Member of the Utah

legislature before and after joining this alchemical organization in 1864, David Evans was then-current bishop of Lehi and its former mayor. Charles A. Davis was serving as one of Lehi's city councilmen and as its postmaster. Jacob F. Hutchinson, formerly the presiding elder of Gunnison and member of the Utah legislature, was currently the notary public for Springville. A merchant in Springville, Nicholas H. Groesbeck's religiosity was sufficiently impressive for him to receive the LDS endowment at age fourteen. Aside from practicing alchemy, John Gerber served the people of northern Utah County as a Swiss-certified "doctor of Homeopathics." Thomas Winter had recently concluded his service as bishop of Salt Lake City's Fifth Ward, Jesse West was part-way through his forty years as bishopric counselor in the Sixth Ward, while Henry C. Jackson was a counselor in Paradise, Cache Valley. Among the presidents of their respective local Seventy's quorum were James M. Barlow, Thomas S. Hawkins, Charles J. Thomas, William Walker, and Elijah Thomas (a veteran of the Mormon Battalion). In addition, Charles J. Thomas was currently serving as director of the Mormon Tabernacle Choir and director of the Salt Lake Theatre orchestra. Honored as the martyred prophet's private secretary and known by many as a founding member of the theocratic Council of Fifty (in recess during 1864), William Clayton was secretary of the alchemical society and financial auditor for Utah Territory.⁵⁶³ While not LDS general authorities, nearly half of Utah's pioneer alchemists were part of the local Mormon elite.

Since most of these men were converts from Britain, they probably learned about anti-alchemy comments published by the LDS periodical there in October 1864. "Rosicrucians have striven after the secret elixir which would perpetuate youth and vigor, alchemists have toiled ... in fruitless efforts after that wonderful stone which could transmute everything into gold," began this article in the *Millennial Star*. It concluded that "only by the magic spell of Truth, plain and simple, attended by no mystic utterance or cabalistic charm that the baser metals of falsehood ... will give place to the rich and virgin gold of love and purity and goodness and truth."⁵⁶⁴ Nevertheless, despite the number and prominence of those involved, this group of aspiring alchemists in Utah did not receive attention or criticism from LDS leaders at headquarters.

In 1889 Mormon geologist James E. Talmage described alchemy in the periodical for Mormon boys. It "was indeed scarcely more than a cumhrous bundle of superstitions tied together with the fantasies of dreams," and he dismissed alchemy as a "branch of the 'black art.'"⁵⁶⁵

The longest discussion of alchemy in LDS sources occurred in January 1895. Joseph F. Merrill, then a professor of physics at the University of Utah, published a historical survey that equalled more than a full page of newspaper text in the *Deseret News*. Scholarly in format, the article had a primarily neutral tone, with only occasional references to "superstition" in the centuries of alchemical history that Merrill described.⁵⁶⁶ A few weeks earlier he had given this presentation as a lecture in the temple at Logan, Utah.⁵⁶⁷

By contrast, LDS chemist John A. Widtsoe dismissed alchemy with fewer words and greater harshness. In a 1904 article for the church's *Improvement Era*, Widtsoe referred to "the occult sciences, so-called,—alchemy, astrology, magic,

witchcraft, and all other abominations of the intellect."⁵⁶⁸ Beginning in 1905 Widtsoe republished this in his *Joseph Smith as a Scientist*, which also referred to "alchemy and other kindred occult absurdities."⁵⁶⁹ The last printing of these references to alchemy during Widtsoe's life was in 1920, a year before he became a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles.

Alchemy was an interesting exception in the published Mormon references to occult sciences and folk magic. Aside from Apostle Orson Pratt, general authorities rarely, if ever, commented on alchemy. Although Talmage, Merrill, and Widtsoe later entered the church's presiding quorums, they had previously commented about alchemy as scientists, rather than as church leaders.

A century after Clayton's short-lived alchemical society, Salt Lake City's alchemists were more public. In 1967 Albert Riedel (b. 1911) and his wife were president and vice-president of the Paracelsus Research Society, which offered "a two-week course on how to turn lead into gold." The Riedels were devout Mormons, and in 1971 he published a history of LDS missions in German-speaking countries. At the alchemical group's final listing in 1988 Emma Bohnke Riedel, now a widow, was president of the renamed Paracelsus College.⁵⁷⁰

Phrenology

For centuries, the occult included divination by "Physiognomy, that is ... the Observation of a Man's Shape." A seventeenth-century author explained that "this Art foretells things by the Looks, the Features and Lineaments of the Face, by which the Genius and Humour of Men are to be discovered." In the 1790s "phrenology" began performing the same function, which was very popular among Europeans and Americans by the 1830s.⁵⁷¹ Some contemporaries saw no difference between "scientific" phrenology and divination by physiognomy. An 1841 *Manual of the Occult Sciences* (published in Philadelphia) included phrenology in its subtitle. In 1854 a Boston author wrote that "the Wonders of Magic" included divination by examining a person's face and head, which he called "Ancient Phrenology."⁵⁷² In December 1898 John Ischy (b. 1840) sent money to a "Doctor of Astral Sciences" in Philadelphia for a "Horo-scope and Ring," and soon this Mormon made a notation equating "Physiognomy" with "Phrenology."⁵⁷³ Likewise, twentieth-century dictionaries of the occult have included phrenology.⁵⁷⁴ In 1987 the sixteen-volume *Encyclopedia of Religion* defined phrenology as "divination by head conformations" and listed it with "the use of tarot cards." Recent scholar Joscelyn Godwin has also referred to phrenology as "another occult science."⁵⁷⁵

Therefore, it is astonishing that BYU religion professor Stephen E. Robinson claimed in 1987: "A final example of [Quinn's] distortion by definition is the equation of phrenology with the 'occult.' There isn't any reason in the world to connect the nineteenth-century belief in phrenology with magic, the supernatural, or the occult."⁵⁷⁶ Robinson is another FARMS "polemical" reviewer.⁵⁷⁷

Joseph Smith initially accepted phrenology in the 1830s, yet privately condemned it the last four years of his life. In January 1841 he confided that he had received a "Revelation [sic], the Lord Rebuking him sharply in Crediting such a thing & further Said there was no Reality in such a science But was the works of

the Devil."⁵⁷⁸ The latter phrase showed that the Mormon prophet agreed with those of his contemporaries who regarded phrenology as an occult science. In October 1843 Smith also challenged the basic assumptions of phrenology in "a pretty warm debat[e]" with a practicing phrenologist.⁵⁷⁹ As a public contradiction to his private views, however, the LDS president continued to allow phrenologists to do readings for him. Smith's brother William, an apostle, even published these phrenology charts for the church president and others in the church's political magazine at headquarters.⁵⁸⁰ These still appear in the official history of the church (fig. 90).⁵⁸¹

Therefore, in contrast to his private views, the founding prophet's public actions toward phrenology encouraged Mormons of all ranks to embrace it. In June 1844 New York City's LDS periodical *The Prophet* prominently advertised "Mormon Books" in one column and phrenology hooks in another (fig. 91). Its editor was Apostle William Smith. After he left the editorship in November, this same ad-layout continued through the end of March 1845, when the church newspaper changed its name and format. During that time Samuel Brannan was editor, while Apostle Parley P. Pratt was president "of the churches in the Eastern states" and co-editor.⁵⁸² By 1852 Utah's official library had five books with "phrenology" in their titles, two with "physiognomy," one with "phrenological," plus all volumes of the *American Phrenological Journal* from its beginning.⁵⁸³

Members of the First Presidency and Quorum of Twelve Apostles continued to have phrenological readings (some of which were also published). This included Hyrum Smith, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Pratt, Willard Richards, Wilford Woodruff, George A. Smith, John E. Page, Amasa M. Lyman, Charles C. Rich, George Q. Cannon, Daniel H. Wells, Abraham H. Cannon, Matthias F. Cowley, and Orson F. Whitney (figs. 92-93).⁵⁸⁴ In 1855 the *Deseret News* printed Counselor Kimball's chart on the front page.⁵⁸⁵

On the other hand, like many early Americans, George Q. Cannon regarded both spiritualism and phrenology as part of the occult. As an apostle in 1865 he preached against "spirit-rappers, astrologers, fortune tellers, and phrenologists."⁵⁸⁶

Nevertheless, some of Cannon's associates in the Mormon hierarchy regarded phrenology as both true and spiritually significant. First Presidency secretary and Seventy's president in 1890, George Reynolds "gave considerable credence to phrenological readings, giving as much attention to them as he did to patriarchal blessings."⁵⁸⁷ When Rudger Clawson became a member of the Quorum of the Twelve in 1898, "he said a Phrenologist had once predicted that he would yet become an apostle."⁵⁸⁸ This is an example of why "scientific" phrenology's critics classed it with the occult sciences. Like astrology and other forms of occult divination, phrenology predicted events in people's lives. That is why Mormons like Seventy's president George Reynolds and Apostle Rudger Clawson valued it, and why First Presidency counselor George Q. Cannon (who died in 1901) opposed it.

Some Mormons, including church leaders, supported phrenology until the 1940s. Former LDS missionary Nephi Y. Schofield (a trained phrenologist) examined LDS president Wilford Woodruff in 1897 and published his

phrenograph in a national journal. Church periodicals published phrenological articles until 1929. Initially, a Utah phrenological journal had financial support from LDS headquarters. Published by former missionary, John T. Miller, this *Character Builder* continued until the 1940s (fig. 94).⁵⁸⁹

Thereafter, Mormons generally ignored phrenology. A scholarly study noted: "If phrenology was ultimately treated as a curiosity by most Mormons, this was due largely to the adequacy of Mormonism as a theology and a religion."⁵⁹⁰

Phrenology was no longer popular, but also not forgotten among Mormons. From the 1950s to the 1960s folklorists found continued belief by Salt Lake City's residents that "futures can be read from the bumps on a person's skull."⁵⁹¹ In 1979 the LDS youth magazine (correlated by church headquarters) included "Phrenology" in its attack on occult divination.⁵⁹²

Pyramidology and Numerology

Mormon interest in pyramidology was less enduring. From the mid-nineteenth century onward, a number of Protestant authors proclaimed that the architectural measurements of the Great Pyramid of Cheops contained a hidden numerical code for world chronology that proved Judeo-Christian claims.⁵⁹³ Protestant evangelicals tried to separate the construction of the Great Pyramid from its magic context, and defined their own beliefs as religious rather than occult. Nonetheless, outside observers typically classified "pyramidology" as part of the occult.⁵⁹⁴

In the late 1870s prominent Mormons embraced this occult interpretation of the Great Pyramid. On 2 December 1878 the church's British periodical editorialized: "We look upon the discoveries in, and the theories with regard to the Pyramid, as outside corroborative evidence of the authenticity of the translations of Joseph Smith."⁵⁹⁵ Two weeks later the *Deseret News* published a Protestant author's article, "The Prophecy In the Great Pyramid About the Coming Years, 1881-82." Apostle-editors George Q. Cannon and Brigham Young, Jr., added an editorial which endorsed the non-Mormon's article and cited these Pyramid studies as verifying LDS events and theology.⁵⁹⁶

Aside from his support of phrenology, in March 1879 George Reynolds began using pyramidology to support "the genuineness" of the Book of Abraham. His hook on this subject stated: "This stupendous four-sided monument ... typifies the number of days, according to the reckoning of the Lord and of Koloh, between the fall of man and the incarnation of our Savior (4000 years), and the time between the date of its own construction and the organization of the Church of Jesus Christ in the last days (also 4000 years). Two of the most important events then in the future of the world's history."⁵⁹⁷

In April 1879 editors Cannon and Young reaffirmed "OUR INTEREST IN THE GREAT PYRAMID," and a month later editorialized about "THE GREAT PYRAMID AND THE LAST DISPENSATION."⁵⁹⁸ In April, May, and June, the *Juvenile Instructor* published shorter versions.⁵⁹⁹ Also in May 1879 the British periodical reported Apostle Orson Pratt's calculation that the Great Pyramid "demonstrated, by plain figures, that it reached the Pyramid date of April 6th 1830, the exact day on which the Church and Kingdom of God was organized,

by the revelation and commandment of the Most High."⁶⁰⁰ Pratt stated these views in his 1880 talk to general conference.⁶⁰¹

In 1880 Apostle Joseph F. Smith also used pyramidology to support then-current Mormon belief that the second coming of Christ would occur in 1891.⁶⁰² In a letter to former apostle William E. McLellin, Apostle Smith referred to the founding prophet's teachings about that year, "which is so clearly pointed out in the measurements of the Great Pyramid."⁶⁰³ In 1881 *Deseret News* editor Charles W. Penrose complained that "the subject of the Great Pyramid of Egypt and its relation to prophecy and sacred history has not been much agitated of late, although many persons are deeply interested in the wonderful 'miracle in stone' that stands as a witness of the knowledge and skill of the ancients."⁶⁰⁴ In 1886 the LDS young men's magazine printed an article about pyramidology.⁶⁰⁵

In 1907 non-nonsense geologist James E. Talmage referred to numerology concerning the Hill Cumorah, from which Joseph Smith obtained the gold plates (see ch. 5). New York state's secretary of the Geological Society of America did a precise measurement of the hill and "found the crest to be exactly 700 feet above the base. He commented on the precise height, saying that it was 'accurately 100 times the sacred number, 7.'"⁶⁰⁶ Talmage's non-committal report of this statement indicates that he had no objection against someone making a numerological association with sacred events and places of Mormon history. In fact, such association was why pyramidology had appealed to Mormons for decades.

The Mormon endorsement of occult pyramidology reached its apex in 1926. Anthony W. Ivins, first counselor in the First Presidency, told the church's general conference: "It indicates ... some great event was to occur on the 6th or 7th day of April ... Its measurements indicate the beginning of the great war in 1914, and its termination in 1918."⁶⁰⁷ In 1931 the church's *Deseret News* Publishing Company printed a pyramidology book, *Our Bible in Stone*.⁶⁰⁸

However, Apostle John A. Widtsoe noted that Protestant pyramidology went into decline because its principal exponent David Davidson had fixed "the year 1936 as the end of the gospel chronology. That year has come and gone." As a marked departure from the enthusiasm of President Ivins nineteen years earlier, Widtsoe informed the readers of the church's official magazine in 1945: "No real foretelling from the pyramid has come to pass."⁶⁰⁹ Pyramidology was based on belief in numerology, which Widtsoe had dismissed in 1944 as one of the "superstitions."⁶¹⁰

Nevertheless, numerology continued to appeal to some Mormons. Described variously as "lucky," "unlucky," "mystical," "magic," "a good charm," and "mystic," the numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 21, 33, 42, and all odd numbers still have special meaning to the people of Utah.⁶¹¹

As late as 1972 the LDS church's publishing company printed a sympathetic reference to numerology. In an official biography of an LDS president, its two authors wrote: "If one believed in numerology he might find significance in the fact that each of Joseph Fielding [Smith]'s three wives had married him in a year ending in the figure 8: Louie in 1898, Ethel in 1908, and Jessie in 1938. At least it is an interesting coincidence." Then Smith's son and his co-author extended their numerological commentary: "And it is interesting to note that the figure 8

is formed by two circles, and the circle, as the Prophet Joseph Smith illustrated with his ring, symbolizes the eternal."⁶¹² However, as part of the growing concern at church headquarters about Mormon participation in occult sciences, the LDS magazine included numerology in its 1979 condemnation.⁶¹³

Nevertheless, the LDS church's former embrace of pyramidology had an interesting echo in 1988. Citing readings of the Great Pyramid by occultists Kenneth Lloyd Larson and Edgar Cayce, a book on *Pyramid Prophecies* noted that pyramidology "fits quite well with the Mormon doctrines of the early migration of people from Africa to the Northwestern Hemisphere."⁶¹⁴ LDS headquarters and many Mormons may dispute that author's statement for more than one reason, but some people believe there is still a Pyramid-Mormon connection.

Healing Objects

Protestant evangelicals have long found it difficult to ignore the magic dimensions of Paul's sending a blessed handkerchief to heal people (Acts 19:12; ch. 1). The first-known example of this practice in Mormon culture occurred in 1837, while LDS apostles were proselytizing in England. Heber C. Kimball wrote: "Many scores of persons were healed by our sending a handkerchief to them."⁶¹⁵ During the Twelve's second mission in Britain, Apostle Wilford Woodruff also noted in January 1840: "we need as much faith as St. Paul had that at the touch of our garments or hankerchiefs [sic] that they might be healed."⁶¹⁶

Apostle Woodruff explained that the LDS president endorsed this use of healing objects in 1839. A father asked Joseph Smith to travel some distance to heal his children: "The Prophet said he could not go; hut, after pausing some time, he said he would send some one to heal them; and he turned to me and said: 'You go with the man and heal his children.' He took a red silk handkerchief out of his pocket and gave it to me, and told me to wipe their faces with the handkerchief when I administered to them, and they should be healed. ... I went with the man, and did as the Prophet commanded me, and the children were healed. I have possession of the handkerchief unto this day."⁶¹⁷ In 1857 Woodruff healed his daughter of a lung ailment by placing "Joseph Smith's silk Handkerchief" on her stomach.⁶¹⁸ Lester E. Bush, Jr., current physician and Mormon historian, has described this as "the magic-like use of the handkerchief" for healing.⁶¹⁹

Woodruff's daughter Clara W. Beebe loaned a healing handkerchief for display at the museum of the Daughters of Utah Pioneers from 1918 to 1919. The handkerchief's dimensions were 25" x 27" and it was "made of two pieces of red silk sewed along the edges. One side is dark red, the other scarlet, the design is the same, just 4 rows of 5 small, shaded white circles, with a single white circle dotting some distance between the groups. The handkerchief is very worn."⁶²⁰

Woodruff's great-granddaughter Emily Smith Stewart donated another handkerchief to the church's Nauvoo Restoration. Its label: "Wilford Woodruff's handkerchief—Prophet Joseph Smith's handkerchief, given to him in 1839, in connection with the miracle healings."⁶²¹ Of a different design and size than the previously-described healing object, this red silk handkerchief has paisley designs on a 31" x 34.5" surface that is worn through on the edges and creases (fig. 85).

Thus, Wilford Woodruff's family preserved two different red handkerchiefs for healing, both attributed to the founding prophet.

Mormons today typically refer to this as an isolated incident in which Smith responded spontaneously to the needs of the moment. However, in December 1836 Smith's father gave a patriarchal blessing to newly baptized Lorenzo Snow: "thy shadow shall restore the Sick; the diseased shall send to thee their aprons and handkerchiefs and by thy touch their owners may be made whole."⁶²² The church patriarch's blessing provided an LDS theological basis for the use of handkerchiefs for healing by the apostles in England during 1837. Aside from Apostle Wilford Woodruff's healing handkerchief, the younger Joseph Smith gave a "blessed handkerchief" for healing purposes to Newel Knight (b. 1800) and another one to Caroline Skeen Butler (b. 1812) in the 1840s.⁶²³ Heber C. Kimball proclaimed: "I have known Joseph, hundreds of times, [to] send his handkerchief to the sick, and they have been healed."⁶²⁴

With this kind of emphasis on the use of healing objects, it is not surprising that rank-and-file Mormons sent handkerchiefs to heal people. After George Halliday (b. 1823) gave a sermon in England during 1850, "a sister Ware asked me to go to her home and administer to her son who was very sick." Instead, this missionary said: "I took my pocket handkerchief and gave it to her, telling her to return home and place the handkerchief upon the child and pray." Upon returning home, her family told her that the boy was dead, "but she put the handkerchief over him and prayed earnestly to the Lord to restore him to life. Her prayer was answered, the child was miraculously healed and the next day was able to go downstairs and eat with the family." Elder Halliday added: "The hoy got well and subsequently came to Utah."⁶²⁵

No one was more active in healing through handkerchiefs than Lorenzo Snow, an apostle since 1849. Apostle Snow described his preparation of the healing-handkerchief he sent in 1866 to William Smith of Kaysville, Utah: "I took the handkerchief and a bottle of perfumery, and on retiring to my closet, I prayed, and then I consecrated the perfumery and sprinkled it on the handkerchief. I then again bowed before the Lord, and in earnest supplication besought Him to remember the promises He made through His servant, the Patriarch [Joseph Smith, Sr.], whom He had now taken to Himself, and let the healing and life-inspiring virtues of His Holy Spirit be imparted to this handkerchief, and from thence to Brother Smith when it shall be placed upon him, speedily restoring him to life, health, and vigor." His sister Eliza added: "As soon as the messenger returned, with the handkerchief neatly folded in an envelope, it was unfolded and spread over the head and face of Brother Smith, the apparently dying man, with almost instantaneous effect. His immediate recovery was observed with surprise and astonishment by all around ..."⁶²⁶

Lorenzo Snow continued using healing objects as LDS church president from 1898 to 1901, but expanded this to other textiles besides handkerchiefs. His son wrote: "I helieve my father ministered to the sick by the sending of blessed tokens, usually handkerchiefs, more than all other similar accounts in recent history." Snow even blessed "the peculiar green apron" of the LDS endowment and sent it to heal people "several times." However, this apostle and president preferred

white silk handkerchiefs as healing-objects. Mark Leslie Nichols used his Snow-blessed handkerchief as an amulet: "I received it about December, 1891, pinned it to my garments and wore it all the time I was in the mission." After fourteen months as a full-time missionary, Jacob Charles Jensen became so ill that his family asked the church president's assistance in July 1900: "He had father get a white silk handkerchief which President Snow blessed and sent to me." The *Deseret News* "Church Section" published a photograph of this sacred artifact which had healed missionary Jensen.⁶²⁷ Lorenzo Snow brought handkerchief-healing into the twentieth century.

Other early Mormon leaders such as First Presidency counselors Heber C. Kimball and Willard Richards expanded the use of healing objects. In an 1857 sermon, Kimball gave the most detailed and enthusiastic explanation of Mormon healing relics: "How much would you give for even a cane that Father Abraham had used? or a coat or ring that the Saviour had worn? The rough oak boxes in which the bodies of Joseph and Hyrum were brought from Carthage, were made into canes and other articles. I have a cane made from the plank of one of those boxes, so has brother Brigham and a great many others, and we prize them highly, and esteem them a great blessing." Kimball added that the martyrdom-canes possessed amuletic powers against Satan: "And the day will come when there will be multitudes who will be healed and blessed through the instrumentality of those canes, and the devil cannot overcome those who have them, in consequence of their faith and confidence in the virtues connected with them." He explained that these objects have divine power in themselves to heal: "In England, when not in a situation to go, I have blessed my handkerchief, and asked God to sanctify it and fill it with life and power, and [I have] sent it to the sick, and hundreds have been healed by it; in like manner I have sent my cane. Dr. [Willard] Richards used to lay his old black cane on a person's head, and that person has been healed through its instrumentality, by the power of God. ... There are persons in this congregation who have been healed by throwing my old cloak on their beds."⁶²⁸ The Daughters of Utah Pioneers Museum displays (fig. 87) what is apparently the black healing-cane used by Willard Richards (fig. 86).⁶²⁹

The emphasis by First Presidency counselors Richards and Kimball was similar to the medieval Catholic emphasis on relics of the martyred saints. The faithful revered a relic as having metaphysical power in itself.⁶³⁰ For example, Heber C. Kimball's 1888 biography affirmed this view: "This cane is now in the possession of [his son] Abram A. Kimball, who testifies that healing virtues attach to it."⁶³¹ These canes came from the blood-soaked boxes which had held the bodies of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, and the blood of the martyrs turned these pieces of wood into healing relics. As early as August 1844 Smith's widow Emma gave Apostle Wilford Woodruff "a piece of oak for a Staff out of the Coffin of the Prophet Joseph," and he referred to it as "a relick."⁶³²

Aside from the apostles, several others had these sacred relics of the martyrdom. Dimick B. Huntington obtained a cane from "the rough box" after helping to move Smith's body "after he had been buried 7 months" (ca. February 1845).⁶³³ Lucius N. Scovil, Philo Dibble, James Bird, William S. Wadsworth (or Wordsworth), and Perrigrine Sessions also received these canes.⁶³⁴ The

1897 exhibit of Mormon pioneer "relics" had two listings for a "cane made from the coffin in which the Martyrs were taken to Nauvoo." The original owner of one cane was Willard Snow. The other cane's original owner was either Perrigrine Sessions or his mother Patty Bartlett Sessions (a polyandrous wife of Joseph Smith).⁶³⁵

As Brigham Young's most remarkable gesture toward a succession rival, he sent one of these canes to Sidney Rigdon in Pittsburgh in 1845. This was after the excommunicated Rigdon was president of a rival church and publishing denunciations of Young. Rigdon's son wrote that "this cane was his constant companion for about thirty years. When he died [in 1876], my mother kept the cane, and when she died, several years after, it was given to me. When I came to Salt Lake the last time [in 1900], I brought it with me and gave it to President [Joseph F.] Smith to be placed in the [Church] Museum."⁶³⁶

Lucius N. Scovil's daughter gave a detailed description of these martyrdom-canes and their use as both healing objects and amulets. "Each cane had a lock of Joseph Smith's hair set under a small piece of glass and then mounted in silver on top," she wrote. "Father always told mother to keep the cane by her head and if she was sick to put it under her pillow and it would be a protection to her."⁶³⁷ Likewise, Heber C. Kimball's grandson and namesake praised his family's martyrdom-cane in 1945: "Since I was eight years old I have had in my possession the cane. ... It has all the virtues and power which have been referred to and it yet will be the means of blessing and healing thousands ..."⁶³⁸

Even before Smith's death in June 1844, some Mormons regarded a religious leader's cane as having power in itself to heal. Serving as England's ordained patriarch, John Albiston described how Mormons in the Manchester area venerated his cane in 1843: "the young man had a deep cut in his hand, caused by a piece of iron with which he had been at work. He went to my [walking] stick and rubbed his hand against it, and the wound immediately closed. Both father-in-law and mother-in-law were witnesses to this healing. The old man and woman each had wounds; they took the stick and rubbed, and were healed." In Cheltenham, "there was a sister there greatly disfigured by two scurvey lumps on her top lip." She touched the patriarch's cane to her lip, and hours later "the lumps were gone!" Significantly, before and after relating these faith-promoting instances of self-healing through his cane, Patriarch Albiston specified that he healed people through the laying on of hands, accompanied by prayer. Others used his cane as a healing object, but he did not.⁶³⁹

Joseph Smith also consecrated the cape belonging to Caroline Butler's husband for healing purposes. John L. Butler (b. 1808) was one of Smith's bodyguards, and several generations of the Butler family regarded the cape as having power in itself to heal. A family history explained that Smith "blessed John's large broadcloth cape or cloak." One family member wrote: "The family would often put it around an afflicted person and through their faith in the blessing of the cape they were made better. The cape became old and somewhat shabby and was finally cut into ten pieces, one piece each for the ten [nine surviving] children of John Lowe Butler II. My husband John Lowe Butler III received one piece of the cape and I have had it in my possession for nearly 30

years." Cutting up this cloak did not diminish its healing powers. This woman described exhibiting her piece of the cloak to the Daughters of Utah Pioneers, after which a woman at the meeting testified to the powers of the blessed artifact's remnant: "She said when she touched it there was a great thrill went all through her body; she gave testimony that this piece of cape really carried healing powers with it. She felt the power go thru her system and has been better since that time."⁶⁴⁰

In view of his family's regard for his cloak, John L. Butler "used [it] as a protection to them in his absence."⁶⁴¹ Thus, the Butler cape served as both healing relic and protective amulet. With each passing generation, Butler's descendants have received ever-smaller pieces of his blessed artifact. Some were privileged with a piece of the plaid lining, others with a swatch of the dark outer cape. Descendants now in their sixties or seventies possess a few inches of both cloak and lining (fig. 89). According to my conversation with one of Butler's descendants, the active use of the sub-divided cape for healing has become only a dim memory. Through the above quotes in a family-sponsored book, the meaning of John Butler's cape/cloak has become available to young descendants too numerous to receive a piece of the artifact itself.

Healing objects were also part of the sympathetic magic of Mormon folk remedies. In 1858 Brigham Young said he routinely employed such folk magic. When one of his sons stepped on a nail, Young "took the nail[,] greased it & carried it in his pocket & kept it warm wraped in a peace [sic] of paper then put on a peace of salt pork on the wound & it soon healed up. This is always his remidy and he says he has never known it to fail. This is worth remembering."⁶⁴² As folklorist Wayland D. Hand observed, such greasing of the nail was "the ancient notion of treating the weapon that has inflicted a wound," and Young's remedy continued in practice among Utahns as late as 1930. This was magic healing through folk medicine, not "scientific" healing through academic medicine.⁶⁴³

Healing objects such as handkerchiefs, canes, and cloaks probably had limited use among Mormons. Compared to the many accounts of seer-stone divination, there are relatively few references to LDS healing relics. Nevertheless, Mormons throughout the world still use consecrated olive oil to heal in connection with the priesthood ordinance of administering to the sick.⁶⁴⁴ If asked about this now, most Mormons would answer that applying special oil to the head during a religious ordinance is purely symbolic.

That definition falters in view of the nineteenth-century Mormon practice of applying the oil directly to the part of the body to be healed.⁶⁴⁵ Until the twentieth-century, even LDS apostles drank consecrated oil for internal maladies.⁶⁴⁶

Modern church authorities have specifically instructed that "taking consecrated oil internally, or using it for anointing or rubbing afflicted parts of the body, is not part of the ordinance of administering to the sick."⁶⁴⁷ This seems to recognize the folk-magic dimensions in early Mormon use of consecrated oil.

Conclusion

In its origins, folk magic is private rather than institutional. This helps to

explain both the persistence and decline of magic in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

"In general, those who used magic do not appear to have analyzed their actions; they did not consciously repudiate religious doctrine; nor did they try to reconcile the two patterns of belief." This observation about Puritans has equal application to early Mormons. They "used magic because it was embedded in their cultural heritage and because it seemed useful."⁶⁴⁸

It was inevitable that magic beliefs and practices persisted among some converts to Mormonism, especially those steeped in the folk religion of America and Europe. Until the late-nineteenth century, some of the church's highest leaders were themselves products of non-institutional folk religion in New England and New York. These early LDS authorities gave varying degrees of public and private encouragement to a folk heritage they regarded as compatible with the theology and practice of Mormonism.

A major reason for the persistence of folk magic was the pattern of generational instruction in occult knowledge among early Mormon families. Described as a divining rodsman by his Vermont neighbors, William Cowdery was the most likely source of the revelatory "rod of nature" possessed by his son Oliver in 1829. Just before Oliver Cowdery became a special witness to the *Book of Mormon's* divinity, the founding prophet announced a revelation validating this rod's past and present use. Within the Smith family, Joseph Sr. had tutored his name-sake in divining rods and magic circles for the family's treasure-quest of the early 1820s. In Kirtland of the 1830s Elias Pulsipher found a seer stone, which he gave to his daughter as a seeress, which she gave to her daughter as a seeress. On his deathbed in 1840 Patriarch Smith transferred to eldest son Hyrum the inscribed dagger and parchments of ceremonial magic, which have been inherited patrilineally as "sacred relics" to the present. Likewise, a seer stone passed from father-to-son-to-daughter in the family of *Book of Mormon* witness Jacob Whitmer, and at least some of his descendants obtained revelations through it. Founding member of the First Council of Seventy in 1835, Zebedee Coltrin conferred a protective charm's "magic words" on his eldest living son, and decreed that this practice should continue patrilineally. Blessed by Joseph Smith in the 1840s, John L. Butler's healing cape passed to generations of his descendants in swatches of a few inches each. By the early 1870s the Talmage family of English converts had three generations of practicing astrologers, all named James. To the mid-twentieth century, generations of the Rushton family (primarily women) used a seer stone for divination. In 1958 a former mission president gave his inspiration-stone to a grandson. This Mormon pattern was consistent with Ralph Merrifield's description of how folk magic continued into twentieth-century England: "a family practice handed on from one generation to the next ..."⁶⁴⁹

After the death of LDS leaders who believed in folk magic, some rank-and-file Mormons continued certain magic beliefs and practices for decades. This was in spite of the skepticism (even hostility) which LDS leaders and publications expressed from the 1880s onward.

By the early twentieth century, identifiable magic practices and beliefs were

not just declining in the LDS church. They did not exist for the vast majority of Mormons.

Modern Mormons are not simply better-educated than their ancestors, they are differently-educated. From elementary school to college, since the mid-1890s standardized education has homogenized the world view of Americans.⁶⁵⁰ Therefore, by the high school level (but particularly in college and university), twentieth-century Americans have been secularized.⁶⁵¹

Trained in these public institutions of learning since childhood, twentieth-century Mormons have adopted the scientific world view. Looking at "the early decades of the twentieth century," Erich Robert Paul recently wrote that "as a religion Mormonism has accepted many, if not most, scientific ideas."⁶⁵² Even LDS leaders diverge from the scientific world view only when science seems to challenge LDS theology (for example, theories of organic evolution).⁶⁵³ For children from the age of five onward, standardized public education since the 1890s has left no room for the magic world view, except to dismiss it as "superstition."

Despite his own secular humanism, historian Dale Morgan recorded an insightful complaint in 1950 about America's secular myopia toward the esoteric and the occult. "Cultural anthropologists have traveled to the ends of the earth to enquire into rain rituals among the Toradya, the power of *bonga* among the Ho, and the making of magicians among the Kaingang, but none have been found, so far as I can learn, willing to travel six blocks by streetcar to begin some investigations into the character and cultural persistence [among Americans] of horoscopy, numerology, palm-reading, crystal-gazing, and kindred practices and beliefs." He wrote this within the context of his studies of early Mormon folk magic.⁶⁵⁴

By the last quarter of the twentieth century, the LDS church also became increasingly authoritarian and obsessed with conformity. As a result Mormons now adhere more closely to the instructions of LDS leaders.⁶⁵⁵ As previously cited, in the 1970s these instructions included a complete repudiation of the occult (even its manifestations that were previously approved by LDS apostles and prophets).

Moreover, liberal Mormons are rarely attracted to folk religion and folk magic, despite the latter's anti-institutional emphasis. This also applies to Mormons who critically evaluate the hierarchy's pronouncements or have anti-institutional attitudes. Since childhood, liberal Mormons have been indoctrinated with public education's secular world view, and most liberals feel little kinship with folk religion and even less with folk magic. Mormon converts have also continued to come from denominational backgrounds, rather than from the ranks of seekers raised without a church.

The above factors have resulted in the secularization of modern Mormons—both conservative and liberal—among the newest converts, ancestral Mormons, and general authorities. "Many of us Mormonites today, whether pious believers or critically objective students of history, are closer in mental outlook to the position of [1834 anti-Mormon writer Eber D.] Howe than to that of the Prophet Joseph and his early followers," acknowledged LDS writer Benson Whittle in

1987. "Would we rant and rave, walk penniless to Missouri, witch a trove with a hazel rod, or join a [financially] communistic society? Do we really want to know what was in and around that stone-box/hole on 22 September 1823?" (see ch. 5).⁶⁵⁶ Modern Latter-day Saints give little, if any, place in their lives for the magic dimensions of folk religion, the esoteric, or the occult.

Nevertheless, in every religious tradition, the faithful have included believers in folk magic. That will probably always be so. Like most other mainstream Western religions, twentieth-century Mormonism harbors relatively few with a magic world view. However, from three different academic disciplines, some reviewers regarded that assessment as too limited.

Sterling M. McMurrin wrote: "According to Quinn, magic largely disappeared from Mormonism by the end of the [nineteenth] century, but most Mormons are aware that some of it is still around." This Mormon philosophy professor concluded: "After all, it [magic] adds a little spice to religion."⁶⁵⁷

Surprisingly, *BYU Studies* published William A. Wilson's candid assessment: "So long as present-day Mormons continue to believe, as did their predecessors, that through prayer and ritual they can manipulate supernatural powers to their advantage, much will remain constant." Drawing on decades of interviews with Mormons, this LDS folklorist concluded: "Many Mormons today still divine the future, seek hidden treasure, use home remedies, tell ghost stories, experience dreams and visions, invoke angels and spirits, exorcise devils, seek information from the spirits of the dead, heal the sick through ceremonial means, and use talismans to ward off evil."⁶⁵⁸ Wilson described what is common in Mormon culture, not what is normative.

Common behavior is different from normative behavior. In organized society, especially in an authoritarian culture, formal leaders and opinion-makers decide what is normative. Any other behaviors are marginalized at best and usually prohibited, no matter how common they are.⁶⁵⁹ For example, modern LDS leaders officially disallow or discourage many of the behaviors Wilson listed, and the hierarchy tries to keep a tight rein on the others.

While he agreed with the insider-views of McMurrin and Wilson about the persistence of magic in contemporary Mormonism, non-LDS historian Alan Taylor perceived the dynamics of occult survival in a very different way. "Today's Mormons are set off from their progenitors less by their renunciation of a magic world view than by their concession to their church leaders of a monopoly over the exercise of rituals that can be defined as magical," Taylor wrote. "Rather than extinguishing magic, Mormon leaders have (since 1830) steadily renamed, consolidated, centralized, and regulated its practice."⁶⁶⁰ That echoed sociologist Thomas F. O'Dea's earlier discussion of the Mormon "process of binding charisma within organizational forms."⁶⁶¹

It is true that institutional Christianity has typically supplanted alternative altars by imitating and redefining them. However, evangelical Protestantism and secularized Mormonism have erased even the memory of folk magic from their early American experiences. That creates a very hostile environment for the survival of esoteric beliefs and behavior. From the perspective of institutional control, that is a victory. From the perspective of human diversity, it is a loss.

FIGURE 1. Joseph Smith, Jr. (1805-44). Watercolor portrait, ca. 1842-44, by Mary E. Rollins Lightner, one of Joseph Smith's plural wives. (Courtesy LDS photo archives)



FIGURE 2. Before and after finding the *Book of Mormon* plates, Joseph Smith participated in treasure-digging on the above hill, according to early Mormon converts Martin Harris and Orrin Porter Rockwell. Later called the Hill Cumorah. From John Barber and Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of the State of New York* (1841). (Courtesy Marriott Library, University of Utah)



FIGURE 3.



FIGURE 4.



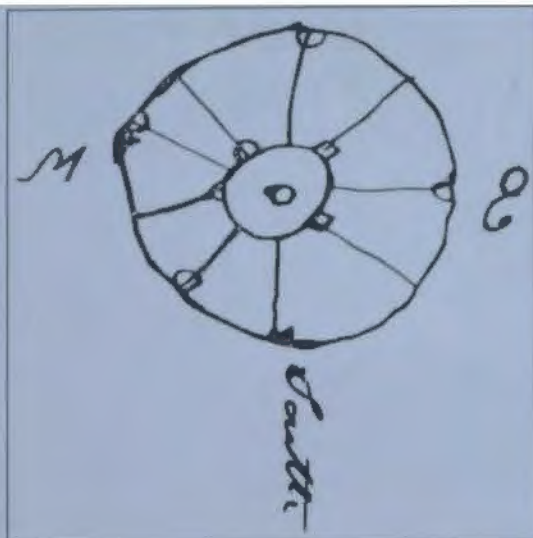
FIGURE 5.



FIGURE 6.

FIGURES 3-6. Four different divining rods used in seventeenth-century Europe. From Pierre LeLorrain Vallemont, *La Physique Occult* (1693). (Courtesy Houghton Library, Harvard University)

FIGURE 7. A magic circle for treasure-digging during the 1780s, as used and drawn by Silas Hamilton. From Clark Jilison, *Green Leaves From Whittingham, Vermont* (1894). (Courtesy Lee Library, Brigham Young University)



JOSEPH SMITH'S DIGGINGS.

1. Situation of J. I. Skelton's house.
2. Pit filled and grain growing over it.
3. A larger pit filled.
4. A smaller one partly filled.
5. A pit that has not been disturbed, in the woods.
6. Fence. Relative positions only, not exactly proportionate distances, are here given.

FIGURE 8. A diagram of treasure-diggings directed by Joseph Smith at Harmony, Pennsylvania, in the 1820s. He and his mother publicly acknowledged this activity in Harmony. From Emily Blackman, *History of Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania* (1873). (Courtesy Marriott Library, University of Utah)



FIGURE 9. Joseph Smith's green seer stone, later owned by Utah pioneer Philo Dibble. This stone matches the description of the green stone Jack Belcher allegedly gave to Joseph Smith in the 1820s in Pennsylvania. (Courtesy Princeton Collection of Western Americana, Princeton University Library)



FIGURE 10. Joseph Smith's sandy-colored seer stone, passed from his widow Emma to relations of her second husband, Lewis Bidamon. The size of a U.S. quarter coin, this stone matches the size of two seer stones Brigham Young said Joseph Smith obtained at Nauvoo, Illinois, in the 1840s. (Courtesy Wilford C. Wood Museum)



FIGURES 11-12. Two views of David Whitmer's seer stone, used in his church organization during the 1870s and 1880s by his grandson George Schweich. (fig. 11 courtesy LDS photo archives; fig. 12 courtesy RLDS archives)

FIGURE 11.



FIGURE 12.

FIGURE 13. Jacob Whitmer's seer stone, sometimes identified as the one used by Hiram Page, another *Book of Mormon* witness. Page's stone was destroyed at Joseph Smith's orders. (Courtesy Rick Grunder—Books)





FIGURE 14. The Zodiac in the mosaic floor of a synagogue at Hammat-Tiberias, ca. 400 C.E. (Courtesy Israel Government Tourist Office)

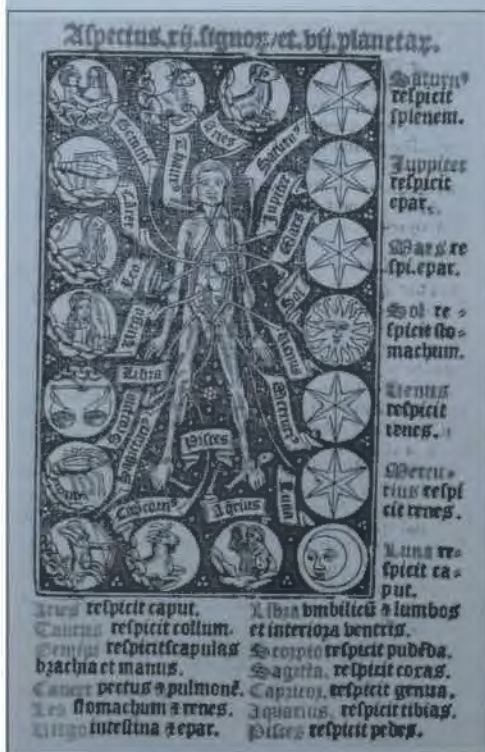


FIGURE 15. A "Man of Signs" diagram, with a description of astrological influence on the body, from the 1530 prayer-book of Sir Thomas More, Christian humanist, lord chancellor to Henry VIII, and Catholic saint. (Courtesy Beinecke Library, Yale University)

The Anatomy of Man's Body, as governed by the twelve Constellations, according to ancient Astronomy, viz.

♈ Arics, the Head.

♊ Gemini, Arms.

♋ Cancer, Breast.

♌ Virgo, Bowels.

♍ Scorpio, secrets.

♎ Capricorn, knees.



♉ Taurus, Neck.

♌ Leo, the Heart.

♎ Libra, the Reins.

♐ Sagitarius, thighs

♑ Aquarius, Legs.

♒ Pisces, the Feet.

FIGURE 17a. Astrology's "Man of Signs" in the 1823 almanac published at Canandaigua, New York, nine miles from Joseph Smith's home. From Loud and Wilmarth, *The Farmer's Diary, or Ontario Almanack, For the Year of Our Lord, 1823*. (Courtesy Lee Library, Brigham Young University)

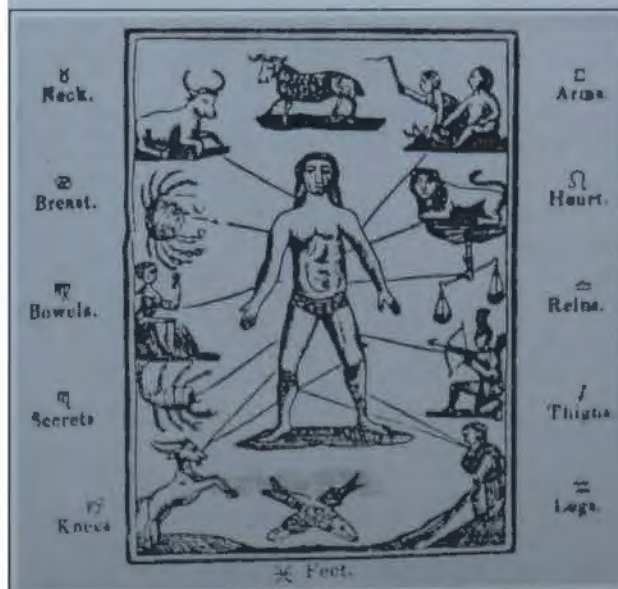


FIGURE 17b. Astrology's "Man of Signs" in an almanac published less than 100 miles from LDS church headquarters at Nauvoo. From R. Goudy, Jr., *Illinois Farmer's Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge For the Year 1841*. (Courtesy New York Public Library)

1830.—4th Mo. APRIL, begins <i>Thursday</i> —30 days.									
Full ● 8th, 2h. 19m. morn.					New ☽ 22d, 6h. 17m. even.				
Last Q. 16th, 1h. 39m. morn.					First Q. 29th, 2h. 44m. ev.				
M.	W.	Aspects, Weather, &c.	☽	p	☾	R	☼	S	R ☽ S
1	thurs	☉ slow clock 4m.	<i>Cold</i>	☽	5	42	6	18	2 5
2	frid	Aldebaran sets 10 39		☽	5	41	6	19	2 46
3	sat	<i>and stormy</i>		☽	5	39	6	21	3 23
4	D	6th S. in Lent. St. Ambrose.		☽	5	38	6	22	3 54
5	mon	☽ in ☊	<i>the</i>	☽	5	37	6	23	4 24
6	tues	☐ ☿ ☉	<i>first</i>	☽	5	36	6	24	4 53
7	wed	Sirius sets 10 28	<i>of</i>	☽	5	34	6	26	<i>rise</i>
8	thurs	☽ in apogee.	<i>the</i>	☽	5	33	6	27	6 59
9	frid	Good Friday.	<i>month ;</i>	☽	5	31	6	29	7 56
10	sat	7's set 9 50		☽	5	30	6	30	8 55
11	D	Easter day.		☽	5	28	6	32	9 51
12	mon	Easter Mon. Ald. sets 10 6		☽	5	27	6	33	10 46
13	tues	Easter Tuesday.		☽	5	25	6	35	11 41

FIGURE 18. First part of April 1830 in the almanac published at Canandaigua, New York, nine miles from Joseph Smith's home. He organized the new church on April 6, when his governing planet of Jupiter was in "quadrature" with the sun. Compare fig. 20b. This was the first reference to Jupiter in the monthly calendars. From Oliver Loud, *The Farmer's Diary, or Ontario Almanac, For the Year of Our Lord, 1830*. (Courtesy Lee Library, Brigham Young University)

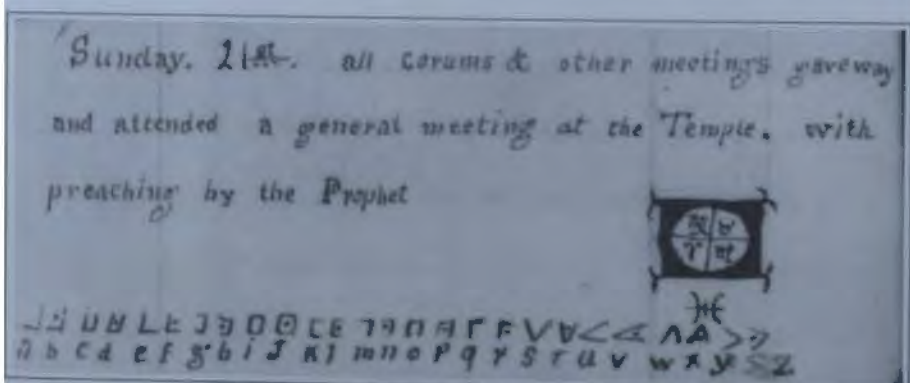


FIGURE 19. Oliver B. Huntington's astrological symbol of his family's birth signs to summarize Joseph Smith's 1844 sermon on "turning the hearts of the fathers to the children." Below he wrote the Masonic cipher of the Royal Arch Degree, as published in David Bernard, *Light on Masonry* (1829). Compare figs. 16c, 20b. (Courtesy Lee Library, Brigham Young University)

FIGURE 20a

MOON'S PHASES, (BOSTON, N. YOR.)				FOR BOSTON, NEW ENGLAND, NEW YORK STATE, UPPER CANADA, MICHIGAN, WISCONSIN AND IOWA.				FOR NEW YORK CITY, CONNECTICUT, NEW JERSEY, PENNSYLVANIA, OHIO, INDIANA AND ILLINOIS.			
D. R. M. M. M.											
Third Quarter, 11 27 M. 10 33 H.											
New Moon 8 29 M. 3 17 M.											
First Quarter 10 4 7 M. 2 25 M.											
Full Moon 22 9 36 M. 9 24 M.											
Third Quarter 30 9 12 E. 9 0 E.											
DAY OF MONTH.	DAY OF WEEK.	SUN'S PLACE.	Miscellaneous.	Sun		Moon		MOON'S PLACE.			
				RISES.	SETS.	RISES.	SETS.				
1	22	59	Circumcision,	7 31	4 29	morn.	4 9	7 26	4 32		
2	23	54	stationary.	7 31	4 29	1 2	4 56	7 25	4 35		
3	24	48		7 30	4 30	2 12	5 58	7 23	4 35		
4	25	41	Princes, bat. 1777.	7 30	4 30	3 24	7 19	7 24	4 36		
5	26	35	Ed. S. aft. Christ.	7 29	4 31	4 34	8 29	7 24	4 36		
6	27	28	Epiph. & c. low	7 29	4 31	5 40	9 41	7 23	4 37		
7	28	20	& in perizee.	7 28	4 32	6 39	10 47	7 23	4 37		
8	29	12	N. O. battle, 1813.	7 27	4 33	sets.	11 53	7 22	4 38		
9	30	3		10 6	7 27	4 33	6 50	morn.	7 22	4 38	
10	31	54	Ed-and-ard south	7 26	4 34	8 3	0 25	7 21	4 38		
11	1	43	Dr. Dwight d. 1817.	7 25	4 35	9 13	1 11	7 20	4 40		
12	2	35	Inferior & Q.	7 25	4 35	10 19	1 56	7 20	4 40		
13	3	25	Betel. sou. 10 13	7 24	4 36	11 24	2 58	7 19	4 41		
14	4	14		7 23	4 37	morn.	3 20	7 18	4 42		
15	5	3		7 22	4 38	0 26	4 10	7 17	4 43		
16	6	20	Sirius south 10 53	7 22	4 38	1 27	4 44	7 17	4 43		
17	7	20	Franklin b. 1706	7 21	4 39	2 25	5 36	7 16	4 44		
18	8	20	♂ ☿. [agesima.	7 20	4 40	3 21	6 47	7 15	4 45		
19	9	20	♂ ♄. [agesima.	7 19	4 41	4 14	8 0	7 14	4 46		
20	10	15	♂ ♄. [agesima.	7 18	4 42	5 2	9 15	7 13	4 47		
21	11	9	♂ ♄. [agesima.	7 17	4 43	5 45	10 15	7 12	4 48		
22	12	35	Vincennes,	7 16	4 44	6 24	11 0	7 11	4 49		
23	13	21	stationary.	7 15	4 45	sets.	11 37	7 10	4 50		
24	14	9	Betelgeuse sou 9 30	7 14	4 46	6 34	ev. 12	7 9	4 51		
25	15	62	Com. of St. Paul	7 13	4 47	7 37	0 47	7 8	4 52		
26	16	37	Hexagesima.	7 12	4 48	8 41	1 19	7 7	4 53		
27	17	21		7 11	4 49	9 46	1 51	7 6	4 54		
28	18	6	Betelgeuse sou 9 14	7 9	4 51	10 52	2 26	7 5	4 55		
29	19	50	♂ ♄ ♄.	7 8	4 52	12 0	3 27	7 4	4 56		
30	20	33		7 7	4 53	morn.	3 47	7 3	4 57		
31	21	16	Sirius south 9 54	7 6	4 54	1 10	4 27	7 2	4 58		

POWER OF TRUTH

"I combat the power of ages; I oppose the violence of mobs; I escape with illegal proceedings from executive authority; I cut the gordian knot of powers; I solve mathematical problems of univertisims with Truth—Diamond Truth!"—Joseph Smith.

GODD ADVICE.

"Man, know thyself; study thine own nature; learn thy powers of body; thy capacity of mind. Learn thine origin, thy purpose, and thy destiny. Study the true source of thine own happiness, and the happiness of all beings with which thou art associated. Learn to act in unison with thy true character,

FIGURES 20a-20b. LDS apostle Orson Pratt's *Prophetic Almanac for 1845*. Fourth column from the left of the monthly calendar (a) shows the moon's daily position in the Zodiac. Pratt included a key (b) to the astrological signs (Courtesy Lee Library, Brigham Young University)

FIGURE 20b

NAMES AND CHARACTERS OF THE PLANETS, &c.		
☉ The Sun.	♁ Earth.	♄ Saturn.
☿ Mercury.	♂ Mars.	♊ Herse et.
♀ Venus.	♃ Jupiter.	♏ Moon.
ASPECTS.		
♌ Conjunction, two heavenly bodies having the same longitude.	♍ Opposition, two heavenly bodies whose longitude differs 180 deg.	
☐ Quadrature, two heavenly bodies whose longitude differs 90 deg.	♎ Ascending Node.	
	♏ Descending Node.	
NAMES AND CHARACTERS OF THE TWELVE SIGNS IN THE ZODIAC.		
♈ Aries, the Ram.	♋ Libra, the balance.	
♉ Taurus, the Bull.	♏ Scorpio, the Scorpion.	
♊ Gemini, the Twins.	♐ Sagittarius, the Archer.	
♋ Cancer, the Crab.	♑ Capricornus, the Goat.	
♌ Leo, the Lion.	♒ Aquarius, the Waterman.	
♍ Virgo, the Virgin.	♓ Pisces, the Fishes.	
* The days on which the first and last two Eclipses are said to happen, as published in the Comic Almanacks, by Turner & Fisher, are incorrect. They will not take place on the days specified in their Almanacs.		

FIGURES 21a-21b. Astrological calendars in LDS Desert News, 1850-67. First issue (a) on 15 June 1850 was edited by Willard Richards, second counselor in the LDS First Presidency. Calendar (a) assumed (in third column from the left) that Mormon pioneers already knew which zodiacal "signs" governed the body's parts (Courtesy Utah State Historical Society). Calendar (b) was on front page of September 1867 issues, edited by Albert Carrington, an Ivy League graduate of Dartmouth College and member of the theocratic Council of Fifty. Calendar (b) provided one column (third from left) for the position of moon each day in the Zodiac and the center column for the body-parts influenced by the specific sign of each day. Carrington's 1866-67 calendars were the most astrological published by Mormons. (Courtesy of the author)

FIGURE 21b

Calendar for SEPT. 1867.					
First Quarter, 8th day, 4h. 2m. P.M.					
Full Moon, 15th day, 5h. 4m. P.M.					
Last Quarter, 22nd day, 7h. 4m. P.M.					
New Moon, 29th day, 4h. 1m. P.M.					
Apogee 7th. 1h. P.M. Perigee 24th. 1h. P.M.					
D of M	W	Moon's place at Noon.	Signification of Signs.	h m	h m
1	S	30 30	Reins & Loins	5 26	6 03
2	M	3 11	Secret Members	5 27	6 01
3	T	10 22		5 28	6 29
4	W	28 44		5 29	6 28
5	T	10 7	Hips & Thighs	5 30	6 26
6	F	22 20		5 31	6 25
7	S	4 7	Knees & Hams	5 32	6 23
8	M	16 27		5 33	6 21
9	T	28 34	Legs & Ankles	5 34	6 19
10	W	10 4		5 35	6 18
11	T	22 54	Feet & Toes	5 37	6 16
12	F	13 3		5 38	6 15
13	S	0 7	Head and Face	5 39	6 11
14	M	14 11		5 40	6 9
15	T	27 26		5 41	6 8
16	W	11 7	Neck & Throat	5 42	6 6
17	T	23 4		5 43	6 5
18	F	0 11	Arms, Should'rs	5 44	6 3
19	S	13 9		5 45	6 1
20	M	7 21	Breast, Stomach	5 46	6 0
21	T	21 7	Heart & Back	5 47	5 58
22	W	4 31	Bowels & Belly	5 48	5 56
23	T	16 11		5 49	5 54
24	F	3 39	Reins & Loins	5 50	5 52
25	S	15 23		5 51	5 48
26	M	28 43		5 52	5 46
27	T	11 11	Secret Members	5 53	5 44

FIGURE 22 (right). William W. Phelps's 1863 almanac. Religious prophecies followed his reference to the LDS use of astrology: "The moon's days in the signs of the Zodiac are also given near enough for the general reader." (Courtesy Lee Library, Brigham Young University)

FIGURE 21a

1850		JUNE		[20 days]	
Moon's Phase	a	s	sign	h. m.	h. m.
1	S		4 28	7 33	moon
2	F	Peet	4 37	7 33	0 22
3	M		4 37	7 33	4 0
4	Tu		4 30	7 34	1 28
5	W	Head	4 26	7 34	1 09
6	Th		4 25	7 33	2 27
7	Fr	Neck	4 25	7 33	3 0
8	S		4 24	7 34	2 28
9	F	Arms	4 24	7 34	4 19
10	M		4 23	7 37	sets
11	Tu	Breast	4 23	7 37	5 43
12	W		4 23	7 37	0 09
13	Th	Reins	4 23	7 37	10 09
14	Fr		4 22	7 38	11 15
15	S	Bowels	4 22	7 38	11 50
16	F		4 22	7 38	noon
17	M	Reins	4 22	7 39	0 21
18	Tu		4 21	7 39	0 44
19	W	Bowels	4 21	7 39	1 23
20	Th		4 21	7 39	1 56
21	Fr		4 21	7 39	2 29
22	S	Thighs	4 21	7 39	3 3
23	F		4 21	7 39	3 49
24	M	Knees	4 21	7 39	4 20
25	Tu		4 21	7 39	4 50
26	W		4 22	7 38	5 10
27	Th	Legs	4 22	7 38	5 37
28	F		4 22	7 38	6 01
29	S	Feet	4 22	7 37	11 2
30	F		4 23	7 37	11 21

FIGURE 22



FIGURE 23. The first page of William W. Phelps's *Deseret Almanac for the Year 1865*. (Courtesy Lee Library, Brigham Young University)

SIGNS OF THE ZODIAC	
♈	Aries, the Ram, the head.
♉	Taurus, the Bull, the neck.
♊	Gemini, the Twins, the arms.
♋	Cancer, the Crab, the breast.
♌	Leo, the Lion, the heart.
♍	Virgo, the Virgin, the bowels.
♎	Libra, the Scales, the reins.
♏	Scorpio, the Scorpion, the secrets.
♐	Sagittarius, the Archer, the thighs.
♑	Capricornus, the Goat, the knees.
♒	Aquarius, Waterman, the legs.
♓	Pisces, the Fishes, the feet.

NAMES AND CHARACTERS OF THE PLANETS	
☉	Sun.
☾	Moon.
☿	Mercury.
♀	Venus.
♂	Conjunction.
♂	Mars.
♃	Jupiter.
♄	Saturn.
♅	Uranus.
♆	Neptune.

JANUARY has 31 days. [1865]									
D. H. M.					D. H. M.				
First quarter 4 8 16 a.m.					Last quarter 19 7 10				
Full moon 11 3 34 p.m.					New moon 27 2 4				
Day of Week	D. M.	MOON SIGN	MOON sets.	Sun rises h m	Sun sets h m	EVENTS IN 1865.			
SUNDAY	1	♈	9 38	7 25	4 42	Venus and Mars evening stars.			
Monday	2	♈	10 47	7 25	4 44				
Tuesday	3	♈	11 54	7 25	4 45				
Wednesday	4	♈	mor.	7 25	4 46				
Thursday	5	♈	52	7 25	4 47				
Friday	6	♈	27	7 25	4 48				
Saturday	7	♈	3 12	7 25	4 49	O. Hyde born 1800.			
SUNDAY	8	♈	4 14	7 24	4 50				
Monday	9	♈	5 11	7 24	4 51				
Tuesday	10	♈	6 4	7 24	4 52				
Wednesday	11	♈	rises	7 24	4 53	G. Q. Cannon born 1827.			
Thursday	12	♈	6 9	7 23	4 54				
Friday	13	♈	7 7	7 23	4 55				
Saturday	14	♈	8 2	7 24	4 56				
SUNDAY	15	♈	9 0	7 22	4 57				
Monday	16	♈	9 55	7 22	4 59				
Tuesday	17	♈	10 57	7 21	5 0				
Wednesday	18	♈	11 57	7 21	5 1				
Thursday	19	♈	mor.	7 20	5 2	☿ ☿ ♄			
Friday	20	♈	44	7 20	5 3				
Saturday	21	♈	1 42	7 19	5 4				
SUNDAY	22	♈	2 42	7 19	5 5				
Monday	23	♈	3 41	7 18	5 7	☿ ☿ ♄			
Tuesday	24	♈	4 37	7 17	5 8				
Wednesday	25	♈	5 31	7 17	5 9	☿ ☿ ♄			
Thursday	26	♈	6 20	7 16	5 10				
Friday	27	♈	sets.	7 16	5 11				
Saturday	28	♈	7 17	7 14	5 13				
SUNDAY	29	♈	8 30	7 13	5 14				
Monday	30	♈	9 40	7 12	5 15	☿ ☿ ♄			
Tuesday	31	♈	10 50	7 12	5 16				

H. E. PHELPS,	
WEST side of East Temple Street, 14th Ward, Exchanges and Trades for Cash, Foreign and Domestic Commodities, Wares and Merchandise.	
J. B. HAWKINS,	
BLACKSMITH, West side East Temple Street, 14th Ward.	

FIGURE 24. William W. Phelps's *Deseret Almanac for the Year 1865*. The third column from left shows daily position of the moon in the Zodiac. (Courtesy Lee Library, Brigham Young University)



FIGURE 25. Sunstone used in decorating the exterior of the LDS temple at Nauvoo, Illinois. (Courtesy Allen Dale Roberts)



FIGURE 26. Stones depicting the moon's phases on the exterior wall of the LDS temple at Salt Lake City, Utah.

FIGURE 27a



FIGURE 28a



FIGURE 27b



FIGURE 28b

FIGURES 27a-28b. A silver Jupiter talisman, slightly chipped, from England (figs. 27a, 27b) from *Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society* (1938). Joseph Smith was born on 23 December 1805 under Jupiter's governing astrological influence, and his widow Emma Smith Bidamon told her stepson that Smith had the Jupiter talisman (figs. 28a, 28b) with him when he was martyred at Carthage Jail, Illinois. Joseph Smith's talisman (fig. 28a) omits one Hebrew character (to the left) above the magic square. The English talisman (fig. 27a) omits one part of the Hebrew character from the table (second vertical column from the left, third square down) compared to Smith's talisman (fig. 28a). Francis Barrett's 1801 *The Magus* (fig. 29) was the source for both. (Figs. 27a, 27b, courtesy American Numismatic Society; figs. 28a, 28b, courtesy Wilford C. Wood Museum)

FIGURE 29

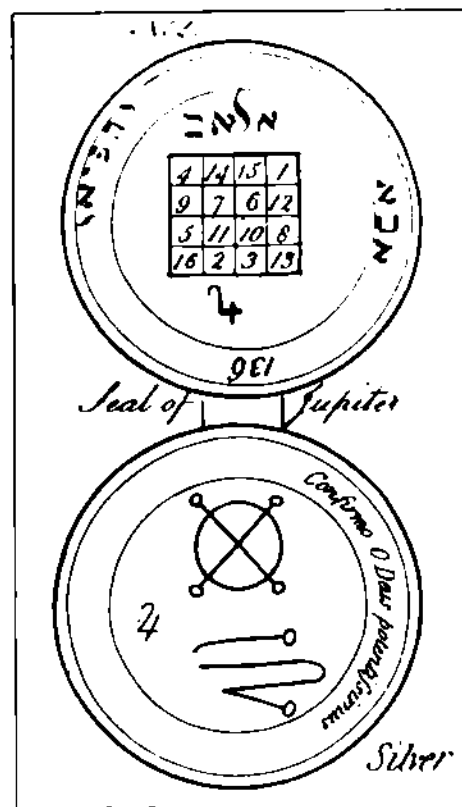
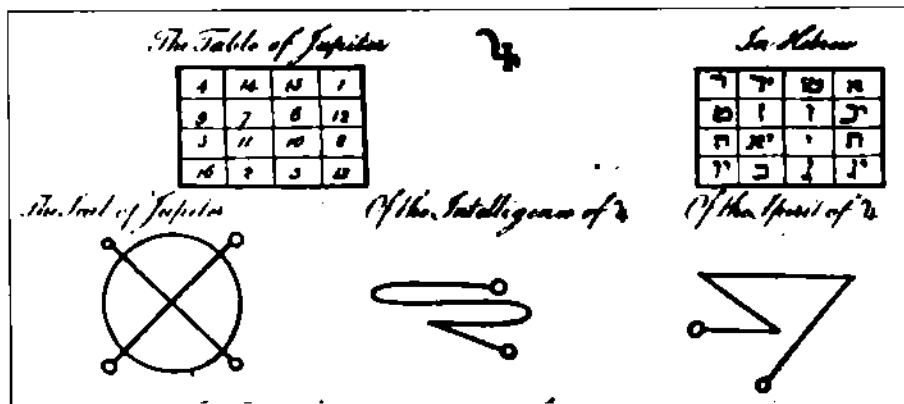


FIGURE 30



FIGURES 29-30. Jupiter talisman and sigils (symbols) from Francis Barrett's *The Magus* (1801). The magic symbol for Jupiter's intelligence on Barrett's talisman (fig. 29) has a break in it similar to the illustration in Agrippa's English edition (fig. 32), but not in Barrett's table of symbols (fig. 30) or in Agrippa's Latin edition (fig. 31). (Courtesy Lee Library, Brigham Young University)

FIGURE 31

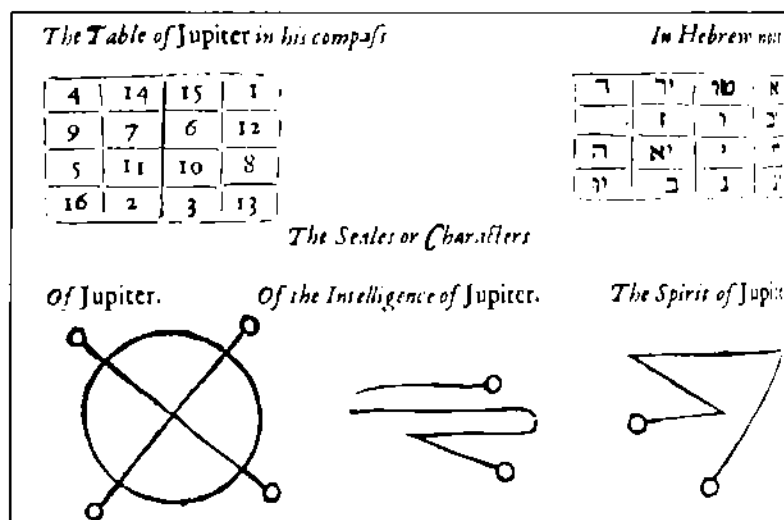
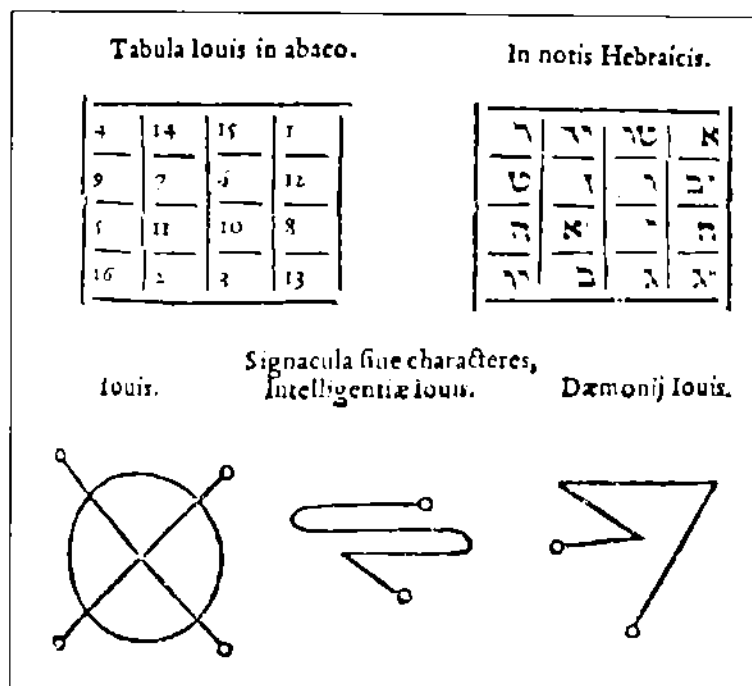


FIGURE 32

FIGURES 31-32. The Jupiter sigils (symbols) from Henry Cornelius Agrippa's Latin edition (fig. 31) and English edition (fig. 32) of his *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*. (Courtesy Lee Library, Brigham Young University)

FIGURE 33



FIGURE 34

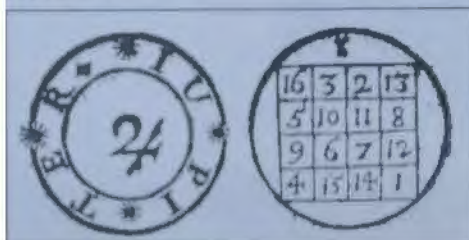


FIGURE 35



FIGURE 36

FIGURES 33-36. Various Jupiter talismans. Fig. 33 is from Tycho Brahe's 1582 magical calendar. Fig. 34 is from Israel Hibner's 1698 book on magic sigils (symbols). Fig. 35 is from a seveneenth-century manuscript (Harley MS 2267, folio 9). Fig. 36 is from Austria. (Courtesy Philosophical Research Society, British Museum-Library, and Warburg Institute, University of London)



FIGURE 37. Joseph Smith's serpent-cane on display at the LDS Museum of Church History and Art as of 1985. (Artifact 60-3674, courtesy LDS Museum)

FIGURE 38. In some older astrology books, Jupiter and Saturn both rule over serpents. Atop the crown on the Joseph Smith cane is a circular symbol similar to the magic seal of Jupiter (figs. 27b, 28b, 29-32). Combined with the crown symbol and initials JS, the vertical symbols on this serpent-cane seem to convey the message: "Jupiter—reigns over—Joseph Smith." (Courtesy LDS Museum)



FIGURE 39. Joseph Smith's dove-and-olive-branch medallion, later owned by Brigham Young. The olive tree was governed astrologically by Jupiter and the dove by Venus. (Artifact 583, courtesy Daughters of Utah Pioneers Museum)



FIGURE 40. Joseph Smith's gift medallion to his plural wife Eliza R. Snow. The meaning of the symbols and inscriptions is unclear. (Original in private possession; photograph courtesy Photographic Services, Brigham Young University)



FIGURE 41. Bloodstone amulet possessed and used by Brigham Young, according to his family. (Artifact 1076, courtesy Daughters of Utah Pioneers Museum)

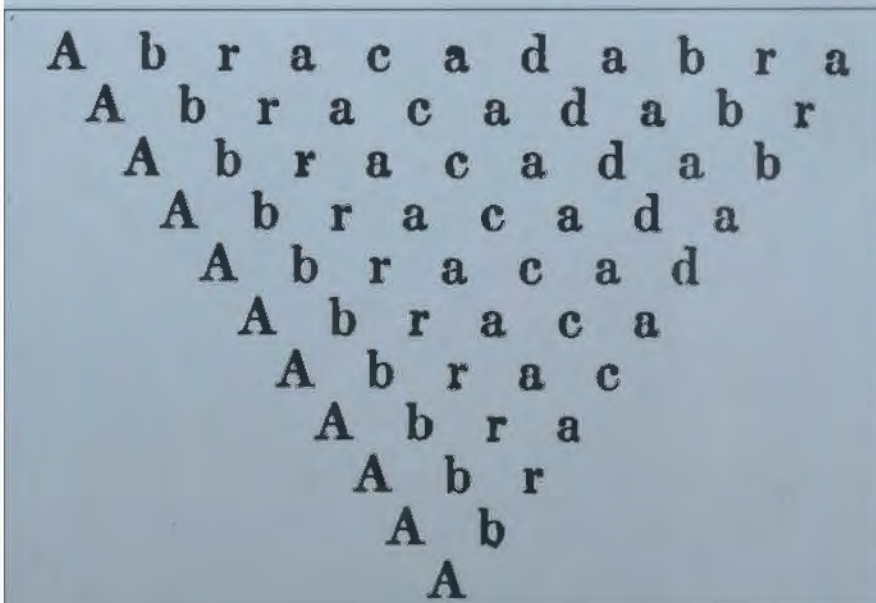


FIGURE 42. The Abracadabra triangle of magic, from the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia Americana* (1829). The phrase "faculty of Abrac" refers to the holy seventh line (from the top) of the triangle. (Courtesy Lee Library, Brigham Young University)

FIGURE 43



FIGURE 44



FIGURES 43-44. The Joseph Smith family's magic dagger. Toward the hilt, its blade was inscribed (fig. 43) with Scorpio's astrological symbol (fig. 16c) and with the magic symbol for the "Intelligence" of Mars (fig. 45). Its handle was inscribed (fig. 44) with the magic "Seal" of Mars (fig. 45). Astrologically, Mars was the ruling planet of Joseph Smith Sr.'s birth year. This dagger was among the possessions of his patriarchal successor, Hyrum Smith in 1844. (Original in private possession)

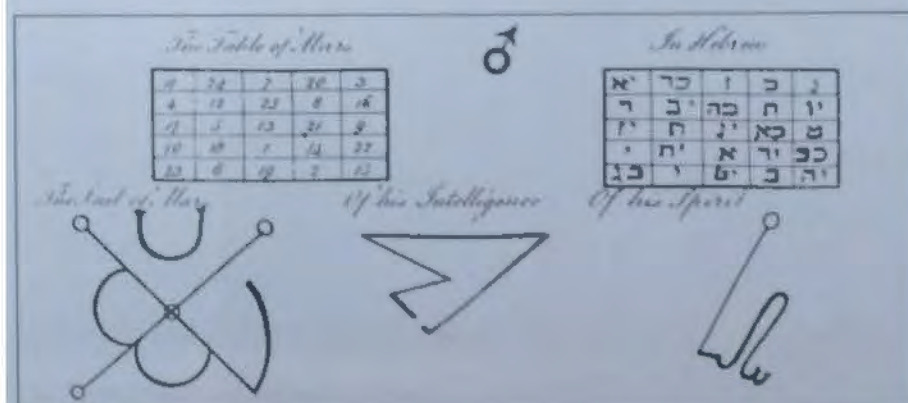


FIGURE 45. The magic sigils (symbols) of Mars from Francis Barrett's 1801 *The Magus*. Compare with inscriptions on the Smith family's magic dagger (figs. 43-44). (Courtesy Lee Library, Brigham Young University)

FIGURE 46

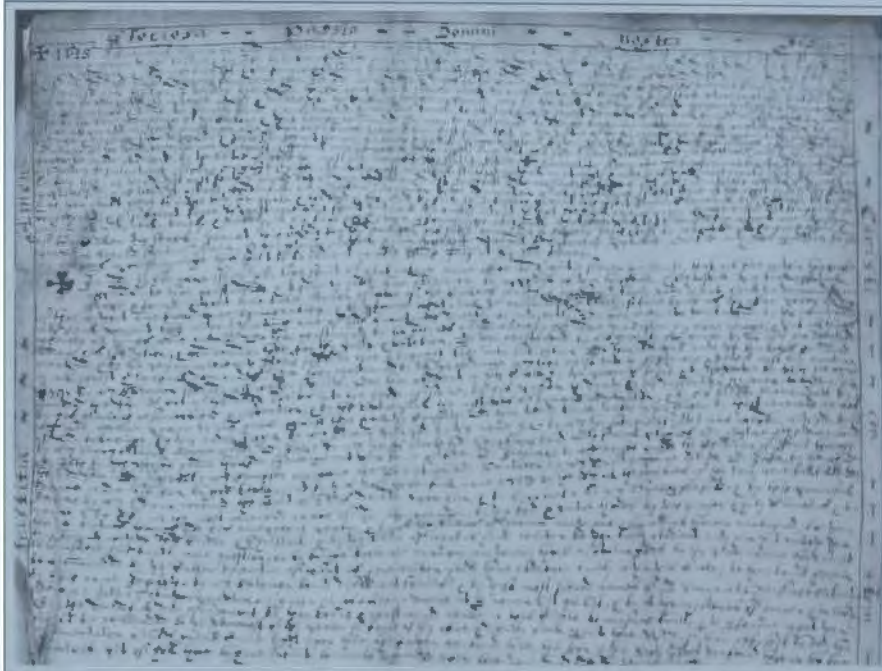


FIGURE 47



FIGURES 46-47. Top and bottom of a seventeenth-century English parchment (lamin) of ceremonial magic (Add. MS 36674, folio 110). Typical of magic artifacts, the top and right borders (fig. 46) used religious terms "Jesu" and "Christi," while the symbol in the bottom center (fig. 47) used "Christus," "Emanuel," "Alpha + Omega," and "IHS" (In Hoc Signo, "in this sign, conquer"). (Courtesy British Museum-Library)



FIGURE 48. European magic pouch for amulets, ca. 18th-19th century. From Siegfried Seligmann's 1927 *Die magischen Heil- und Schutzmittel aus der Natur . . . eine Geschichte des Amulettwesens*. (Courtesy New York Public Library)



FIGURE 49. Pouch accompanying the magic parchments of the Joseph Smith family. English books of magic instructed that magic parchments be kept in a pouch of this kind. (Original in private possession)



FIGURE 30. The "Holiness to the Lord" golden parchment (lamen) of the Joseph Smith family. Note the large Jupiter symbol (figs. 30, 34) near the top, center of this magic lamen, and compare with Joseph Smith's Jupiter talisman (fig. 28a, bottom) (Original in private possession)

FIGURE 51. The "Saint Peter Bind Them" magic parchment of the Joseph Smith family. Note the words at the upper right. (Salt Lake Tribune, 24 Aug. 1985, B-1). (Original in private possession)

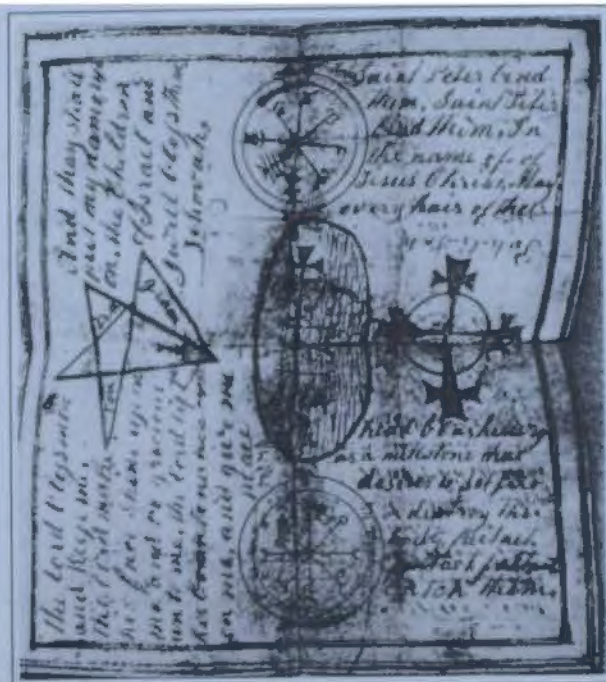


FIGURE 52. Verso of the "Saint Peter Bind Them" magic parchment of the Smith family. Note the "Nal-gah" inscription below the central symbol. Compare with figs. 72-75. (Original in private possession)

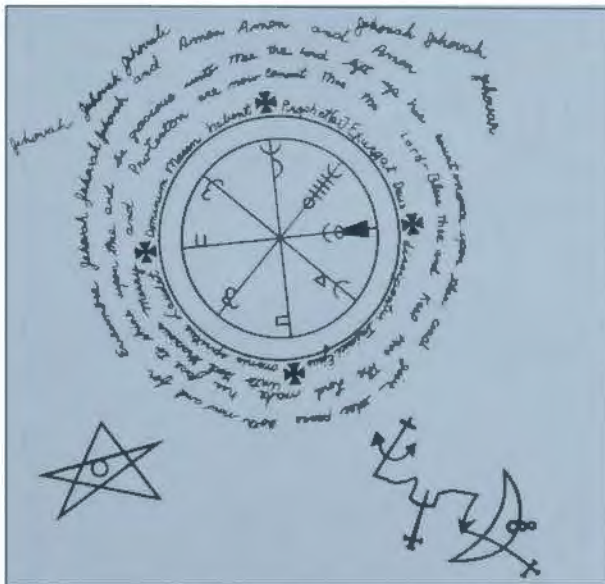


FIGURE 53. The Joseph Smith family's "Jehovah Jehovah Jehovah" parchment amulet against evil spirits. (Original in private possession; artist's reconstruction by Connie Disney, from photograph of faded original)



FIGURE 54. Pioneer Utah parchment amulet against evil spirits (ca. 1880s). Discovered above the door frame in the Bountiful, Utah, home of Henry James Harrison, an English Mormon emigrant who arrived in Utah in 1860. (Courtesy Robert C. Fullerup)

FIGURE 55



FIGURE 57



FIGURE 58



FIGURE 56

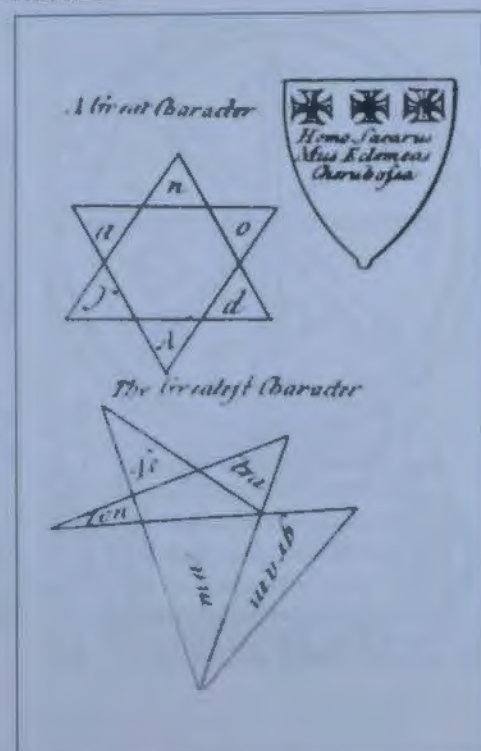
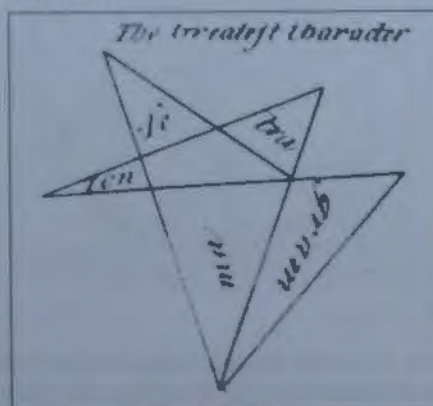


FIGURE 59



FIGURES 55-59. Tetragrammaton variants from the Joseph Smith family's "Holiness to the Lord" magic parchment (fig. 55) and "Saint Peter Bind Them" magic parchment (fig. 58). Compare these to Ebenezer Sibly's 1784 *Occult Sciences* (figs. 56, 59) and Francis Barrett's 1801 *The Magus* (fig. 57), with its Hebrew character at the center signifying Adonay. (Courtesy Lee Library, Brigham Young University; originals in private possession.)

FIGURE 60

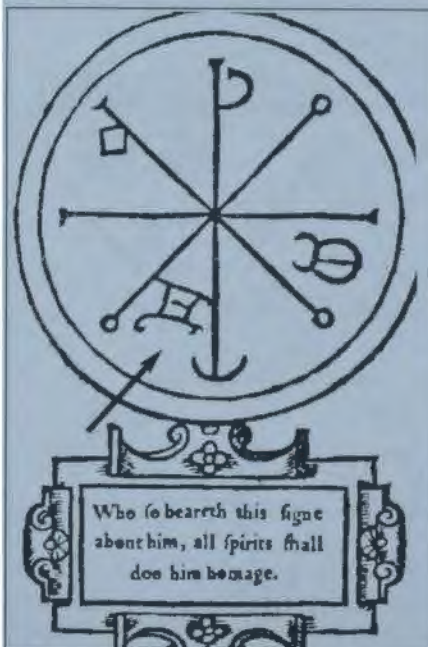


FIGURE 61

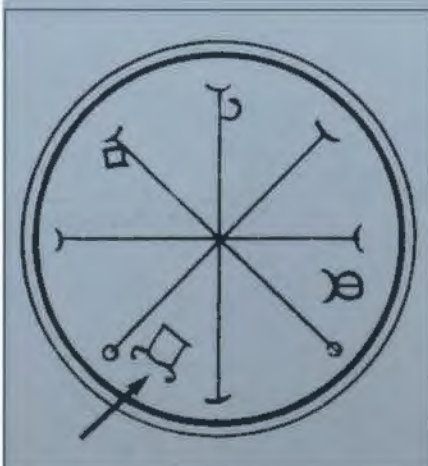
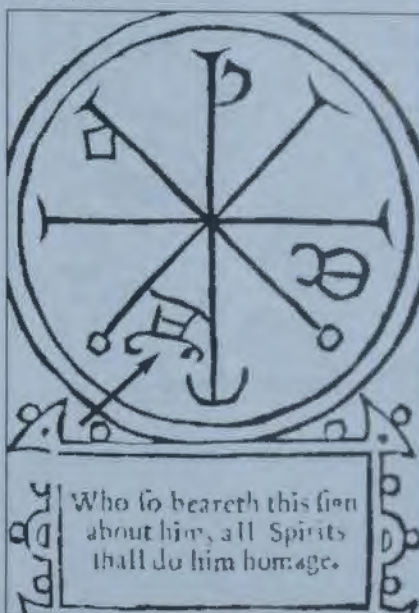


FIGURE 62



FIGURE 63

FIGURES 60-63. The magic sign, labeled "Who so beareth this sign about him, all spirits shall do him homage," from Reginald Scot's 1584 *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (fig. 60) and its 1665 edition (fig. 61). The box-like symbol (emphasized here with an arrow) in both editions of Scot has a line through its center. There is no such mark in Ebenezer Sibly's 1784 *Occult Sciences* (fig. 62) or in the Joseph Smith family's "Holiness to the Lord" magic parchment (fig. 63), showing Sibly as its source. (Courtesy Beinecke Library, Yale University; Houghton Library, Harvard University; Lee Library, Brigham Young University; original in private possession)

FIGURE 64



FIGURE 65



FIGURE 66



FIGURE 67

FIGURES 64-67. The magic sign, labeled "Who so beareth this sign about him, let him fear no fo[e], but fear God," from Scot's 1584 and 1665 editions (figs. 64-65). The symbol is almost encircled by the arc in both editions of Scot, especially the 1665 edition which is the textual source for the Joseph Smith family's parchment amulet against evil spirits (figs 53, 76-78). The arc does not extend as far around the symbol in Sibly (fig. 66) or in the Smith family's "Holiness to the Lord" magic parchment (fig. 67), showing Sibly as its source. (Courtesy Beinecke Library, Yale University; Houghton Library, Harvard University; Lee Library, Brigham Young University; original in private possession)

FIGURE 68



FIGURE 69



FIGURE 70



FIGURE 71



FIGURES 68-71. Reginald Scot's 1665 *Discourse* (fig. 69) and Ebenezer Sibly's 1784 *Occult Sciences* (fig. 71) are the only known printed sources for Pah-li-Pah, the second of seven good angels of ceremonial magic. Only Sibly uses fitched Maltese crosses, as do the Joseph Smith family's "Holiness to the Lord" magic parchment (fig. 68) and their "Saint Peter Bind Them" magic parchment (fig. 70), again showing Sibly as source for these inscriptions. This Smith lamén (fig. 70) also gives the angel's name, under the symbol. (Courtesy Houghton Library, Harvard University; Lee Library, Brigham Young University; originals in private possession)



FIGURE 72



FIGURE 73

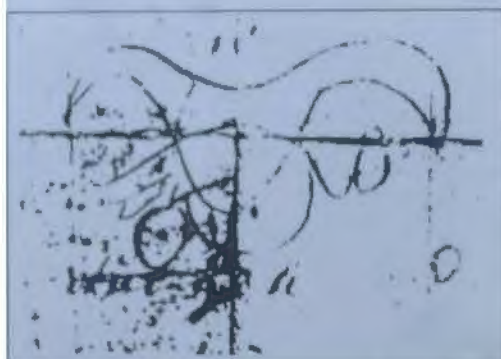


FIGURE 74



FIGURE 75

FIGURES 72-75. Reginald Scot's 1665 *Discourse* (fig. 72) and Ebenezer Sibly's 1784 *Occult Sciences* (fig. 73) are the only known printed sources for Nal-gah, the third good angel of ceremonial magic. The Joseph Smith family's "Saint Peter Bind Them" lamen (fig. 74) gives the angel's name under its symbol. The family's "Holiness to the Lord" magic parchment (fig. 75) has the letters for *In Hoc Signo* ("In this sign, conquer"). (Courtesy Houghton Library, Harvard University; Lee Library, Brigham Young University; originals in private possession.)

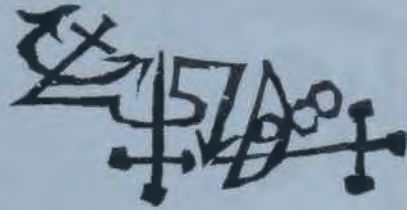


FIGURE 76

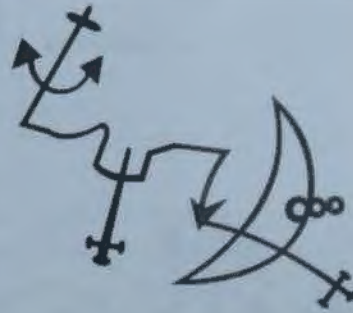


FIGURE 77

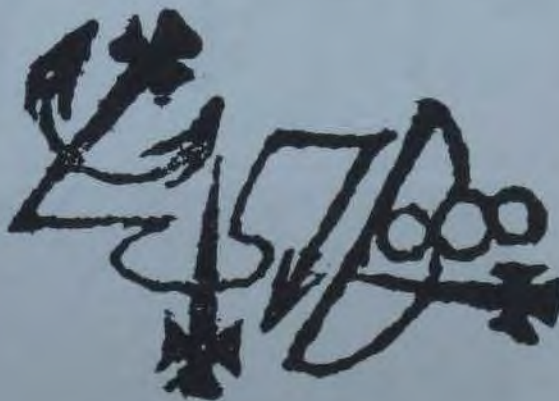


FIGURE 78

FIGURES 76-78. Reginald Scot's 1665 *Discourse* (fig. 76) and Ebenezer Sibly's 1784 *Occult Sciences* (fig. 78) are the only known printed sources for Jubanladace, the first of seven good angels of ceremonial magic. Although not exact, the Joseph Smith family's "Jehovah Jehovah Jehovah" parchment amulet (fig. 77) follows Scot for its pommy crosses and the touching of the arrow, rather than the Maltese crosses and the two separated parts of the symbol in Sibly. (Courtesy Houghton Library, Harvard University; Lee Library, Brigham Young University; Connie Disney, based on faded original in private possession)



FIGURE 79

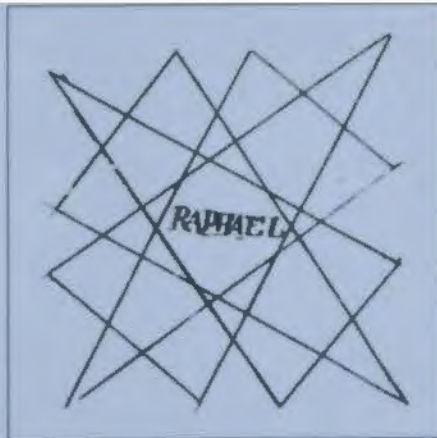


FIGURE 80

FIGURES 79-80. The twelve-pointed Raphael star from the Joseph Smith family's "Holiness to the Lord" magic parchment (fig. 79) and from Francis Barrett's 1801 *The Magus* (fig. 80). (Courtesy Lee Library, Brigham Young University; original in private possession)



FIGURE 81

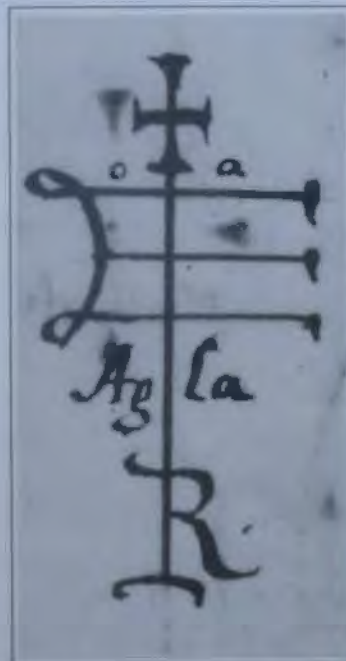


FIGURE 82

FIGURES 81-82. The Omega-Agla symbols from the Joseph Smith family's "Holiness to the Lord" magic parchment (fig. 81) and from a seventeenth-century English magic parchment (fig. 82; Sloane MS 3824, folio 76a). Omega is the last letter of the Greek alphabet, as well as a designation for Jesus Christ (Rev. 1:8). AGLA is a Hebrew acronym for "Thou art mighty forever, O Lord." (Courtesy British Museum-Library; original in private possession)



FIGURE 83. As an amulet against evil spirits, this mummified salamander and magic stones were kept in a leather pouch, inscribed with AGLA (Austria, ca. 1800). Like the Joseph Smith family's "Jehovah Jehovah Jehovah" parchment amulet (fig. 53), the prayer accompanying this salamander-amulet closes with repeated "Amen." Like a Utah Mormon's house-amulet (fig. 54), this salamander-amulet closes with both "Amen" and "Fiat." (Courtesy Helmut Nemeš and the New York Public Library).



FIGURE 84. The salamander in a religiously magical garment from the Ephrata Commune, near Lancaster, Pennsylvania, ca. 1760. At the crown of the head is the astrological symbol for Saturn, and on the forehead is the symbol for Jupiter. Over his left breast, surrounded by flames, is the Sacred Heart of Jesus, which is dripping its sanctifying blood upon the planet earth. From the heart is the stick figure of an ascending bird (apparently the Christian symbol for the Holy Ghost or the mythological Phoenix). Over his right breast is the stick figure of a four-footed reptile (apparently a salamander, representing the Ephrata Commune's Rosicrucian theology of the salamander as the elemental spirit of fire). The sash belt reflects descriptions of both biblical and magic vestments. However, the Ephrata garment was of skin-tight, wrist-to-ankle construction, with a fastening seam from chest to navel. This illustration varied from its source, Johann Georg Gichtel, *Theosophia Practica* (1722), which depicted a dog-like creature instead of a lizard or amphibian. (Courtesy Ephrata Cloister, Pennsylvania Historical-Museum Commission)



FIGURE 85. A Joseph Smith-Willford Woodruff healing handkerchief. Joseph Smith blessed this artifact and gave it to LDS apostle Willford Woodruff to use for healing the sick. (Photograph courtesy Marriott Library, University of Utah; artifact in custody of Nauvoo Restoration, Inc., Salt Lake City, Utah)



FIGURE 86. Willard Richards, LDS apostle (1840-54) and second counselor in the First Presidency (1847-54), holding the cane that has been on display at the Daughters of Utah Pioneers Museum, "thought to be the one which he used to ward off the guns through the doorway at Carthage Jail at the time of the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith." (Courtesy Utah State Historical Society)

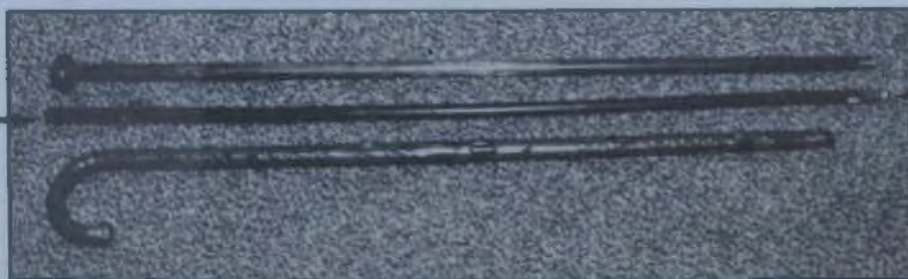


FIGURE 87. Canes belonging to Willard Richards. The black cane in the middle may be the "old black cane" that Richards used, according to his fellow counselor Heber C. Kimball, for healing the sick by touching the cane to the person's head. (From top to bottom, artifacts 4812, 407 and 10736, courtesy Daughters of Utah Pioneers Museum)



FIGURE 88. Heber C. Kimball, LDS apostle (1835-68) and first counselor in the First Presidency (1847-68), healed the sick by laying his cloak upon them or by touching them with one of the canes made from the coffin of Joseph Smith. (Courtesy Utah State Historical Society)

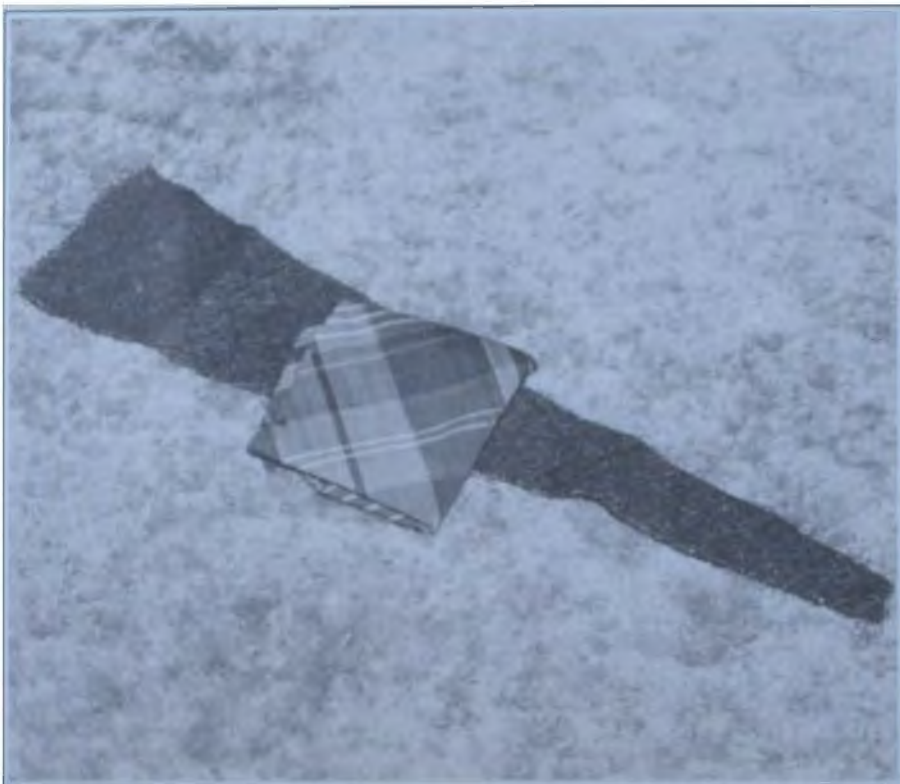


FIGURE 89. A remnant of John L. Butler's healing cape. After Joseph Smith blessed this cape as a healing object, Butler and his children used it as both a healing object and as an amulet to ward off sickness and death from the household. Subsequent generations of the Butler family divided and redivided the dark cloak and its plaid lining as a sacred relic no longer in use. (Original in private possession; photograph by the author)

*A Phrenological Chart of Joseph Smith the Prophet by A. Crane, M. D.,
Professor of Phrenology.*

Propensities.

Amativeness—11, L. Extreme susceptibility; passionately fond of the company of the other sex.

Philoprogenitiveness—9, L. Strong parental affection, great solicitude for their happiness.

Inhabitiveness—5, F. Attached to place of long residence; no desire to change residence.

Adhesiveness—8, F. Solicitous for the happiness of friends, and ardent attachments for the other sex.

Combateness—8, L. Indomitable perseverance, great courage; force, ability to overpower.

Destructiveness—6, M. Ability to control the passions, and is not disposed to extreme measures.

Secretiveness—10, L. Great propensity and ability to conceal feelings, plans, &c.

Acquisitiveness—9, L. Strong love of riches, desire to make and save money.

Alimentativeness—9, L. Strong relish for food; keen and severe appetite.

Vitateness—4, M. or S. Indifference to life; views the approach of death without fear.

Feelings.

Cautiousness—7, F. Provision against prospective dangers and ills, without hesitation or irresolution.

Approbativeness—10, L. Ambition for distinction; sense of character; sensibility to reproach, fear of scandal.

Self-esteem—10, L. High-mindedness, independence, self-confidence, dignity, aspiration for greatness.

Concentrativeness—7, F. Can dwell on a subject without fatigue, and control the imagination.

Sentiments.

Benevolence—10, L. Kindness, goodness, tenderness, sympathy.

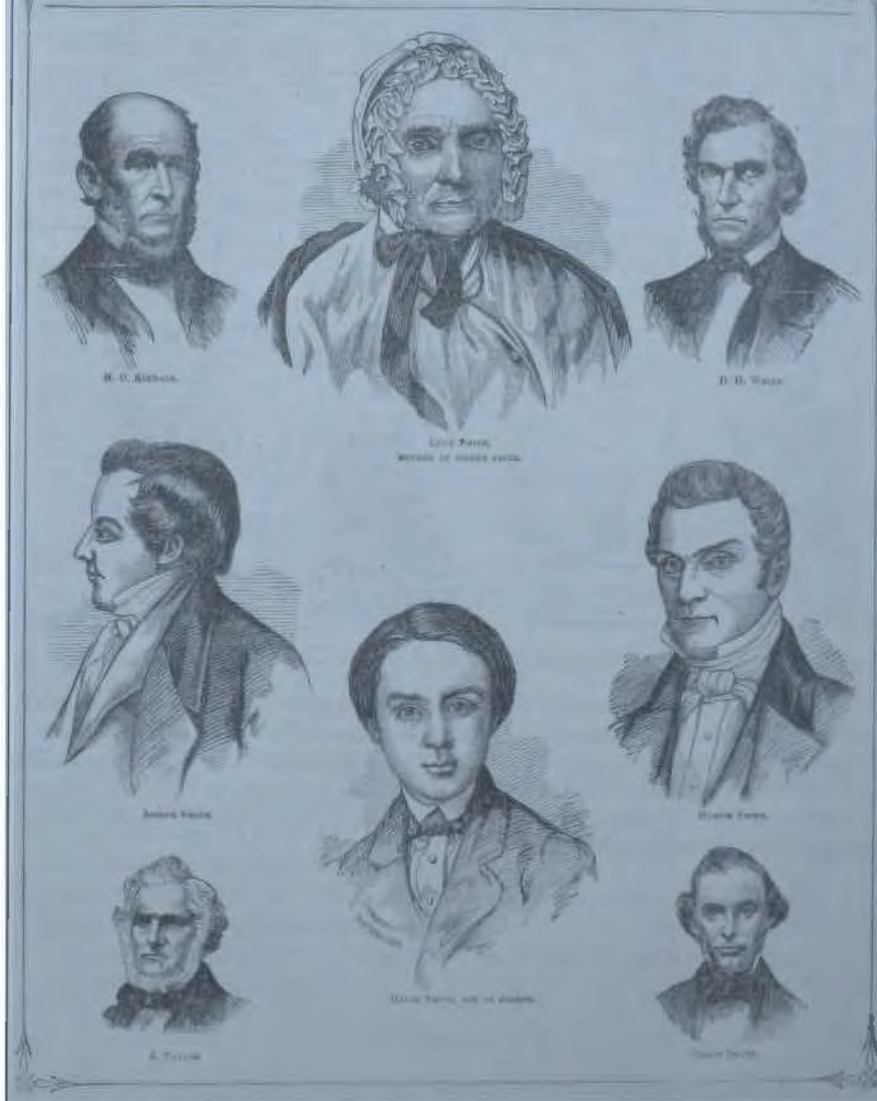
Veneration—6, F. Religion, without great awe or enthusiasm; reasonable deference to superiority.

Firmness—10, L. Stability and decision of character and purpose.

Conscientiousness—8, L. High regard for duty, integrity, moral principle, justice, obligation, truth, &c.

Hope—10, L. Cheerfulness, sanguine expectation of success and enjoyment.

FIGURE 90. The 1842 phrenological chart of Joseph Smith published in one of the church's newspapers at Nauvoo, Illinois, and later in Utah editions of the *History of the Church*. (Courtesy Lee Library, Brigham Young University)



FIGURES 92-93. Prominent nineteenth-century Latter-day Saints who had phrenological readings by 1866, from *American Phrenological Journal*. (Courtesy New York Public Library)

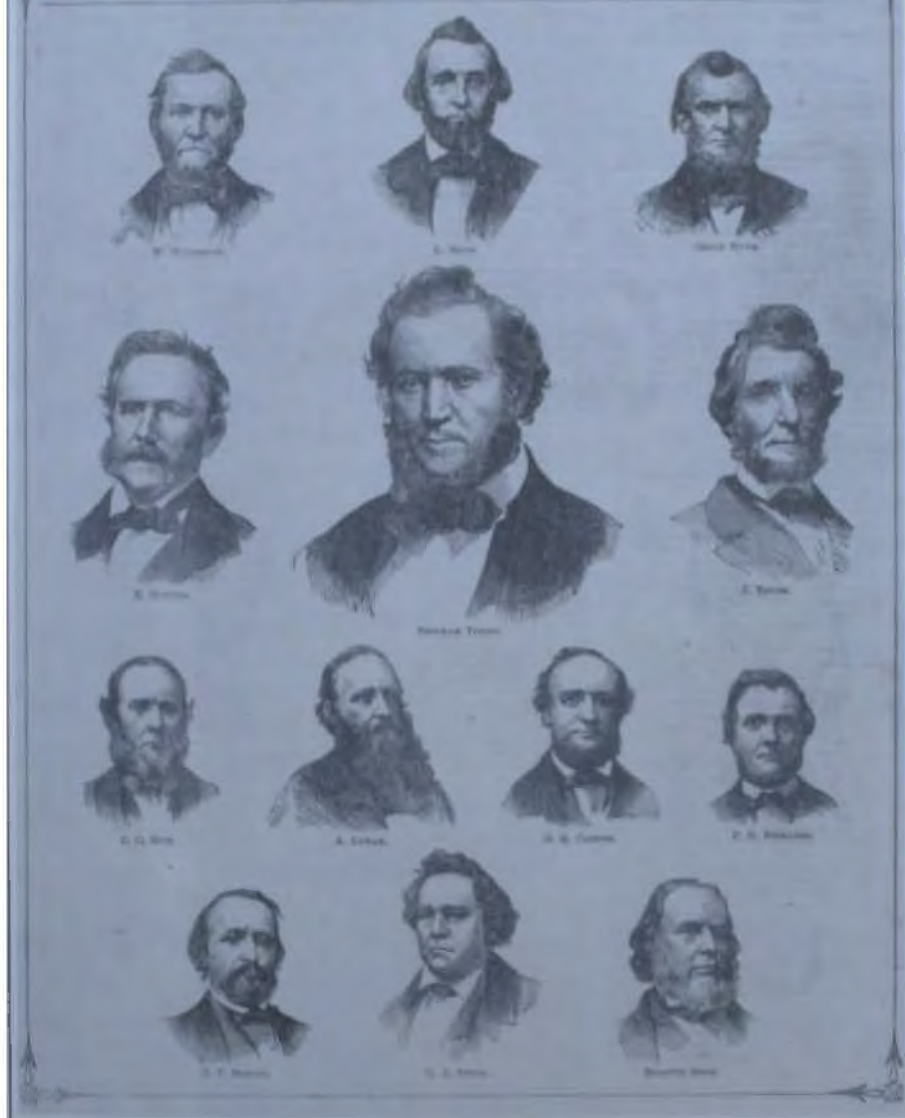


FIGURE 93

The Character Builder

AN EDUCATIONAL JOURNAL FOR EVERYBODY

VOLUME 18.

MARCH, 1905.

NUMBER 3.

PARTIAL CONTENTS



Medical Progress
The Progress of Phrenology
Parent and Child Culture
Educational Notes
Sex Instruction for Boys
Home Making
How to Prevent and Cure Colds
How Vaccination Saves From
Smallpox
The Reading Habit
Youths Department
Our Boys and Girls
Book Reviews
Publishers Department



The value of your head depends upon
the powers you have inherited, and
the use you make of them.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY THE HUMAN CULTURE COMPANY, SALT LAKE
CITY, UTAH. & JOHN T. MILLER, D. M., EDITOR, OFFICE, 334 SOUTH
NINTH EAST STREET. PHONE 1676-4. & PRICE ONE DOLLAR A YEAR.
TEN CENTS A COPY.

FIGURE 94. *The Character Builder*, Utah's phrenological journal, published by LDS returned missionaries and temporarily funded by the LDS church. (Courtesy Marriott Library, University of Utah)

Afterword

Nearly thirty years ago, Mormon historian and lay LDS leader Richard L. Bushman wrote an essay on "Faithful History." Several of his observations are important to the study of early Mormonism and magic. "Historians are forever rearranging old facts and assimilating new ones into accounts that will help men of the present understand the past," he observed with this explanation: "So long as men change, their understanding of the past must also change. Even from a religious perspective, at least from a Mormon point of view, there can be no lasting history for mortals."

To both the critics and advocates of revisionist history, I recommend Bushman's advice: "Recognizing the contingency of written history does not mean we can dismiss it as trivial. No human activity, including the physical sciences, escapes these limitations. We must try to speak the truth about the past as earnestly as we try to tell the truth about anything." By necessity this book reflects Bushman's advice: "However we write our own [Mormon] history, we cannot, of course, content ourselves with the history of the Church ... We must find some ways of bringing a larger portion of mankind within our field of vision."¹

I have sought throughout this study to recreate certain aspects of the early Mormon environment and world view that have been largely ignored until recent years. Even by its own claims, Mormonism was not a unique development. As a latter-day restoration, Mormonism sought to reestablish distant patterns extending into the ancient world and also to respond to current questions of personal experience and of the contemporary American environment. Occult beliefs and magic practices were part of early America's heritage and experience. Even the fragmentary historical record demonstrates this.

Since the colonial period, Americans who did not share the magic world view condemned such beliefs and practices as irrational and anti-religious. Nonetheless, other intelligent and religious Americans perceived reality from a magic view, and regarded such beliefs and practices as both rational and religious.

Likewise, early Mormonism was filled with religious and intelligent believers who perceived reality from a magic view and often practiced various kinds of folk magic. This included founding prophet Joseph Smith, his father and patriarch Joseph Sr., his mother Lucy Mack Smith, all Three Witnesses to the *Book of Mormon*, most (if not all) of the Eight Witnesses, half the first Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, Kirtland's first elder's quorum president Alva(h) Be(a)man, general Relief Society counselor Elizabeth Smith Whitney, Council of Fifty member Orrin Porter Rockwell, and the entire First Presidency as reconstituted in December 1847. Mormons of lesser rank also manifested various beliefs or

practices of the magic world view. Again, the fragmentary historical record demonstrates this.

Evidences of interrelationship between early Mormonism and the magic world view are diverse. These include the possession of magic implements, and the use of these objects in ways that were consistent with their traditional occult functions. Possession was affirmed by members of the Smith family, and their use was reported by both Mormon and non-Mormon sources. Official publications repeatedly contained public endorsement by early LDS leaders of folk magic practices. The above sources provide correlation of Joseph Smith's religious activities as a young man with some of the ritual requirements of magic. Moreover, content analysis shows parallels in certain of Joseph Smith's teachings, translations, and revelations as a mature church founder with esoteric, occult, and magic traditions extending to the ancient world. Textual parallels involved books published as recently as the late 1700s and early 1800s. Some of these were clearly available to the Smiths.

Some LDS apologists have discussed the above evidences in isolation and dismissed as insignificant each fact and correlation of early Mormonism with traditions of magic and the occult. By contrast, the historian's role is to avoid isolating pieces of evidence as if they existed in a vacuum. When untainted by polemics and apologetics,² historians seek to understand how each fact that is possibly relevant may have connected in the past with other evidences, no matter how fragmentary. We will never understand the past as a seamless whole, yet we should be willing to acknowledge even unfamiliar patterns that diverse evidences outline.

In assessing the varied dimensions of magic in the experience of Joseph Smith and Mormonism, the comment of Isaac Newton's biographer is instructive: "If the goal of history, including the history of science, is to present the past in its own terms to the best of our ability, and not merely to present it as a pale anticipation of the twentieth century, we cannot afford to ignore Newton's immersion in alchemy."³ The same holds equally true for Joseph Smith's immersion in the folk religion and magic world view of the early 1800s.

Like many early Americans, Joseph Smith and his family were "religious seekers" who did not accept the limits imposed by secular rationalists and mainline Protestant clergymen.⁴ In addition to reading the King James Bible, Joseph Sr. and Jr. were conversant with the lore of the magic world view and with at least some of its literature. They prayed in the Protestant manner and occasionally experienced the gifts of vision and dream typical of the apostolic church in Roman Palestine. Likewise, the Smiths initially were unchurched Christians who also used folk methods of divining and occasionally participated in treasure-digging (see ch. 2).

While active in the treasure-quest, the Smiths possessed traditional implements of folk magic and the occult. This included seer stones, a dagger for drawing the required circles, as well as magic parchments to ward off thieves and communicate with good spirits to help find treasures (see chs. 3-4). It is irrational to claim that the Smiths did not actually use those objects they possessed, which were so important to their acknowledged interest in buried treasure. Joseph

Smith, his family, and other early Mormons saw themselves as simply drawing upon a larger frame of reference in their religious quest.

Nevertheless, these magic/Mormon believers were understandably sensitive to the ridicule of those who rejected this synthesis. To deter LDS conversions and disillusion current Mormons, in 1834 Eber D. Howe's *Mormonism Unveiled* published affidavits by Palmyra residents who described the Smith family's activities in folk magic and the occult. During the remaining years of their lives, Joseph Sr. and Joseph Jr. never attempted to deny those statements. That was a tribute to the Smith family's honesty, since historical research has verified the basic truth of statements by their former neighbors and associates (see chs. 2-5). Likewise, in her biographical effort to vindicate her deceased husband and son, Lucy Mack Smith in 1845 did not deny the accusations that Joseph Sr. and Jr. engaged in ceremonial magic. She simply affirmed that those activities did not make her family lazy.⁵

In the new religious movement resulting from Joseph Smith's visions and other early experiences, there remained traces of Judeo-Christian-esoteric-folk belief and practice. That is understandable, almost inevitable. Continued remnants of folk magic and the occult do not diminish Mormonism's claims for validity, any more than the lack of such an overlay would guarantee this church's truth. Like pre-exilic Judaism and early Christianity, Mormonism developed within a particular cultural environment which it transformed in the process of becoming its own religious tradition.⁶

The world (and therefore the world view) has changed for the vast majority of Americans and Mormons since the 1820s. Many modern scientists have been surprised to learn of Isaac Newton's life-long, though quiet, exploration of the occult. Therefore, it is probable that most of my Mormon readers have encountered the unfamiliar and unexpected in this exploration of the magic world view in early America, in Joseph Smith's life, and in early Mormonism.

I hope LDS readers respond with the same calm openness expressed by an undergraduate student at Brigham Young University. While processing many of the illustrations in this book, he said: "I don't know anything about astrology and talismans, and the [LDS] Church doesn't have anything to do with that stuff today. But if people believed in these things before they joined the Church, it's natural for them to continue to believe in these things until other generations of Mormons came along that didn't."⁷

After the publication of this book's first edition, a direct descendant of the Mormon prophet also observed: "There is little room to question that Joseph Smith mirrored his culture, nor that he was influenced and drew upon folk beliefs in presentations of his religious convictions." Paul M. Edwards reassured the faithful in the RLDS church that it is not "earthshaking" to recognize that "the Smith family reflected a magic world view common to the folk culture of America in the early nineteenth century."⁸

Yet I suspect that for some readers, this discussion of a very complex subject has probably raised many unanswered questions. Such is one of the advantages or disadvantages of history, depending on one's own perspective. Contrary views toward published history are especially evident when a historian discusses the

past from new angles. It would be futile to try to anticipate all the lingering questions that readers might have. I simply acknowledge that necessary commentary and analysis remain to be done more effectively by others.

In fulfillment of that expectation I first expressed in 1987, several have published related studies. Climaxing fifteen years of research and publication, Jon Butler's 1990 *Awash in a Sea of Faith* skillfully portrayed the early American patchwork of unchurched Christians, denominational growth, occult beliefs, and folk magic practices. Butler gave attention to the Mormon experience and received the American Historical Association's Beveridge award for the best history about North America. In 1992 literary critic and biblical interpreter Harold Bloom devoted much of *The American Religion* to commenting on Joseph Smith as an intuitive Gnostic who re-established ancient mysteries within American religion. A third non-LDS scholar, John L. Brooke, received the Bancroft Prize in history for his 1994 study of the interaction of alchemical beliefs, early American religion, and Mormonism. Each of these non-LDS scholars cited the first edition of *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View*, and kindly noted its contributions to their own inquiries.⁹

In fall 1994 *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* also published a set of articles which acknowledged (and sometimes argued with my 1987 book). Michael W. Homer explored similarities between Mormonism and the Royal Arch degree of Freemasonry, challenging my emphasis (see ch. 6) on the priority of the Eleusinian mysteries. Lance S. Owens offered an analysis of "Joseph Smith and Kabbalah: The Occult Connection" (see ch. 7). For the first time Dan Vogel assembled land records, deeds, and topographical information to reassess reminiscent accounts of "Joseph Smith's Early Treasure Quests" (see ch. 2). Following the model established by Joseph Campbell, LDS author Edgar C. Snow, Jr., extended my Introduction's suggestion of Jungian parallels by examining Joseph Smith with respect to mythological hero archetypes. In all, this was a remarkable collection of revisionist scholarship.¹⁰

In that regard, I hope that the prediction of one LDS polemicist comes true. As a frequent reviewer in the Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies (FARMS), Gary F. Novak concluded in 1996: "I have no doubt that this future history will take into account all the sorts of things that historians like D. Michael Quinn just love to talk about. It will be meaty and earthy and will attempt to get at 'the man' (or woman, as the case may be). The first hints at the course such a history of cultural Mormonism might take are just starting to appear. The story is likely to be enlightening, embarrassing and, in an ironic way, faith-promoting, all at the same time."¹¹ My only revision of that statement would be to specify "such a history of Mormon culture."

One question, however, seems necessary for me to discuss at this time. While I have tried to sympathetically present the issue of magic from the perspective of those who believed in it, some readers have asked my views on a thorny issue which strains academic detachment. Do magic and the occult have current application to religious practice? Should they?

In other words, should modern believers try to duplicate the occult and folk magic practices of former believers? Should Jews and Christians emulate Jacob's

rods of fertility, Aaron's rod of power, Joseph's Egyptian cup of divination, or seek for saintly relics with the healing power of Elisha's bones? Should Christians today practice Christ's use of spittle for healings or apostolic divination through the casting of lots? Should charismatics expect to be healed by touching the hem of a pure person's clothes?

Should Mormons today obtain their own versions of Joseph Sr.'s Mars-inscribed dagger for drawing magic circles, the Smith family's magic parchments for warding off evil spirits and communicating with divine messengers, Oliver Cowdery's and Heber C. Kimball's revelatory "rod of nature," Joseph Smith's seer stones and Jupiter talisman, Jacob Whitmer's seer stone, Elizabeth Ann Whitney's seer stone, Elias Pulsipher's seer stone (successfully used by his daughter), William W. Phelps's seer stone, Orson Hyde's rod, Zebedee Coltrin's patrilineal "magic words," Willard Richards's healing cane, Heber C. Kimball's healing cloak, Brigham Young's amuletic bloodstone, Edwin Rushton's seer stone, John L. Butler's healing cape, William Titt's seer stone, Henry J. Harrison's house-amulet, John Steele's counter-charms against evil, George Q. Cannon's healing mad-stone, Wilford Woodruff's and Lorenzo Snow's healing handkerchiefs, Sarah J. Romriell Russell's seer stone, Harriet Maria Carter's seer stone, the Fisher family's seer stone, or the LDS mission president's inspiration-stone?

Should religious believers today give the kind of attention to astrology once endorsed in Jewish synagogues, Catholic prayer books, Protestant almanacs, and the Utah Mormon newspaper? Should contemporary Mormons use folk magic techniques in a treasure-quest as did Joseph Sr., Joseph Jr., Martin Harris, Alva(h) Be(a)man, and Orrin Porter Rockwell before 1830? Should modern Mormons emulate the First Presidency in 1836 and look for treasure concealed in houses? Should Mormons follow the example of prominent Utah Mormon astrologer John Steele who "worked in the Science [of astrology] for the last 40 years"? Should today's Mormons practice palmistry as Lucy Mack Smith allegedly did and as Augusta Montgomery Walden definitely did for Utah's female elite?

Should current Mormons explore the Jewish Cabala¹² as Joseph Smith apparently did with Alexander Neibaur? Should modern Mormons follow the example of Smith's secretary and a dozen pioneer Utah leaders in seeking to perform alchemical experiments? Should today's Mormons practice sympathetic magic in healing, as Brigham Young recommended? Should today's Protestant fundamentalists believe in pyramidology because it was once a staple of evangelical publications? Should Latter-day Saints accept pyramidology because of its endorsements by LDS leaders Orson Pratt, George Q. Cannon, Joseph F. Smith, Brigham Young, Jr., Charles W. Penrose, George Reynolds, and Anthony W. Ivins? Like newly appointed apostle Rudger Clawson and First Presidency secretary George Reynolds, should Mormons regard phrenology as important as patriarchal blessings? Should modern Mormon women perform tea-leaf divination as did some Utah pioneer women?

Individual Jews, Christians, and Mormons must answer those questions for themselves. For me, sympathetic and empathetic analysis of the past does not require endorsement of such practices. Certainly not emulation of them. None of the esoteric methods or folk magic described in this book have ever been part of

my own life. I feel no loss because of that absence, and as a rationalist I do not imagine myself superior to those who claim beneficial experiences with the magic world. However, I have the age-old disapproval for those who seek esoteric knowledge in order to do evil or hurt others for any pretext.

Folk magic practices facilitated the religious quest of persons who *already* perceived reality from that world view. At the same time, without magic views and techniques, other church leaders and believers enjoyed an equally rich experience of divine communication, charismatic gifts, and personal spirituality.

The record of the past indicates that culture and personal perspectives help to shape the interactions between the individual and God. What was natural, good, and effective for some individuals in their religious quest in the 1820s and 1830s would be artificial and undoubtedly ineffective for equally ardent believers today who have a different perspective of reality. Nevertheless, I admire current Jews, Christians, and Mormons who privately adopt any folk magic practice that speaks to their inner bliss. Some call this a "new age" religion, but I see it as a very old expression of religiosity.¹³

My intent in this book has simply been to sketch in broad strokes the outline of a topic that I believe merits careful, cautious scrutiny by Mormons and non-Mormons alike. Readers can best decide whether BYU historian and FARMS polemicist William J. Hamblin is accurate in dismissing my analysis of early Mormonism and the magic world view as "*historia ex nihilo*—the creation of history out of nothing."¹⁴

If we hope to understand fully the origins of Mormonism, we cannot ignore the environment and world view of its first adherents. This requires acknowledging the place and meaning of magic as one of the components of a complex mix that also included the common American's emphasis on pragmatism and common sense, together with devotion to the Bible, an intensely personal relationship with God, the belief in the reality of divine and diabolic intervention in daily life, expectations that God's true church should be like apostolic Christianity, and a conviction that the glorious return of Christ to the earth was imminent.

Notes

About rare books and restricted manuscripts.

Many of the Anglo-European-American published works relating to pre-1830 esoteric knowledge, occult sciences, and folk practices are extremely rare today. However, major colleges and universities have microform collections which now make much of this material available to the general public. Published indexes give author-title and sometimes subject access to the following microform collections: Cornell University Library's Witchcraft Collection; Early English Books, 1475-1640 (Pollard and Redgrave Short-Title Catalog); American Culture Series, 1493-1875; Witchcraft in Europe and America; French Books before 1601; German Books before 1601; Italian Books before 1601; Early English Books, 1641-1700 (Donald Wing Short-Title Catalog); German Baroque Books (Jantz Collection); Sorciers, Demonologues, Magistrats, Theologiens et Medecins aux XVIe et XVIIe Siecles; Landmarks of Science; Early American Imprints, 1639-1800 (Charles Evans Catalog); Early English Newspapers; American Periodicals, 1741-1900; Early American Newspapers; Popular Literature in 18th-century and 19th-century Britain (Robert White Collection of Chapbooks); American Fiction, 1774-1900; Early American Imprints, 1801-19 (Shaw and Shoemaker Catalog); The Nineteenth Century (collection of British Museum-Library); Microbook of American Civilization; Early British Periodicals; Literature of Folklore.

During the 1970s the papers of deceased LDS general authorities and the older records of quorums and departments at LDS headquarters were completely available to even non-Mormon researchers at LDS archives. However, since then it has been the policy of the LDS Historical Department to withhold both types of documents from all researchers, including devout members of the LDS church.

To counter that policy, some families have acquired photocopies of the diaries of their general-authority ancestors from LDS archives and have donated those photocopies to libraries where they are available to the general public. If interested in the diaries/papers of a specific general authority, researchers should inquire with the Bancroft Library of the University of California at Berkeley, the Beinecke Library of Yale University, the Chicago Historical Society, the Firestone Library of Princeton University, the Huntington Library in San Marino, California, the Lee Library of Brigham Young University, the Marriott Library of the University of Utah, the Merrill Library of Utah State University, the New York Public Library's Manuscript Division, the Research Library and Archives of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saint in Independence, Missouri, the Sherratt Library of Southern Utah University, the Stewart Library of Weber State University, and the Utah State Historical Society's Library.

In addition, researchers have donated their transcriptions of now-restricted documents at LDS archives to other libraries where these transcriptions (and sometimes photocopies) are available to the general public. Current researchers should consult the following libraries for these now-available research files: Lee Library (E. Eugene Campbell's, M. Willford Poulson's, Russell E. Rich's, Ernest D. Strack's, Samuel W. Taylor's), Marriott Library (Philip Blair's, David John Buerger's, Edwin B. Firmage's, Mervin B. Hogan's, Scott G. Kenney's, H. Michael Marquardt's, Linda King Newell's, Max H. Parkin's, Richard Douglas Poll's, Gregory A. Prince's, George A. Smith Family's, John Taylor Family's, Richard S. Van Wagoner's), Stewart Library (Donald R. Moorman's, Levi S. Peterson's, Gene A. Sessions's, John Sillito's).

and *Utah State Historical Society* (Stanley S. Ivins's). The following research-files will also be available to the public as soon as they have been processed and cataloged: *Beinecke Library* (D. Michael Quinn's), *Merrill Library* (Leonard J. Arrington's, S. George Ellsworth's), *Reorganized Church Research Library and Archives* (Richard P. Howard's).

Notes to Preface

1. Bret A. Eborn, *Comprehensive Bibliography of Mormon Literature Including Some Review Information & Price History* (Peoria, AZ: Eborn Books, 1997), 304, lists \$100 as the highest price he knows of.

2. Stephen E. Robinson untitled review, *BYU Studies* 27 (Fall 1987): 88, "The major strength of Quinn's book is the incredible breadth of its research. The bibliography appended to the main text is no less than sixty-seven pages in length and lists a multitude of arcane and often inaccessible volumes, including even rare medieval manuscripts." This was the only favorable remark in a distorted review by an LDS polemicist. Other reviewers were both honest and helpful for this revision. Despite their other problems, malicious reviews often identify a book's oversights, which I have corrected to the best of my ability. In that respect, I owe thanks to the most mean-spirited and polemical of my reviewers. Because some reviewers misrepresented the content of the first edition, various chapters of this revision respond directly to Robinson and others. For acknowledgement that Robinson is a "polemical" reviewer, see Daniel C. Peterson, "Editor's Introduction," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 4 (1992): ix, note 6; also my following discussion of polemics and polemicists.

3. Mormon historian B. Carmon Hardy commented that "every [source] notation also amounts to a near-exhaustive bibliographic essay," in his review of my first volume about the Mormon hierarchy (*Origins of Power*) in *Pacific Historical Review* 65 (Feb. 1996): 150. Likewise, in a letter to me on 19 January 1998 concerning the second volume of that study, Yale's former acting-president Howard R. Lamar writes: "The footnotes themselves in *Extensions of Power*—231 pages, will be an indispensable research tool for scholars well into the twenty-first century." However, in *Sunstone* 20 (Nov. 1997): 73, LDS sociologist Armand L. Mauss wrote: "One of his [Quinn's] trademarks is exhaustive documentation, but there is such a thing as overkill."

In contrast, my technique of providing readers with bibliographic source-notes has been the subject of stridently negative comments by polemical reviewers for BYU's Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies. BYU historian William J. Hamblin, "Everything Is Everything: Was Joseph Smith Influenced by Kabbalah?," *FARMS Review of Books: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 8 (1996), no. 2:258, 258n21, denounced the source-notes in my *Mormon Hierarchy's* first volume for its "particularly egregious examples" of "bibliography padding." For its polemical review of the second volume, FARMS had a Salt Lake City marriage therapist write that my book "cites too many sources for any reader to double-check even a fraction of them—not to mention checking them all." Therefore, Duane Boyce, "A Betrayal of Trust," *FARMS Review of Books: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 9 (1997), no. 2:163, advised "we can set the book aside and do something else with our time—say, to begin with, reread the book of Helaman" in the *Book of Mormon*. In their "A Response to D. Michael Quinn's Homosexual Distortion of Latter-day Saint History," *FARMS Review of Books: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 10 (1998): no. 1:149, George L. Mitton and Rhett S. James write: "The volume of Quinn's notes gives the appearance of scholarly depth, but they are often bloated, filled with mere fluff and misrepresentation."

4. Hamblin, "Everything Is Everything," 253n7. Up to 1994 official publications used the abbreviation of F.A.R.M.S. As of 1995, its *Review of Books* adopted the abbreviation

FARMS in the index and on the back cover. For convenience, I follow the current form of abbreviation even when referring to this organization's publications or authors prior to 1995.

5. Gary F. Novak untitled review, in *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 5 (1993): 233, 233n3. In contrast to an author's revising her/his own manuscript talk for publication, the retroactively edited texts in Mormon history have caused serious problems in establishing chronology, understanding doctrinal development, and determining participant knowledge of certain issues at a particular time. For those problems in just one standard LDS source, see Dean C. Jessee, "The Writing of Joseph Smith's History," *BYU Studies* 11 (Summer 1971): 439-473; Jessee, "The Reliability of Joseph Smith's History," *Journal of Mormon History* 3 (1976): 23-46; Jessee, "Authorship of the History of Joseph Smith: A Review Essay," *BYU Studies* 21 (Winter 1981): 101-22; Jessee, "Priceless Words and Fallible Memories: Joseph Smith as Seen in the Effort to Preserve His Discourses," *BYU Studies* 31 (Spring 1991): 19-40. For a several-page list of sources that discuss this problem of retroactive changes in the original texts of LDS revelations and historical documents, see D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books/Smith Research Associates, 1994), 272n25. This cited acknowledgements of these problems as expressed from 1955 to the present in BYU theses and dissertations, LDS church magazines, Deseret Book Company publications, official publications by BYU's Religious Instruction, *BYU Studies*, and the 1992 *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, the latter being a source written by oversight of LDS apostles (see following note 60). Contrary to Novak's polemical insinuation, anti-Mormons and so-called "critics" are not the only ones who have written about the confusion caused by changes at LDS headquarters in historical texts and manuscript revelations of early Mormonism.

6. John Gee, "La Trahison des Clercs: On the Language and Translation of the Book of Mormon," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 6 (1994), no. 1:114-19, gave a polemical (yet useful) overview of the debate about the term "apologist," involving FARMS and some equally polemical writers from Signature Books. I obviously can't claim to be "above the fray," but I resent polemical tactics by any author.

7. William Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, Act V, scene iii, line 294.

8. "Group Trying to Prove LDS Works Joins With BYU," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 8 Nov. 1997, B-1.

9. Peterson, "Editor's Introduction: Of Polemics," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 6 (1994), no. 2:v, vii.

10. Peterson, "Text and Context," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 6 (1994), no. 1:524-62 (for briefly quoted phrases on 536, emphasis in original). Immediately after referring to a complaint from the director of publishing at Signature Books, Peterson began a five-page set of quotations (537-41) about the "warped and immoral lives" and homosexuality of earlier American authors and publishers. Peterson ended this litany with the obviously sarcastic disclaimer (541) that "I am not charging any particular individual, at Signature or anywhere else, with sexual immorality."

11. Daniel C. Peterson, "Editor's Introduction: Triptych (Inspired by Hieronymus Bosch)," *FARMS Review of Books: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 8 (1996), no. 1:xxvii, note 98, "if we have occasionally been guilty of levity at the expense of some of our critics, this has been because they tempted us with irresistible targets. It isn't our fault. Like most other Americans in the late twentieth century, we are victims. A few of us, indeed, may have been born that way, with the nastiness gene—which is triggered by arrant humbuggery."

12. William J. Hamblin, "The Latest Straw Man," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies: Foundation for Ancient Research & Mormon Studies* 4 (1995), no. 2:87; However, Hamblin and other FARMS polemicists should remember Jacob Neusner's comment that "in the

community of scholarship on Judaism, I have enjoyed the grudging, perverse confirmation of my views that has come from ostracism and character assassination." See Neusner, "No Monopoly," *Sunstone* 17 (Dec. 1994): 3-5.

13. Although I did not identify myself as an apologist in this book's first edition, two reviewers specifically discussed that question. Robinson untitled review (1987), 88, stated: "Quinn is clearly no LDS apologist. There is not a single page of the main text that would appear to be motivated by loyalty to the LDS church or its doctrines or to be apologetic of the Church's interests." In contrast, Benson Whittle untitled review, *BYU Studies* 27 (Fall 1987): 108, noted that "one begins very early to discern an apologetic stance in this work, but with a peculiar twist: the author is not defending the faith to the infidel; instead, he is defending the history of a heretical prophet-founder, and his associates, to his own coreligionists, so that they may not be ashamed of their origins to the point of falsifying their history." From my perspective, Robinson's assessment was wrong and Whittle's was right.

Every time FARMS reviewers quote me in support of a faith-promoting position, the FARMS format requires putting the statement in a footnote and attaching a disclaimer. For example, Hamblin, "Everything Is Everything," 257n20, quoted me in support of a faithful view, yet reassured his readers that "[Quinn is] hardly a Latter-day Saint 'apologist.'" Likewise, Daniel C. Peterson, "Yet More Abuse of B. H. Roberts," *FARMS Review of Books: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 9 (1997), no. 1:80n24, prefaced a reference to one of my faith-promoting views: "D. Michael Quinn, who can scarcely be dismissed as an apologist for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and its leaders ..."

14. From the time I first learned about the "White Salamander Letter" in 1984, I consistently deferred to the judgment of specialists in handwriting, paper, and other tests for document authenticity. After experts of national and international reputation initially endorsed the letter's authenticity as an 1830 document, I accepted their conclusions. For months I waited for the findings of others who had been appointed to research the background and meaning of this strange document. Early in 1985 I tired of waiting, began my own research, and discovered early America's magic world view. Before I gave my first public presentation on the subject in August 1985, I regarded the religiously occult context of early America and early Mormonism as far more interesting than the Salamander Letter. That August lecture was a preview of my emphasis in this book.

When asked about the Salamander Letter during this period, I only affirmed that its content was consistent with everything I had found and was learning about pre-1830 beliefs in folk magic and the occult. That was the only expertise I could claim, and that is what I told interested Mormons, media reporters, and police officers (who became interested after the infamous package-bombings in Salt Lake City during October 1985). In 1986 George Throckmorton invented a new forensic test of ink which indicated that the Salamander letter was a modern forgery. Aside from contradicting previous authentications by non-LDS forensic experts, the credibility of this Mormon's announcement in May 1986 was initially clouded by the fact that Throckmorton had publicly expressed disbelief in the Salamander Letter's authenticity before he examined the document. Its content was what Throckmorton initially disliked and disbelieved. Eventually Mark W. Hofmann admitted the forgery as part of a plea-bargain to avoid the death penalty for his committing the bombing-murders. See discussion and source-notes in Introduction; also D. Michael Quinn to Linda Sillitoe and Allen D. Roberts, 9 May 1988 (to "point out some misquotes or misrepresentations in the book that involve me"), fd 8, box 29, Linda Sillitoe's *Salamander Collection*, Manuscripts Division, Department of Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City.

15. Quinn's preliminary manuscript, 92n, fd 10, box 6, Sillitoe's *Salamander Collection*; D. Michael Quinn, *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1987), ix, 127n5, 258, 283. Robinson untitled review (1987), 94, speculated that "as

Quinn approached publication, the Hofmann materials were pulled out from under him, leaving a huge salamander-shaped hole in the center of his theory." Aside from its mixed metaphors, Robinson's review is demonstrably wrong. However, it did not occur to me to put a separate listing for "forgery" in the index heading after "salamander(s)" in the first edition. I have learned that some of my critics read nothing more than the index heading of "salamander(s)" and concluded that this book accepted the Salamander Letter. For the benefit of those who may only look at the index, I have added the term "forgery."

16. Rhett Stephens James, "Gay Attitudes in LDS History Unsupported," *Standard-Examiner* (Ogden, UT), 27 Mar. 1996, A-10; also his similar statement (without the reference to Hofmann) in "Historian's Portrayal of Early Mormons Distorted," *Herald Journal* (Logan, UT), 10 Mar. 1996, 6.

17. "Harris Letter Could Be Further Witness," *Deseret News "Church News,"* 9 Sept. 1984, 11 (for lack of forensic authentication), 13 (for quotes by Rhett S. James and paraphrases of his statements). That is not the only example of Rhett James speaking authoritatively about documents of which he has no direct knowledge. "Historians," *Herald Journal* (Logan, UT), 14 Dec. 1997, 11, quoted him as follows: "Many of Compton's sources are hearsay and not primary sources," James said. "Rumor, gossip and speculation do not make good history." Rhett James made those statements about the book's sources before he had read one page of Todd Compton's *In Sacred Loneliness: The Plural Wives of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997). Prior to this article, the publisher had not sent James an advance copy, and the book was not in any bookstore until after the publication of his statements. This Logan article was in regard to an Associated Press story on Compton's book which appeared in the *Salt Lake Tribune* a few days earlier.

18. Because Rhett S. James later condemned the alleged 1830 Harris letter as a forgery, he has apparently forgotten the supportive remarks he made to the LDS church's newspaper in 1984. In 1998 his co-authored "Response to D. Michael Quinn's Homosexual Distortion of Latter-day Saint History," 202n150, claimed: "At the time, Rhett S. James cautioned that the Mark Hofmann 'Salamander Letter' was a fraud, but Quinn accepted it as genuine and apparently had to make hasty changes in the book when Hofmann confessed his forgery." In addition to his selective memory about his own early endorsement of the Salamander Letter, James invented an endorsement I never gave.

While it was Rhett James who publicly endorsed the White Salamander Letter before he examined it and before any forensic expert commented on the authenticity of the document's paper, ink, and handwriting, this book's first edition did discuss the meaning of salamanders in occult philosophy. Contrary to the polemical claim of Rhett James in 1996, that 1987 discussion (pages 127-33, 153) never used the term "white salamander" in the main text. That phrase appeared only once in a footnote (1987, page 128n5): "The public release of the so-called white salamander letter, or 1830 Martin Harris letter (known to be a forgery), in 1985 caused both Mormon laymembers and scholars ... The document's forger later stated ..." The present edition's chapter 5 also discusses the meaning of the salamander in occult philosophy and the possible connection of that philosophy with early Mormonism.

19. Newell G. Bringham untitled review, *Pacific Historical Review* 58 (Aug. 1989): 379; Sterling M. McMurrin untitled review, *Utah Historical Quarterly* 56 (Spring 1988): 200; also William A. Wilson untitled review, *BYU Studies* 27 (Fall 1987): 96.

20. Robinson untitled review (1987), 88. In a review of a book with which I had no connection whatever, William J. Hamblin referred in the text to "Latter-day Saint dissenters" who "demand that the Church accept their personal interpretations of Latter-day Saint history, practice, and doctrine as 'the Truth.'" After defining this as "spiritual blackmail," Hamblin identified me as an example in the source note. Near the conclusion of this eighty-page review, Hamblin noted that "the dissenters and revisionists—who claim to be telling us 'the Truth' about the Church" are actually guilty of "deceitfully masking of one's true beliefs by implicit but unacknowledged redefining of the language of faith." In fairness

to Hamblin, it is possible that I have misread his intention to include me that accusation. Even if that was his unstated purpose, he did not have the added advantage of reading the clearest declaration I can make that my affirmations of faith are not "word games." See Hamblin, "An Apologist for the Critics: Brent Lee Metcalfe's Assumptions and Methodologies," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 6 (1994), no. 1:460-61, 461n51, 520n193; compare with D. Michael Quinn, "Pillars of My Faith: The Rest Is History," *Sunstone* 18 (Dec. 1995): 50.

21. Noel B. Reynolds, "The Logical Structure of the Authorship Debate," in Reynolds, ed., *Book of Mormon Authorship Revisited: The Evidence for Ancient Origins* (Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1997), 97, which concluded:

"There is no point in discussing the evidence or arguments for or against the Joseph Smith account unless the discussants at least accept the possibility of its truth."

22. Louis Joseph Halle, *Out of Chaos* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1977).

23. Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Occasions, 1912-1951*, ed. James C. Klagge and Alfred Nordmann (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 1993), 116.

24. BYU's title for this departmental position was "graduate coordinator," which translates in conventional university terminology as the department's director of graduate studies or director of its graduate program. This is similar to BYU's other substitutions for conventional academic terms: "continuing status" instead of tenure, "professional development leave" instead of sabbatical leave.

"The World Is His Campus," *Sunstone* 12 (Jan. 1988): 45; Quinn, "On Being a Mormon Historian (And Its Aftermath)," in George D. Smith, ed., *Faithful History: Essays on Writing Mormon History* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), 69-111; "Apostasy Investigation Launched Against Historian," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 13 Feb. 1993, A-6, A-7; "Michael Quinn Investigated for Apostasy," *Sunstone* 16 (Mar. 1993): 69; "Six Facing Censure Accuse Mormon Church of Purge," *Los Angeles Times*, 18 Sept. 1993, B-5; "Mormons Penalize Dissident Members: 6 Who Criticized Leaders or Debated Doctrine Await Sanctions by Church," *New York Times*, 19 Sept. 1993, 31; "Tempo Di Purghe Tra i Mormoni," *Corriere Della Serra* (Milan), 21 Sept. 1993, 9; "As Mormon Church Grows, So Does Dissent From Feminists and Scholars," *New York Times*, 2 Oct. 1993, 7; "The September Six: On Trial For Their Religious Beliefs," *The Event* (Salt Lake City), 1 Oct. 1993, 1, 3-4; "Elders Banishing Dissidents In Struggle Over Mormon Practices," *Washington Post*, 26 Nov. 1993, A-3; "By the Book: Mormon Leaders Have Doggedly Fought Recent Attempts To Reinterpret Official Church History and Liberalize Its Doctrine," *Vancouver Sun*, 4 Dec. 1993, D-13; "Mormon Church Ousts Dissidents," *Los Angeles Times*, 30 Dec. 1993, E-2; "September Six collection, 1993," Department of Special Collections and Archives, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; Lavina Fielding Anderson, "The September Six," in George D. Smith, ed., *Religion, Feminism, and Freedom of Conscience: A Mormon/Humanist Dialogue* (Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books; Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994), 3; "Mormon Church Excommunicates Five Scholars Over Their Books," *Publishers Weekly* 241 (25 Apr. 1994): 12.

25. "Excommunicated Mormon Offers Statement of Faith," *Daily Herald* (Provo, UT), 20 Aug. 1994, A-3; "Those Disciplined Watch Their Families Feel Pressure," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 16 Sept. 1995, D-2; Quinn, "Pillars of My Faith: The Rest Is History," *Sunstone* 18 (Dec. 1995): 50-57.

26. Robinson untitled review (1987), 92.

27. Whittle untitled review (1987), 107, complained: "Throughout the work, Quinn erroneously considers astrology a branch of magic instead of a separate, archaic science, once the astronomy of its day." The error is Whittle's. For example, John Lankford, ed., *History of Astronomy: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1997), 44, used "astral magic" to describe astrology, whose status "was similar to that of examination of the entrails of sacrifices and the interpretation of dreams and thunderstorms; it was the most developed

system of divination, both in potential breadth of application and in complexity for the student." Also see the reference to "astrological magic" in Ioan Petru Culianu, "Magic in Medieval and Renaissance Europe," in Mircea Eliade, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, 16 vols. (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1987), 9:99.

28. John Middleton, "Theories of Magic," in Eliade, *Encyclopedia of Religion*, 9:82; also my Introduction.

29. John Dominic Crossan, *The Historical Jesus: The Life of a Mediterranean Jewish Peasant* (San Francisco: Harper, 1992), 138. Unlike Crossan, I regard the miracles of Jesus literally, including his resurrection. BYU religion professor Richard L. Anderson has written: "Crossan's work is a highly subjective example of the form-critical 'biography' of Jesus. Its literary chronology, mixing historical and apocryphal materials, is a nightmare of unjustifiable dates, accompanied by invincible guesswork on the oral growth of stories about Jesus. Conservative scholarship gives Crossan a failing grade." See *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 6 (1994), no. 1:386. Although I respect Anderson as a New Testament specialist and my former bishop, my reading of scholarly literature in a wide variety of disciplines persuades me that Crossan's view of magic is accurate.

30. For these other American traditions of the occult, see Octavio Ignacio Romano V., "Charismatic Medicine, Folk-Healing, and Folk-Sainthood," *American Anthropologist* 67 (Oct. 1965): 1151-73; Lowell John Bean, "California Indian Shamanism and Folk Curing," Joe S. Graham, "The Role of the Curandero in the Mexican American Folk Medicine System in West Texas," and Bruce Jackson, "The Other Kind of Doctor: Conjure and Magic in Black American Folk Medicine," in Wayland D. Hand, ed., *American Folk Medicine: A Symposium* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 109-23, 175-89, 259-72; Mary Elizabeth Shuler, "Disease and Curing in a Yaqui Community," in Edward H. Spicer, ed., *Ethnic Medicine in the Southwest* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1977), 169-237; Albert J. Raboteau, *Slave Religion: The 'Invisible Institution' in the Antebellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 13-15, 25-27, 34-35; Robert T. Trotter II and Juan Antonio Chavira, *Curanderismo: Mexican American Folk Healing* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1981); Edgar E. Siskin, *Washo Shamans and Peyotists: Religious Conflict in an American Indian Tribe* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983); James H. Howard and Willie Lena, *Oklahoma Seminoles: Medicines, Magic, and Religion* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984); Jules J. Wanderer and George Revere, Jr., "Black Magic Beliefs and White Magic Practices: The Common Structure of Intimacy, Tradition, and Power," *Social Science Journal* 23 (1986), no. 4:419-30; Karl H. Schlesier, *The Wolves of Heaven: Cheyenne Shamanism, Ceremonies, and Prehistoric Origins* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987); Bobby Joe Neeley, "Contemporary Afro-American Voodooism (Black Religion): The Retention and Adaption of the Ancient African-Egyptian Mystery System," Ph.D. diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1988; Joseph M. Murphy, *Santeria: An African Religion in America* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1988); Deward E. Walker, Jr., ed., *Witchcraft and Sorcery of the American Native Peoples* (Moscow: University of Idaho Press, 1989); Migue Gonzales-Wippler, *Santeria, the Religion: A Legacy of Faith, Rites, and Magic* (New York: Harmony, 1989); Ron Bodin, *Voodoo: Past and Present* (Lafayette: University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1990); James Haskins, *Voodoo & Hoodoo: Their Tradition and Craft As Revealed by Active Practitioners* (Chelsea, MI: Scarborough House, 1990); Yvonne Patricia Chireau, "Conjuring: An Analysis of African-American Folk Beliefs and Practices," Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1994; M. Drake Patten, "African-American Spiritual Beliefs: An Archaeological Testimony from the Slave Quarter," in Peter Benes, ed., *Wonders of the Invisible World, 1600-1900: The Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife Annual Proceedings, 1992* (Boston: Boston University, 1995), 44-52; Laennec Hurbon, *Voodoo: Search For the Spirit*, trans. Lory Frankel (New York: Discoveries/Harry N. Abrams, 1995); Murphy, "Santeria and Vodou in the United States," in Timothy

Miller, ed., *America's Alternative Religions* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), 291-96.

31. This extended explanation is necessary because a well-known LDS folklorist repeatedly criticized the first edition of this book for my alleged assumptions "that the 'folk' were unsophisticated, unlettered, country people, little touched by the refining influences of civilization" and that there was a "monolithic, unchanging group of people called the 'folk.'" See his untitled review in *BYU Studies* (Fall 1987): 99-101; William A. Wilson untitled review, *Western Historical Quarterly* 20 (Aug. 1989): 343; Wilson, "The Study of Mormon Folklore: An Uncertain Mirror for Truth," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 22 (Winter 1989): 96. Claiming that he read the book twice (1987: 96), Wilson somehow overlooked its discussions of Oxford, Harvard, and Yale graduates who practiced various forms of folk magic, its references to well-educated "country people," its mention of rural bookstores that sold thousands of academic books in various fields, its discussion of the sophisticated holdings in the rural library of Joseph Smith's hometown, and its examples of farmers who opposed folk magic.

In view of his claim that he read my book twice, Wilson's astonishing misreadings appear to be intentional misrepresentation. In fact, Wilson employed these systematic distortions of the book's content as the basis for using the meaning of "folk" as a polemical ploy to entirely dismiss *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View*. Thus, Wilson untitled review (1987), 97, stated: "I remain unconvinced by the bulk of the argument—primarily because it rests on possible connections that are suggested but seldom proved and on parallel evidence that often lies beyond proof, and because Quinn argues from a concept of folklore that is both antiquated and misleading." Wilson untitled review (1989), 343, claimed: "But its basic argument, built on a foundation of unproven associations and parallel evidence and relying on an untenable notion of the folk, must remain in doubt." Wilson, "Study of Mormon Folklore," 96, stated: "This concept of 'the folk,' which, unfortunately, some historians writing about Joseph Smith's magical practices still adhere to, is both outdated and misleading, and any research conclusions based on it should be accepted with great caution, if at all." In my view, such an approach in three reviews aimed at Utah-Mormon readers amounts to Wilson's religiously polemical campaign, not scholarly discourse.

32. Karen Louise Jolly, "Magic, Miracle, and Popular Practice in the Early Medieval West: Anglo-Saxon England," in Jacob Neusner, Ernest S. Frenchs, and Paul Virgil McCracken Flesher, eds., *Religion, Science, and Magic: In Concert and In Conflict* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 177, preferred the terms "formal religion" and "popular religion"; also Don Yoder, *Discovering American Folklife: Studies in Ethnic, Religious, and Regional Culture* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1990), 70-71 (on "the tensions between 'high' or official religion and folk religion" even in American academic journals), 76-82 (on differing applications of "folk religion" in cultures outside the United States). Douglas J. Davies has observed that the Anglican clergy used the term "folk-religion" to describe this lower order of religiosity. That represents the bias of the clergy, not my intent in using this term. Non-institutional religion is not inferior to institutional religion. See his "Magic and Mormon Religion," in Davies, ed., *Mormon Identities in Transition* (London: Cassell, 1996), 144.

33. As it does now, my 1987 Introduction emphasized the diversity and disagreements among those subscribing generally to the magic world view, yet Wilson untitled review (1987): 101, and Wilson untitled review (1989): 343 claimed that the book argued for "a monolithic magic worldview." See previous note 31 for the polemical distortions in Wilson's approach.

34. Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971), 228; Culiuanu, "Magic in Medieval and Renaissance Europe," in Eliade, *Encyclopedia of Religion*, 9:98. For a different reason, I also avoid the term "learned magic," as in Edward Peters, *The Magician, the Witch, and the Law* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press,

1978), xii. Assuming that readers would pronounce the term as learn-ed, Peters used "learned magic" throughout his book to refer to educated people's magic. Despite his intention, readers can likewise understand his term to mean magic which has been learned. That unintended meaning works equally well in many passages where Peters used "learned magic." Since illiterate people can learn magic through verbal instruction and through observing rituals, "learned magic" is ambiguous and fails to fulfill the intent for which Peters used the phrase. To avoid confusion, "learned magic" must always be juxtaposed with a reference to common people's magic or be linked with a reference to the method of occult learning.

35. Bruce J. Malina, *The Social World of Jesus and the Gospels* (London: Routledge, 1996), 102; compare George Luck, trans. and ed., *Arcana Mundi: Magic and the Occult in the Greek and Roman World* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), 9, who observed: "Not only the lower classes, the ignorant and uneducated, believed in it [magic], but [also] the intellectuals."

36. Richard L. Bushman, "Treasure-seeking Then and Now," *Sunstone* 11 (Sept. 1987): 5.

37. David D. Hall, *Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgment: Popular Religious Belief in Early New England* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989), 5, 7.

38. Robert Muchembled, *Popular Culture and Elite Culture in France, 1400-1750*, trans. Lydia Cochrane (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1985), 13, also 92.

39. This statement and book, of course, have an Anglo-European focus which excludes the American population of native tribes throughout the expanding nation, Hispanics and Latinos (particularly in the Far Southwest after 1848), free blacks before 1865, African-American slaves before 1865, and African-Americans since 1865.

40. Even careful estimates vary. Edwin Scott Gaustad's "Introduction" to his *The Rise of Adventism: Religion and Society in Mid-Nineteenth Century America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1974), xiii, estimated 5-10 percent of Americans were church members in 1810, which increased to 25 percent by 1850. In a multiple regression analysis of census data, Roger Finke and Rodney Stark's "Turning Pews into People: Estimating Church Membership in Nineteenth-Century America," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 25 (June 1986): 187, had consistently higher estimates (18.2 percent in 1810 to 34.8 percent in 1850); also Finke and Stark, *The Churching of America, 1776-1990: Winners and Losers in Our Religious Economy* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992), 16. Jon Butler, "Magic, Astrology, and the Early American Religious Heritage, 1600-1700," *American Historical Review* 84 (Apr. 1979): 318, gave a range of 10-15 percent. Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), 191-93, 206-207, 283-85, gave detailed religious demography during the period by denomination and region.

41. Stuart Clark, "French Historians and Early Modern Popular Culture," *Past & Present* 100 (Aug. 1983): 63-66, 70-73, criticized Muchembled and other French historians for their elitist and rationalist bias against the beliefs and practices of the peasantry. He did not raise the cross-cultural perspective I give here.

42. As a larger application of the interpretative positions by Daniel Lawrence O'Keefe, *Stolen Lightning: The Social Theory of Magic* (1982; New York: Vintage Books, 1983), 158, and by Hall, *Worlds of Wonder*, 7.

43. Rather than provide duplicate citations for this matter, I invite readers to consult this study's lengthy citations of studies about folk religion, folk medicine, and folk magic.

44. Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith*, 283.

45. Butler's *Awash in a Sea of Faith*, 219-24, 257-88 is the best retelling of that process, because he puts it within the context of folk religion's earlier domain.

46. Finke and Stark, "Turning Pews into People," 187, 189; Finke and Stark, *Churching of America*, 16, which shows that not until 1906 did 51 percent of Americans have church membership; Gaustad, *Rise of Adventism*, xiii. Again, Gaustad gives the lower estimates.

47. Joseph L. Blau, "The Diffusion of the Christian Interpretation of the Cabala in English Literature," *Review of Religion* 6 (Jan. 1942): 167; Martha Banta, *Henry James and the Occult: The Great Extension* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972); Viola Sachs, *The Game of Creation: The Primeval Unlettered Language of Moby Dick, or, The Whale* (Paris: Editions de la Maison des Sciences de L'Homme, 1982); Sachs, "The Occult Language and Scripture of the New World," *Social Science Information* 23 (1984), no. 1:129-41; Itala Vivan, "The Scar in the Letter: An Eye Into the Occult in Hawthorne's Text," *Social Science Information* 23 (1984), no. 1:155-93; various essays in Luanne Frank, ed., *Literature and the Occult: Essays in Comparative Literature* (Arlington: University of Texas at Arlington, 1977), in Peter B. Messent, ed., *Literature of the Occult: A Collection of Critical Essays* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1981), and in Howard Kerr, John W. Crowley, and Charles L. Crow, eds., *The Haunted Dusk: American Supernatural Fiction, 1820-1920* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1983); Christopher McIntosh, *The Rosicrucians: The History, Mythology and Rituals of an Occult Order*, rev. ed. (Wellingborough, Eng.: Crucible/Aquarian Press/Thorsons Publishing Group, 1987), 118-28; Marie Roberts, *Gothic Immortals: The Fiction of the Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross* (London: Routledge, 1990).

48. Joscelyn Godwin, *The Theosophical Enlightenment* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994), 126; also McIntosh, *Rosicrucians*, 122-25.

49. "Foreknowledge," *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* 23 (9 Nov. 1861): 716; "DIVINATION," *Deseret Evening News*, 6 May 1869, [3]. George Q. Cannon wrote these editorials.

50. Edward Smedley, W. Cooke Taylor, Henry Thompson, and Elihu Rich, *The Occult Sciences* (London and Glasgow: Richard Griffin, 1855), vol. 31 in *Encyclopaedia Metropolitana: or, a System of Universal Knowledge*, 2d ed., rev., "Cabinet Edition," 32+ vols. (London: John Joseph Griffin; Glasgow: Richard Griffin, 1849-1855+), 191, 198-202; R. Laurence Moore, *In Search of White Crows: Spiritualism, Parapsychology, and American Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 6, 225-26, 232, 235-36; Janet Oppenheimer, *The Other World: Spiritualism and Psychical Research in England, 1850-1914* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 24, 27; Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith*, 252-55; Shawn Michael Trimble, "Spiritualism and Channeling," in Miller, *America's Alternative Religions*, 332, also links spiritualism with "shamanistic tradition of the native Americans."

51. M. Gaster, trans. and ed., "The Sword of Moses," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Jan. 1896): 149; also for the secular bias in scholarly use of the term "magical," see my Introduction.

52. English-language references to Jewish mysticism and occultism also transliterate the Hebrew word as Cabalah, Cabbala(h), Kabala(h), Kabbala(h), Qabala(h), Qabbala(h). To the mid-nineteenth century various publications commonly spelled the word as Cabala, which I use because of this book's emphasis on that time period. For similar decision by other authors, see Moshel Idel, "Cabala," in Joseph R. Strayer, ed., *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, 13 vols. (New York: American Council of Learned Societies/Charles Scribner's Sons, 1982-89), 3:1-3, plus indexed references for same spelling in other articles; Catherine Swietlicki, *Spanish Christian Cabala* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1986), 2n3; also discussion in ch. 7.

Hamblin, "Everything Is Everything," 253n8, has recently written: "It is unfortunate that [Lance S.] Owens uses the misleading term *occult* to describe the esoteric tradition. ... For a late twentieth-century audience kabbalism and hermeticism are much better described as esoteric rather than occult." In his polemical review, Hamblin frequently cited (267n46, 269n56, 270nn59-60) Godwin's *Theosophical Enlightenment* to attack Owens, yet Godwin did not support Hamblin's basic premise. Godwin affirmed: "The occult sciences in the West include astrology, alchemy, ritual magic, practical Kabbalah, certain breathing and sexual practices, and various forms of divination" (xii, emphasis in original). Also Godwin stated (94): "The indigenous stream of British magic, with its Christian Kabbalistic principles ... [included Samuel Jacob Chayyim Falk] a practical Kabbalistic magician." See my Introduc-

tion, for Hamblin's use of the terms "magic" and "occult" when he is writing non-polemically, and his alleged rejection of those terms when he is writing polemically (as in this review of Lance S. Owens). That is another example of the distortions that are typical in polemical reviews by FARMS.

53. Nat Freedland, *The Occult Explosion* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1972); Marcello Truzzi, "Towards a Sociology of the Occult: Notes on Modern Witchcraft," in Irving I. Zaretsky and Mark P. Leone, eds., *Religious Movements in Contemporary America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1974), 628-45; Robert S. Ellwood, "Occult Movements in America," in Charles H. Lippy and Peter W. Williams, eds., *Encyclopedia of the American Religious Experience*, 3 vols. (New York: Scribner's, 1988), 2:711-22; Joan Carole Ludeke, "Wicca as a Revitalization Movement among Postindustrial, Urban, American Women," Ph.D. diss., University of Denver, 1989; Nachman Ben-Yehuda, "Witchcraft and the Occult as Boundary Maintenance Devices," in Neusner, Frerichs, and Flesher, *Religion, Science, and Magic*, 245-54; J. Gordon Melton, Jerome Clark, and Aiden A. Kelly, *New Age Encyclopedia*, 5th ed. (Detroit: Gale Research, 1990); Melton and Isotta Poggi, *Magic, Witchcraft and Paganism in America: A Bibliography*, 2d ed. (New York: Garland Publishing, 1992), esp. 17-20, 28, 128, 181-82, 209; Melton, *Encyclopedia of American Religions*, 4th ed. (Detroit: Gale Research, 1993), 817-57 (for magic/occult groups, nos. 1283-1375); Allen Scarboro, Nancy Campbell, and Shirley Stave, *Living Witchcraft: A Contemporary American Coven* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1994); Trimble, "Spiritualism and Channeling," Carol Matthews, "Neo-Paganism and Witchcraft," and David G. Bromley and Susan G. Ainsley, "Satanism and Satanic Churches: The Contemporary Incarnations," in Miller, *America's Alternative Religions*, 331-37, 339-45, 401-409; James R. Lewis, ed., *Magical Religion and Modern Witchcraft* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996). Contrast with folklorist Christine Goldberg's incredibly naive statement: "Today, while no 'rational' person would admit to believing in the efficacy of witchcraft," in Jan Harold Brunvand, ed., *American Folklore: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1996), 760.

54. Judy Becker, "Superstition in Sport" [among Yale's athletes], *International Journal of Sport Psychology* 6 (1975): 148-50; C. Jane Gregory and Brian M. Petrie, "Superstitions of Canadian Intercollegiate Athletes: an Inter-Sport Comparison," *International Review of Sport Sociology* 2 (1975), no. 2:60, 63; H. Buhrmann, B. Brown, and M. Zaugg, "Superstitious Beliefs and Behavior: A Comparison of Male and Female Basketball Players," *Journal of Sport Behavior* 5 (Dec. 1982): 179; Hans G. Buhrmann and Maxwell K. Zaugg, "Religion and Superstition in the Sport of Basketball," *Journal of Sport Behavior* 6 (Oct. 1983): 151-53; D. Stanley Eitzen and George H. Sage, *Sociology of North American Sport*, 5th ed. (Madison, WI: Brown & Benchmark, 1993), 209-10.

55. Timothy C. Lloyd, "Folklore, Foodways, and the Supernatural," in Barbara Walker, ed., *Out of the Ordinary: Folklore and the Supernatural* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1995), 69.

56. Donald R. Hill, "Magic in Primitive Societies," in Eliade, *Encyclopedia of Religion*, 9:92. This significantly expanded the perspective of anthropologist Victor W. Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1969), 3, who criticized Edward E. Evans-Pritchard's published remarks about the "primitive magic and religion" of "the simpler peoples." Turner replied: "I would like to add as a proviso here that in matters of religion, as of art, there are no 'simpler' peoples, only some peoples with simpler techniques than our own."

57. Gustav Jahoda, "A Classical Fallacy: Magical 'Thinking' vs. 'Thought,'" in Jahoda, ed., *Psychology and Anthropology* (London: Academic Press/Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1982), 181.

58. Ariel Glucklich, *The End of Magic* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 9.

59. Stephen D. Ricks and Daniel C. Peterson, "Mormon as Magus," *Sunstone* 12 (Jan. 1988): 39; also FARMS, *Insight: An Ancient Window* (Spring 1988), [1, 3], for their positions.

Peterson also referred to my "flawed but brilliant book" in his "The Gadianton Robbers as Guerrilla Warriors," in Ricks and William J. Hamblin, eds., *Warfare in the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1990), 146.

60. Richard L. Bushman and Larry C. Porter, "History of the Church: 1820-1831. Background, Founding, New York Period," Richard L. Bushman and Dean C. Jessee, "Joseph Smith: The Prophet," Joseph I. Bentley, "Joseph Smith: Legal Trials," A. Gary Anderson, "Joseph Smith, Sr.," and Gordon A. Madsen, "South Bainbridge (Afton), New York," in Daniel H. Ludlow, ed., *Encyclopedia of Mormonism: The History, Scripture, Doctrine, and Procedure of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 5 vols. (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1992), 2:601, 3:1334, 1346, 1348 (including citation of article by Rev. Wesley P. Walters), 1400. This encyclopedia was an official product of the LDS church, not an independent work of scholars. At the outset it expressed gratitude (lxiii) to "the General Authorities of the Church for designating Brigham Young University (BYU) as the contractual Author of the *Encyclopedia*." LDS apostles Neal A. Maxwell and Dallin H. Oaks supervised the endeavor with "special assignments" by four other general authorities. The LDS hierarchy had ultimate control over the project and final revision of its contents.

For example, Daniel H. Ludlow to "Dear Contributor," 15 Feb. 1991, explained that "we have sent several score articles to our assigned advisors, Elder Neal A. Maxwell and Elder Dallin H. Oaks, both trustees of Brigham Young University and former educators, to review for doctrinal accuracy and clarity. They shared some of those articles with the First Presidency and the other members of the Quorum of the Twelve, both to familiarize them with the work on the *Encyclopedia* and to benefit from their suggested improvements. Their suggestions were incorporated into the copy-edited articles" (original in Erich Robert Paul papers, Marriott Library). The role of LDS headquarters was so extensive that Ludlow felt it was necessary to caution readers that the encyclopedia's "contents do not necessarily represent the official position of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. In no sense does the *Encyclopedia* have the force and authority of scripture" (lxii).

61. Perhaps I understate. In *BYU Studies* 27 (Fall 1987), reviewer Benson Whittle called the book "a bombshell" (115), while book review editor Paul H. Peterson observed (87): "Probably no Mormon history book in recent years has stirred as much controversy and elicited as many varied responses as has D. Michael Quinn's *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View*." Clara V. Dobay, "Intellect and Faith: The Controversy Over Revisionist Mormon History," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 27 (Spring 1994): 103, observed: "Coming thirteen years after Reed Durham's address to members of the Mormon History Association in 1974, Quinn went about as far as a believing Saint could possibly go in probing the relationship between the occult and early Mormonism. Reviews of Quinn's work revealed how deeply divided his community had become over revisionist history."

62. Richard L. Bushman, "Just the Facts Please," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 6 (1994), no. 2:132.

However, BYU political philosopher and FARMS polemicist Louis Midgley has continued to insist that it attacks "the historical foundations of the faith," when LDS "revisionists" write that Joseph Smith had "presumed deep involvement in the occult, magic, and superstition common to his time." See Midgley, "Faith and History," in Robert L. Millett, ed., *To Be Learned Is Good If . . .* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1987), 225, which he restated in Midgley, "The Acids of Modernity and the Crisis in Mormon Historiography," in Smith, *Faithful History* (1992), 201; Midgley, "The Shipps Odyssey in Retrospect," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 7 (1995), no. 2:231; Midgley, "F. M. Brodie—'The Fasting Hermit and Very Saint of Ignorance': A Biographer and Her Legend," *FARMS Review of Books: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 8 (1996), no. 2:176, 221, 225-26; Midgley, "Who Really Wrote the Book of Mormon?: The Critics and Their Theories," in Reynolds, *Book of Mormon Authorship Revisited*

(1997), 107-108, 114. For Midgley as an author of "polemical" articles, see Daniel C. Peterson, "Editor's Introduction," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 4 (1992): ix, note 6.

As a polemicist, Midgley does not include *The Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, Richard L. Anderson, or Bushman in his indictment. Even though they all acknowledge Smith's years as a folk magic treasure-seer and his family's participation in "the magical culture," Midgley does not dismiss their writings as "of course, pure Brodie." Nor does Midgley insinuate of those authors: "One may suspect that [they are] more dependent upon Brodie than [they are] willing to admit openly." See Midgley, "F. M. Brodie," 226, 226n291, in which he was referring to Fawn M. Brodie's *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945) and to the first edition of my book.

Notes to Introduction

1. "Letter Sheds Light on Religious Era," "First Presidency Comments on Letter's Authenticity," and "1830 Harris Letter Authenticated," all in *Deseret News*, "Church News," 28 Apr. 1985, 6; "1825 Joseph Smith Letter Is Made Public," *Deseret News*, 10 May 1985, B-1; "Joseph Smith Letter of 1825 is Released by First Presidency," *Deseret News* "Church News," 12 May 1985, 3; Gordon B. Hinckley, "Keep the Faith," *Ensign* 15 (Sept. 1985): 4-5; Dean L. Larsen, "By Their Fruits Ye Shall Know Them," *Ensign* 15 (Nov. 1985): 66.

2. Albert H. Lyter III (forensic chemist) to Steven F. Christensen, 13 Feb. 1985, photograph in Dean C. Jessee, "New Documents and Mormon Beginnings," *BYU Studies* 24 (Fall 1984): 424 (actually printed after 1984); "Testing Confirms Authenticity of Letter Written in 1830," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 3 Apr. 1985, B-8; "1830 Harris Letter Authenticated," *Deseret News* "Church News," 28 Apr. 1985, 6; "Moses, Moroni, and the Salamander," *F.A.R.M.S. Update*, June 1985; "'Salamanders' and 'Short-hand Egypitian,'" *Insights: Foundation for Ancient Research & Mormon Studies*, July 1985, 1-2; *Why Might a Person in 1830 Connect an Angel With a Salamander?* (Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1985), 1-2; Paul Larson, "The Chameleon and the Salamander," *Utah Holiday* 15 (Dec. 1985): 84-88; David Hewett, "Is the White Salamander Letter a Fake? Many Don't Think So," *Maine Antique Digest* (Apr. 1986): A10-13; "Expert Asserts 'Salamander Letter' Forged," *Deseret News*, 7 May 1986, B-1; David Hewett, "The Mark Hofmann Story," *Maine Antique Digest* (June 1986): A26-30, (July 1986): C1-8; Linda Sillitoe, "Documents of Death," *Utah Holiday* 15 (Sept. 1986): 52-54, 68-80; Office of Salt Lake County Attorney, *Mark Hofmann Interviews: Interviews Conducted At Utah State Prison Between February 11 and May 27, 1987*, 2 vols. (N.p., n.d.), 1:113, 2:508-509; "Hofmann's Hidden Life Is a Secret No More," and "'Discoveries' Of the Decade All Forgeries," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 1 Aug. 1987, A-3, A-8; Linda Sillitoe and Allen D. Roberts, *Salamander: The Story of the Mormon Forgery Murders* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988); David J. Whittaker, Craig L. Foster, Jennifer Nelson, and Paul C. Russell, comps., *The Mark Hofmann Case Collection, MSS 1571* (Provo, UT: Department of Archives and Manuscripts, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, 1989), 22 (26 Sept. 1984), 24 (15 Feb. 1985), 25 (20 Mar., 28 Apr., 2 May 1985), 26 (9 May, 15 May, 20 May 1985), 28 (19 Oct. 1985), 29 (17-20 Dec. 1985, 7 Jan. 1986), 30 (5 Feb., 7 Feb., 18 Apr. 1986), 31 (7 May 1986, Summer/Fall 1986), 32 (31 July 1987); Richard E. Turley, Jr., *Victims: The LDS Church and the Mark Hofmann Case* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992); Max J. Evans, "Forgeries of Historical Documents," and Robert E. Riggs, "Legal and Judicial History of the Church," in Daniel H. Ludlow, ed., *Encyclopedia of Mormonism: The History, Scripture, Doctrine, and Procedure of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 5 vols. (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1992), 2:523, 826; Dan Vogel, comp. and ed., *Early Mormon Documents*, 2+ vols. (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996-), 1:xiii-xiv. For the *Encyclopedia* as an official product of LDS headquarters, see page 338, note 60.

In his review of attorney-LDS administrator Turley's 1992 book *Victims*, BYU law professor Edward L. Kimball wrote: "A puzzling omission is any mention of D. Michael Quinn, *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View*, and the work of the Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, which relate directly to the discussion of the salamander letter (103). The obvious place for the citation is where President [Gordon B.] Hinckley is quoted on the subject, rightly pointing out that some superstition and symbolism is part of culture and not inconsistent with receiving true revelation (103, 419 n. 64)." See Kimball, untitled review in *BYU Studies* 32 (Fall 1992): 175.

3. Reed C. Durham, Jr., "Is There No Help For the Widow's Son?," presidential address, Mormon History Association, 20 Apr. 1974, unofficial transcript in Mervin B. Hogan, *An Underground Presidential Address* (Salt Lake City: Research Lodge of Utah, F. & A. M., Masonic Temple, 1974), and in *Mormon Miscellaneous* 1 (Oct. 1975): 11-16; A. C. Lambert, "Magic Squares, Talismans, and the Jupiter Talisman Owned and Worn by Joseph Smith, Jr., A Private Notebook, April 1975," 4 vols., Manuscripts Department, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City; John Walker, "The Sorcerer's Apprentice: Joseph Smith and Magic," typed paper (undated) for History 302, University of Utah, with accompanying notes (28 Jan. 1979), fd 30, box 154, H. Michael Marquardt papers, Marriott Library; Arturo ("Art") deHoyos, *The Masonic Emblem & Parchments Of Joseph & Hyrum Smith* (N.p., 1982), copy in fd 15, box 19, David J. Buerger papers, Marriott Library.

4. This refers to my evening visit on 21 October 1977 at the home of then-current Patriarch to the Church Eldred G. Smith, Salt Lake City, with his son Gary. See page 336, note 52, to explain my choice of Cabala and cabalistic from among the various English transliterations of the Hebrew; also Buddy Youngreen, "From the Prophet's Life: A Photo Essay," *Ensign* 14 (Jan. 1984): 25, for photo of "Hyrum Smith's early Kirtland diary ... shown courtesy of Elder Eldred G. Smith."

5. D. Michael Quinn, "The Evolution of the Presiding Quorums of the LDS Church," *Journal of Mormon History* 1 (1974): 21-38; Quinn, "Brigham Young: Man of the Spirit," *Ensign* 7 (Aug. 1977): 34-37; Quinn, "Echoes and Foreshadowings: The Distinctiveness of the Mormon Community," *Sunstone* 3 (Mar./Apr. 1978): 12-17; Quinn, "Latter-day Saint Prayer Circles," *BYU Studies* 19 (Fall 1978): 79-105; Quinn, "The Newel K. Whitney Family," *Ensign* 8 (Dec. 1978): 42-45; Quinn, "They Served: The Richards Legacy in the Church," *Ensign* 10 (Jan. 1980): 25-29; Quinn, "Jesse Gause: Joseph Smith's Little-Known Counselor," *BYU Studies* 23 (Fall 1983): 487-493; Quinn, "From Sacred Grove to Sacral Power Structure," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 17 (Summer 1984): 9-34.

6. Church Educational System, Zone Administrators (Curriculum and Instruction Division) memorandum, "A Research Review," to Area Directors, Associate Area Directors, Teaching Support Consultants, CES Coordinators, Institute Directors, Seminary Principals, 2 Oct. 1985, in fd 5, box 57, papers of Max H. Parkin (emeritus instructor at Salt Lake City's LDS Institute of Religion), Marriott Library.

7. Contrast with English professor Eugene England, "Orson Scott Card: How a Great Science Fictionist Uses the Book of Mormon," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 2 (1990), 58-59, "Some commentators on the evidence for Joseph Smith's involvement in 'the' magic worldview—the money-digging, amulets, etc.—... tend to make the fundamental mistake of assuming that all who practiced these hidden arts had the same worldview and that the same practices meant the same to everyone." With my own undergraduate major in English (including courses on semantics and theories of grammar), I see this as an argument for established legitimacy, not perceptual diversity. Shaped by modern presuppositions, Professor England is semantically comfortable with "the" scientific world view and "the" scientific method, despite his knowledge of disputes among scientists and between branches of science. It privileges "the" scientific view to insist on "a" magic view.

8. Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 2d ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 111.
9. Daniel Lawrence O'Keefe, *Stolen Lightning: The Social Theory of Magic* (1982; New York: Vintage Books, 1983), xx; M. Gaster, trans. and ed., "The Sword of Moses," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Jan. 1896): 149, that its "vast" literature makes "a comprehensive study of Magic" impossible.
10. Benson Whittle untitled review, *BYU Studies* 27 (Fall 1987): 113, 112; Jon Butler, "Magic and the Complexities of Mormon History," *Sunstone* 12 (Jan. 1988): 36-37.
11. *The Book of Mormon*, published at Salt Lake City in various editions, with verse citations (similar to the Bible) according to the names of its constituent books.
12. Danny L. Jorgensen, *The Esoteric Scene, Cultic Milieu, and Occult Tarot* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1992), 235; also Maurice Bouisson, *Magic: Its History and Principal Rites*, trans. G. Almayrac (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1961), 271.
13. Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 1; Peter Brown, *Religion and Society in the Age of St. Augustine* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), 139, which emphasized "sorcery."
14. Morris Berman, *The Reenchantment of the World* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1981), 70.
15. Jacques Barzun and Henry F. Graff, *The Modern Researcher*, rev. ed. (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1970), 53; David Hackett Fischer, *Historians' Fallacies: Toward a Logic of Historical Thought* (New York: Harper Torchbook/Harper & Row, 1970), 135-40; Paul K. Conkin and Roland N. Stromberg, *Heritage and Challenge: The History and Theory of History* (Wheeling, IL: Forum Press, 1989), 204.
16. Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Occasions, 1912-1951*, ed. James C. Klagge and Alfred Nordmann (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 1993), 125.
17. Quoted in Victor W. Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1969), 2, also 3, 108 for Turner's views on magic and religion.
18. Mircea Eliade, *The Forge and the Crucible*, trans. Stephen Corrin (London: Rider, 1962), 11.
19. Michael D. Swartz, *Scholastic Magic: Ritual and Revelation in Early Jewish Mysticism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), 5.
20. *Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language Unabridged* (Springfield, MA: G. and C. Merriam, 1981).

This lengthy quote from a dictionary was the basis for an example of dishonest polemics by John Gee, "Abracadabra, Isaac, and Jacob," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 7 (1995), no. 1:59-60. Without acknowledging even in his footnotes that Webster's was my source, Gee commented on selections from the above passage, as follows: "He only applies the pejorative label to his former religion, but not to any others. Consider how Quinn's definition of 'magic' applies to the prayer through which a born-again Christian becomes saved: It is 'the use of means (prayer) that are believed to have supernatural power to cause a supernatural being (God) to produce or prevent a particular result (salvation and damnation respectively) considered not obtainable by natural means (works).' Therefore, by Quinn's definition, the prayer through which one becomes born again is magic. Christ's grace also fits his definition since Quinn also includes any 'extraordinary power or influence seemingly from a supernatural source.'" The above phrases in parentheses were Gee's additions, which he bracketed. I use parentheses here to be sure readers recognize that I made no additions to Gee's words. There was no possibility that Gee misunderstood the source of his quotes, because the 1987 book introduced them as follows: "Webster's Third New International Dictionary (1981) which I have adopted as a guide, gives only these meanings for occult: ... Webster's also gives the following definitions for magic: ..." Remarkably, Gee (64) then accused me of doing what he had actually done:

"We have seen how Quinn takes a fairly innocuous definition and heaps censure and innuendo on it ..." For meaning of polemics, see my Preface.

21. [George]. Grote, "Essay on Magic, 1820," Add. MS 29,531, Manuscript Department, British Museum-Library, London, England; also P. D. Ouspensky, *A New Model of the Universe* (1931; New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969), 16; C. Grant Loomis, *White Magic: An Introduction to the Folklore of Christian Legend* (Cambridge, MA: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1948), 3; Edward A. Tiryakian, "Preliminary Considerations," in Tiryakian, ed., *On the Margin of the Visible: Sociology, the Esoteric, and the Occult* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1974), 10; Robert Galbreath, "Explaining Modern Occultism," in Howard Kerr and Charles L. Crow, eds., *The Occult in America: New Historical Perspectives* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983), 18-19.

22. My primary interest in Houdini was his citations to "real" magic and the occult in the Harry Houdini papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. For his extraordinary career (which included unrelenting efforts to expose money-making frauds based on occult claims), see Ruth Brandon, *The Life and Many Deaths of Harry Houdini* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1993). Although popular as a stage illusionist, the more recent David Copperfield has not merited full-scale biographies. Consult his sketch in *Who's Who in Entertainment, 1989-1990* (Wilmette, IL: Marquis Who's Who/Macmillan Directory Division, 1988), 130.

23. Robert Kriech Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice* (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1993), 8, which he contrasted (8-9) with Roman/Latin definitions which meant "fraud." By contrast, as an ethnocentric projection of his own linguistic and cultural heritage, Arturo Castiglioni, *Adventures of the Mind*, trans. V. Gianturco (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946), 77, insisted that "magicians of all countries and all times [used] their tricks ..."

24. Bert Hansen, "Magic, Bookish (Western European)," in Joseph R. Strayer, ed., *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, 13 vols. (New York: American Council of Learned Societies/Charles Scribner's Sons, 1982-89), 8:32.

25. Sigmund Mowinckel, *Religion and Cult*, trans. John F. X. Sheehan (1950; Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1981), 15; Henri Frankfort and H. A. Frankfort, "Myth and Reality," in Henri Frankfort, ed., *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man: An Essay on Speculative Thought in the Ancient Near East* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946), 4-6; Berman, *Reenchantment of the World*, 1-93.

26. Frankfort and Frankfort, "Myth and Reality," 12-13; Richard Cavendish, ed., *Man, Myth & Magic: An Illustrated Encyclopedia of the Supernatural*, 24 vols. (New York: Marshall Cavendish, 1970), 5:655; Brian Vickers, "Analogy Versus Identity: The Rejection of Occult Symbolism, 1580-1680," in Vickers, ed., *Occult and Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 95, 129.

27. Rosalie Wax and Murray Wax, "The Magical World View," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 1 (Apr. 1962): 184.

28. Joscelyn Godwin, *The Theosophical Enlightenment* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994), 167. For a current expression of that world view, see Robert H. Hopcke, *There Are No Accidents: Synchronicity and the Stories of Our Lives* (New York: Riverhead Books/Penguin Putman, 1997).

29. I. A. Richards, "A Background For Contemporary Poetry," *Criterion* 3 (July 1925): 514; V. Gordon Childe, *Magic Craftsmanship and Science* (Liverpool: University Press, 1950), 18; Hildred Geertz, "An Anthropology of Religion and Magic," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 6 (Summer 1975): 82; G. E. R. Lloyd, *Magic, Reason, and Experience: Studies in the Origin and Development of Greek Science* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 49, 227; Jonathan Z. Smith, *Imagining Religion: From Babylon to Jonestown* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 64-65.

30. Richard B. Felson and George Gmelch, "Uncertainty and the Use of Magic," *Current Anthropology* 20 (Sept. 1979): 589.

31. R. J. W. Evans, *Rudolf II and His World: A Study in Intellectual History, 1576-1612* (Oxford, Eng.: Clarendon Press, 1973), 196.

32. Stephen Sharot, "Magic, Religion, Science, and Secularization," in Jacob Neusner, Ernest S. Frerichs, and Paul Virgil McCracken Flesher, eds., *Religion, Science, and Magic: In Concert and In Conflict* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 274.

33. Berman, *Reenchantment of the World*, 93.

34. Edward Harrison, *Masks of the Universe* (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1985), 23. By contrast, as a textbook example of three biases (rationalist, presentist, and ethnocentric), Castiglioni, *Adventures of the Mind*, 72, asserted that the only people who have ever believed in magic were those whose "development of the critical and intellectual powers had been arrested."

35. Rudolf Otto, *The Idea of the Holy: An Inquiry Into the Non-Rational Factor in the Idea of the Divine and Its Relation to the Rational*, trans. John H. Harvey, rev. ed. (1917; London: Oxford University Press, 1928); Peter Berger, *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1967), 60-80.

36. George William Friedrich Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of Religion*, trans. E. B. Speirs and J. Burdon Sanderson, 3 vols. (1840; London: Paul, Trench, Truebner, 1895), 1:290, 297-98; Edward B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, 2d ed., 2 vols. (1871; New York: Henry Holt, 1877), 1:112-59; Jacob Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, trans. James Steven Siallybrass, 4 vols. (1875; London: George Bell and Sons, 1883-88), 3:1031; Marcel Mauss [and Henri Hubert], *A General Theory of Magic*, trans. Robert Brain (1904; London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), 21-23; James George Frazer, *The Magic Art and The Evolution of Kings*, vols. 1-2 of *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion*, 3d ed., 12 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1911-15), 1:224, 233-34, 230; Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life: A Study in Religious Sociology*, trans. Joseph Ward Swain (London: Allen and Unwin, 1915), 42-43; Eugene Tavenner, *Studies in Magic From Latin Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1916), 11-12; Bronislaw Malinowski, "Magic, Science and Religion," in Joseph Needham, ed., *Science, Religion and Reality* (New York: Macmillan, 1925), 81; C. G. Jung, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung*, ed. Herbert Read, Michael Fordham, Gerhard Adler, and William McGuire, 20 vols. (New York: Pantheon Books; Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1953-60), 13:118, 122, 129; Jan de Vries, "Magic and Religion," *History of Religions* 1 (Winter 1962): 214-221; Judith Willer, *The Social Determination of Knowledge* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1971), 4-7, 15, 19, 25-30, 56; Lucy Mair, *An Introduction to Social Anthropology*, 2d ed. (Oxford, Eng.: Clarendon Press, 1972), 229; Bob Brier, *Ancient Egyptian Magic* (New York: William Morrow, 1980), 10.

37. George B. Vetter, *Magic and Religion: Their Psychological Nature, Origin, and Function* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1958), 156.

38. Rosalie Wax and Murray Wax, "The Notion of Magic," *Current Anthropology* 4 (Dec. 1963): 495-518.

39. Ernst Cassirer, *An Essay on Man: An Introduction to a Philosophy of Human Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1944), 93.

Continuing his polemical attack on my first edition's summary of scholarly writings about magic and religion, Gee's "Abracadabra, Isaac, and Jacob," 60, combined my quotes from Vetter and Cassirer in this way: "Do not be deceived; the magician (our born-again Christian) practices something that 'being by definition false or wicked, or both, couldn't possibly be confused with 'religion,' since it is nothing but 'a crude aggregate of superstitions.' The reader can judge whether Gee thereby misrepresented the Vetter-Cassirer quotes and their use in my Introduction. Unlike his attack on the unnamed Webster's dictionary, here Gee's footnotes (60n208, 60n209) acknowledged my sources ('citing George B. Vetter'

and "citing Ernst Cassirer"). However, his use of the word "citing" rather than "quoting" continued to mislead the reader into thinking that Gee was quoting my own words.

To give John Gee his due, this was his conclusion (60) about my Introduction's summary of *other people's* views about defining religion as completely separate from definitions of magic and the occult: "Now, I do not believe for a moment that born-again Christians actually fit this sordid portrait of animistic satanic superstitious pagans [sic] that Quinn paints, any more than Catholics, Mormons, or ancient Egyptians do. That is the point: Quinn's definitions of 'magic' are a theoretical nightmare that irreparably flaw his book to the point of worthlessness. I fail to comprehend why any born-again Christian—as the Tanners ostensibly are—or any religious person, for that matter, would find Quinn's book useful, since it condemns not only Mormonism, but nearly every other religion, under the vituperative label of 'magic.'" He referred to Jerald and Sandra Tanner.

40. Mair, *Introduction to Social Anthropology*, 229.

41. A. A. Barb, "The Survival of the Magic Arts," in Arnaldo Momigliano, ed., *The Conflict Between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century* (Oxford, Eng.: Clarendon Press, 1963), 101; also Jung, *Collected Works*, 13:118; Ben Witherington III, *The Jesus Quest: The Third Search For the Jew of Nazareth* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1995), 263n35.

42. Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971), 268-69.

43. Hans Dieter Betz, ed., *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 8; Geraldine Pinch, *Magic In Ancient Egypt* (London: British Museum Press, 1994), 67, for the "texts best described as the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri"; also Fritz Graf, "Prayer in Magic and Religious Ritual," in Christopher A. Faraone and Dirk Obbink, eds., *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 188-97; Ritner, *Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, 5. This is "a religious mood in magical texts," according to George Luck, trans. and ed., *Arcana Mundi: Magic and the Occult in the Greek and Roman Worlds* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), 4.

44. *Arbatel of Magic*, in Henry Cornelius Agrippa [alleged], *Henry Cornelius Agrippa: His Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy*, trans. Robert Turner (London: Thomas Rooks, 1665), 185, in 1783 edition (285-86), but not in the first edition of 1655; also Arthur E. Waite, *The Book of Ceremonial Magic* (1911; New Hyde Park, NY: University Books, 1961), 34.

45. John Dominic Crossan, *The Historical Jesus: The Life of a Mediterranean Jewish Peasant* (San Francisco: Harper, 1992), 306.

46. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 268-69.

47. For most of this century, scholars have made a distinction between magic's emphasis on the individual and religion's emphasis on the group, as in Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, trans. Joseph Ward Swain (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1915), 44-45, and William J. Goode, "Magic and Religion: A Continuum," *Ethnos* 14 (Apr.-Dec. 1949): 177. In the year of my book's first edition, Donald R. Hill's "Magic in Primitive Societies," in Mircea Eliade, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, 16 vols. (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1987), 9:90, restated this consensus about religion's emphasis on "the public good" versus magic's emphasis on "individual purposes." Unaware of this scholarly literature, non-LDS historian Alao Taylor, "Mormon Magic," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 21 (Summer 1988): 158-59, dismissed my emphasis on this distinction: "Quinn settles for an unsatisfactory (and I think misleading) observation," quoting from the sentence for which this is the current note. In this and Taylor's other publications on magic and folk magic, his bibliographies overlooked Durkheim, Goode, Hill, and similar interpreters. Crossan, *Historical Jesus*, 157, recently described this individual vs. group emphasis as "the far more fundamental dichotomy" between magic and religion. See also following note 133.

48. Marvin Meyer and Richard Smith, eds., *Ancient Christian Magic: Coptic Texts of Ritual Power* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco/HarperCollins, 1994), 4 (for "value-laden" quotes), 5 (for last quote).

49. The technical wording is that rituals of magic and religion are *phenomenologically* similar or identical, but I prefer to use the less daunting phrase. See Samuel Macauley Jackson, ed., *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, 12 vols. (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1908-12), 7:124; Paul Radin, "Religion of the North American Indians," *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 27 (Oct.-Dec. 1914): 340; Raymond Firth, *Human Types: An Introduction to Social Anthropology*, rev. ed. (1958; New York: New American Library, 1963), 131-32; Nur Yalman, "Magic," in David L. Sills, ed., *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 17 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1968), 9:521-22; Dorothy Hammond, "Magic: A Problem in Semantics," *American Anthropologist* 72 (Dec. 1970): 1349; Morton Smith, *Jesus the Magician* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1978), 69.

50. W. Dupre, "Magic," in William J. McDonald, ed., *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 15 vols. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), 9:65.

51. Meyer and Smith, *Ancient Christian Magic*, 2.

52. Robert H. Lowie, *Primitive Religion* (New York: Boni and Liverwright, 1924), 136-51; E. E. Evans-Pritchard, "Sorcery and Native Opinion," *Africa* 4 (Jan. 1931): 23; E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic Among the Azande* (Oxford, Eng.: Clarendon Press, 1937), 419; Erland Ehnmark, "Religion and Magic—Frazer, Soderblom, and Hagerstrom," *Ethnos* 21 (1956): 2; Vetter, *Magic and Religion*, 156; John Beattie, *Other Cultures: Aims, Methods and Achievements in Social Anthropology* (London: Cohen and West, 1964), 212; Alan F. Segal, "Hellenistic Magic: Some Questions of Definition," in R. van den Broek and M. J. Vermaseren, eds., *Studies in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Religion* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1981), 351; Ritner, *Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, 8-9, 11-12.

53. Jonathan Z. Smith, *Map Is Not Territory: Studies in the History of Religion* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978), 192; Ritner, *Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, 13, also 215.

54. Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic*, 406, 464.

55. Olaf Pettersson, "Magic-Religion," *Ethnos* 22 (1957): 110-11, 119; Jan van Baal, "Magic as a Religious Phenomenon," *Higher Education and Research in the Netherlands* 7 (1963), 3/4:10; James Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society: South Lindsey, 1825-1875* (Oxford, Eng.: Clarendon Press, 1976), 259-60; Jon Butler, "The People's Faith in Europe and America: Four Centuries in Review," *Journal of Social History* 12 (Fall 1978): 160; R. Laurence Moore, *In Search of White Crows: Spiritualism, Parapsychology, and American Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), xiii; Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), 4.

56. Eusebe Salverte, *The Occult Sciences: The Philosophy of Magic Prodigies and Apparent Miracles*, trans. Anthony Todd Thompson, 2 vols. (1829; London: Richard Bentley, 1846), 1:8, 104.

57. Evans-Pritchard, "Sorcery and Native Opinion," 25; Mowinkel, *Religion and Cult*, 29. Turner, *Ritual Process*, 108, discussed this with reference to "liminal situations," while Robert K. Ritner, "Egyptian Magical Practice under the Roman Empire: The Demotic Spells and Their Religious Context," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II, 18.5 (1995): 3354, noted that ancient Egypt prohibited magic against the king/pharaoh, even though the Egyptians recognized "no 'black' vs. 'white' magic; both gods and demons may use its force."

58. Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, 13 vols. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1953-68), 2:159; also Oswald Werner and Joann Fenton, "Method and Theory in Ethnoscience or Ethnoepistemology," in Raoul Narroll and Ronald Cohen, eds., *A Handbook of Method in Cultural Anthropology* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1973), 537n1; O'Keefe, *Stolen Lightning*, 124-25; Jacob Neusner, "Introduction" and "Science and Magic, Miracle and Magic in Formative Judaism: The System and the Difference," in Neusner, Frerichs, and Flesher, *Religion, Science, and Magic*, 4, 63; E. V. Gallagher,

"Magic," in Everett Ferguson, ed., *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, 2d ed., 2 vols. (New York: Garland Publishing, 1997), 2:704. However, Rüter, "Egyptian Magical Practice," 3354, noted that because "magic" was "not illegal or socially deviant" among ancient Egyptians, they did not use their equivalent term for magic to describe or criticize the religions or "cults" of other peoples.

59. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, 2:156, 159; Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough, "A Historian of Religion Tries to Define Religion," *Zygon: Journal of Religion and Science* 2 (Mar. 1967): 11; also on pejorative use of the term, see Donald J. Ward, "Superstition," in Jan Harold Brunvand, ed., *American Folklore: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1996), 693-96.

60. Vetter, *Magic and Religion*, 162; James Hastings, ed., *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, 13 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926), 8:247; Marcello Truzzi, "Definition and Dimensions of the Occult: Towards a Sociological Perspective," *Journal of Popular Culture* 5 (Winter 1971): 637.

61. David Pocock, "Forward," to Marcel Mauss, *A General Theory of Magic*, trans. Robert Brain (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), 2; also Hans H. Penner, "Rationality, Ritual, and Science," in Neusner, Frenchs, and Flesher, *Religion, Science, and Magic*, 13; John G. Gager, "Introduction," in Gager, ed., *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 24; Jonathan Z. Smith, "Trading Places," in Marvin Meyer and Paul Mirecki, eds., *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), 16. Nevertheless, Meyer and Mirecki also published (167-83) Michael D. Swartz, "Magical Piety in Ancient and Medieval Judaism," which repeatedly reaffirmed the use of the terms "magic," "magical," and "magician."

62. Stephen D. Ricks and Daniel C. Peterson, "Joseph Smith and 'Magic': Methodological Reflections on the Use of a Term," in Robert L. Millet, ed., *To Be Learned Is Good If ...* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1987), 143. The first edition of my book was already in press before they made this proposal.

63. Stephen D. Ricks and Daniel C. Peterson, "Mormon as Magus," *Sunstone* 12 (Jan. 1988): 38; Gee, "Abracadabra, Isaac, and Jacob," 65. For Peterson and Ricks as FARMS editors, see *FARMS Review of Books* and *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies: Foundation for Ancient Research & Mormon Studies*. Louis Midgley, "The Shipp's Odyssey in Retrospect," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 7 (1995), no. 2:224, stridently maintains the old categories by referring to "'magic' and other fraudulent activities." That assumption underlies the effort of FARMS writers for denying that magic was part of early Mormonism and for changing the definition of magic. For the FARMS-BYU relationship, see my Preface.

64. Meyer and Mirecki, *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*, 4. The Ricks essay was "The Magician as Outsider in the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament" (131-43).

65. Donald W. Goodwin, *Anxiety* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 173-74; Michael J. Kozak, Edna B. Foa, and Paul R. McCarthy, "Obsessive-Compulsive Disorder," in Cynthia G. Last, ed., *Handbook of Anxiety Disorders* (New York: Pergamon Press, 1988), 87-89; Benjamin B. Wolman and George Stricker, *Anxiety and Related Disorders: A Handbook* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1994), 47-48.

66. Swartz, *Scholastic Magic*, 19 (for first quote), 7 (for "defamiliarization"), 20 (for last quotes); also Smith, *Imagining Religion*, xii, on the concept of defamiliarization.

67. Jacob Neusner, *The Wonder Working Lawyers of Talmudic Babylonia: The Theory and Practice of Judaism in its Formative Age* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1987), 60, 62; also my following notes 85 and 90 and ch. 1, for similar statements by Neusner about magic in multiple publications from 1969 to 1996. As indicated in my note 85, Neusner is only one example of many Jewish scholars who affirm the existence of magic and the occult within their own religion's history. By contrast, Gee's "Abracadabra, Isaac, and Jacob," 57, claimed: "With the exception of a few individuals like D. Michael Quinn, most scholars

define magic in such a way as not to include their own beliefs and practices" (emphasis in original).

By equal application of Gee's standards of faith and scholarship, this FARMS polemicist would deny (60) that "any religious person, for that matter, would find [Neusner's] book useful, since it condemns not only [Judaism], but nearly every other religion, under the vituperative label of 'magic.'" However, Neusner has not been a pariah to BYU's religion faculty, as demonstrated by publication of his *The Glory of God Is Intelligence: Four Lectures on the Role of Intellect in Judaism* (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1978); Neusner, "The Case of Leviticus Rabbah," and Neusner, "Why No New Judaism in the Twentieth Century?" in John M. Lundquist and Stephen D. Ricks, eds., *By Study and Also By Faith*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co.; Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1990), 1:332-88, 2:552-84; Neusner, "Conversation in Nauvoo about the Corporeality of God," *BYU Studies* 36 (1996-97), no. 1:7-30, which was edited by FARMS founder John W. Welch.

68. I first made this point in "Mormonism: Without Parallel, or Part of a Context?" *Sunstone* 12 (Jan. 1988): 40.

69. Ariel Glucklich, *The End of Magic* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 221.

70. H. S. Versnel, "Some Reflections on the Relationship Magic-Religion," *NUMEN: International Review for the History of Religions* 38 (Dec. 1991): 177.

71. Ricks and Peterson, "Joseph Smith and 'Magic,'" 129; Gee, "Abracadabra, Isaac, and Jacob," 62, whose quote was referring to the first edition of this book.

72. For example, various chapters of this book cite Henry Cornelius Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia Libri III* (Lugduni: Godesridum & Marcellum, Beringos, fratres, 1550); Tycho Brahe, *Calendarium Naturale Magicum Perpetuum* ... ([Frankfurt?]: Io[hann] Theodor de Bry, 1582); D[oktor]. Iohannis Faustens Miracul Kunst- und Wunder-Buch ... (Passau: N.p., 1612); Thomas Vaughan, *Magica Adamica, or the Antiquity of Magic* (London: T. W., 1650); Henry Cornelius Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (London: Gregory Moule, 1651); Hardick Warren, *Magick & Astrology Vindicated* ... (London: J. M., 1651); John Gaule, *The Mag-Astro-Mancer, or the Magicall-Astrologicall-Diviner Posed, and Puzzled* (London: Joshua Kirton, 1652); Henry Cornelius Agrippa [alleged], *Henry Cornelius Agrippa: His Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy*, trans. Robert Turner (London: J. Harrison, 1655, with English editions to 1783); Gabriel Naude, *The History of Magick* ... , trans. J. Davies (London: John Streater, 1657); John Baptista Porta, *Natural Magick* (London: Thomas Young, 1658); John Heydon, *Theomagia, or the Temple of Wisdome*, 3 vols. in 1 vol. (London: T. M., 1664); *The Magic of Kirani* ... (London: N.p., 1685); [Pierre] LeLorrain Vallemont, *La Physique Occult* ... (Paris: Jean Anisson, 1693); Gregorius Anglus [Georg von Welling] Sallwigt, *Opus-Mago-Cabalisticum et Theologicum* ... (Frankfurt: Anthon Heinscheidt, 1719); Ignaz Lorenz, *Handschriftliche Schatze aus Kloster-Bibliotheken, umfassend saemmtliche viersig Hauptwerke ueber Magie, verborgene Kraefte, Offenbarungen und geheimste Wissenschaften* (Cologne: Peter Hammer, 1734); Iroe-Grego, *La Veritable Magie Noire* ... (Rome: Garcia Libraire, 1750); *L'Art de commander les esprits celestes, aeriens, terrestres & infernaux. Suivi du Grand grimoire, de la magie noire* ... [Paris, 1750?]; *Grimoire, ou La magie naturelle* (La Haye: Compagnie, ca. 1750); Lucius Albertus Parvus, *Secrets merveilleux de la magie naturelle et cabalistique du Petit Albert* (Lyon: Heritier de Beringos Freres a le Seigned Agrippa, 1776); Malcolm Macleod, *The Key of Knowledge; or Universal Conjuror: Unfolding the Mysteries of the Occult Sciences* ... (London: N.p., 1780, with editions to 1796); Ebenezer Sibly, *A New and Complete Illustration of the Occult Sciences* (London: Champante and Whitrow, 1784, with thirteen editions to 1826); Johann Georg Binz, *Catalogus Manuscriptorum Chemic-Alchemico-Magico-Cabalistico-Medico-Physico-Curiosorum* (Vienna: N.p., 1788); "Lives of Eminent Magicians," *The Conjuror's Magazine* 1 (Nov. 1791): 129-30; "Curious Occult Secrets," *Conjuror's Magazine* 2 (Apr. 1793): 330; Ebenezer Sibly, *A Key To Physic, and the Occult Sciences* ... (London: Champante and Whitrow, [1794], with editions to 1814); Francis Barrett, *The Magus, or*

Celestial Intelligencer; Being A Complete System of Occult Philosophy, 2 vols. in 1 vol. (London: Lackington, Allen, 1801); Thomas White, *The Beauties of Occult Science Investigated ...* (London: Anne Davis, 1811); "Members of the Mercurii: Raphael, the Metropolitan Astrologer" [Robert C. Smith], *The Astrologer of the Nineteenth Century: Or, The Master Key of Futurity, and Guide to Ancient Mysteries, Being a Complete System of Occult Philosophy*, 7th ed. (London: Knight and Lacey, 1825); Eusebe Salverte, *The Occult Sciences ...*, trans. Anthony Todd Thompson, 2 vols. (1829; London: Richard Bentley, 1846); Raphael, pseud., *The Fortune-Teller's Own Book: A Manual of the Occult Sciences ...* (Philadelphia: Fisher & Brother, 1841); Johann Georg Theodor Graesse, *Bibliotheca Magica et Pneumatica ...* (Leipzig: W. Englemann, 1843); Johannes Faust, *Doktor Johannes Faust's Magia naturalis et innaturalis ...*, vol. 5 in Johann Scheible, *Das Kloster*, 12 vols. (Stuttgart: J. Scheible, 1845-49).

73. Gee, "Abracadabra, Isaac, and Jacob," 47, 50, 50n157.

74. Ritner, *Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, 13 (for first quote), 14 (for second quote), 15 (for third quote), 28 (for fourth quote), 242 (for fifth quote); also Ritner, "Egyptian Magical Practice," 3353, 3363.

75. Gee's "Abracadabra, Isaac, and Jacob," 65n235.

76. Gager, *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World*, 24.

77. Versnel, "Some Reflections on the Relationship Magic-Religion," 185 (for first quote), 177 (for second quote), also 188, 191-92.

78. William J. Hamblin, "Armor in the Book of Mormon," in Stephen D. Ricks and Hamblin, eds., *Warfare in the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1990), 404; Hamblin, "Temple Motifs in Jewish Mysticism," in Donald W. Parry, ed., *Temples of the Ancient World: Ritual and Symbolism* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1994), 458, 468n33, 464, 462.

79. William J. Hamblin, Daniel C. Peterson, and George L. Mitton, "Mormon in the Fiery Furnace: Or, Loftes Tryk Goes to Cambridge," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 6 (1994), no. 2:10; also Hamblin, "'Everything Is Everything': Was Joseph Smith Influenced by Kabbalah?", *FARMS Review of Books: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 8 (1996), no. 2:253n8, stated: "It is unfortunate that [Lance S.] Owens uses the misleading term *occult* to describe the esoteric tradition" (emphasis in original). However, as indicated by the previous quote in my text, Hamblin does not hesitate to use the words "occult" and "magic" when writing about the esoteric tradition of Jewish mysticism. The difference is that Hamblin wrote about Jewish mysticism as a historian, but reviewed Owens as a polemicist. This is only one example of how polemics warps the judgment of its LDS practitioners. See also following note 98.

80. Daniel C. Peterson, "Chattanooga Cheapshot, or The Gall of Bitterness," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 5 (1993): 8 (for first quoted phrase); Peterson, "Skin Deep," *FARMS Review of Books: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 9 (1997), no. 2:130 (for long quote), 130n65 (for last quote), 130n63 (for citation of his 1988 review, but with no statement of its argument against using the terms "magic" or "magical"); John A. Tvedtnes and Stephen D. Ricks, "Jewish and Other Semitic Texts Written in Egyptian Characters," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies: Foundation for Ancient Research & Mormon Studies* 5 (1996), no. 2:158, wrote: "A number of northwest Semitic texts are included in Egyptian magical papyri. These are mostly incantations ..."

81. John Middleton, "Theories of Magic," in Eliade, *Encyclopedia of Religion*, 9:82, for quoted phrase; also S. G. F. Brandon, "Magic and the Black Art," *The Modern Churchman* 11 (Jan. 1968): 75; Louis Schneider, "The Scope of 'The Religious Factor' and the Sociology of Religion: Notes on Definition, Idolatry and Magic," *Social Research* 41 (Summer 1974): 360.

82. Claude Levi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), 221; also Henri Bergson, *The Two Sources of Morality and Religion*, trans. R. Ashley Audra,

Cloudesley Brereton, and W. Horsfall Carter (1935; Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1977), 175; Bryan R. Wilson, *Magic and the Millennium: A Sociological Study of Religious Movements of Protest Among Tribal and Third-World Peoples* (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), 70, 131.

83. O'Keefe, *Stolen Lightning*, 158. Ritner, *Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, 239, observed that O'Keefe's "analysis, synthesis, and generalizations are thus conducted almost entirely within the framework of competing modern Western theoretical interpretations." Because that is my own emphasis, I find O'Keefe's overview useful in this discussion. On the other hand as an Egyptologist, Ritner rejects *Stolen Lightning* because it failed to adequately encompass the Egyptian experience.

84. Morton Smith, *New Testament, Early Christianity, and Magic*, vol. 2 of Shaye J. D. Cohen, ed., *Studies in the Cult of Yahweh* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996), 208.

85. T. Witton Davies, *Magic, Divination, and Demonology Among the Hebrews and Their Neighbors* (1898; New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1969), 18; Ludwig Blau, *Das altjuedische Zauberwesen*, 2d ed. (Berlin: L. Lamm, 1914); Arthur Darby Nock, "Paul and the Magus," in F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, eds., *The Beginnings of Christianity*, 5 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1922-33), 5:174; Evelyn Underhill, *Mysticism: A Study in the Nature and Development of Man's Spiritual Consciousness*, 12th ed. rev. (London: Methuen, 1930), 152; Joshua Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition: A Study in Folk Religion* (New York: Behrman's Jewish Book House, 1939); J. H. G. Grattan and Charles Singer, *Anglo-Saxon Magic and Medicine: Illustrated Specially From the Semi-Pagan Text "Lacnunga"* (London: Wellcome Historical Medical Museum/Oxford University Press, 1952), 16, 21; H. van der Loos, *The Miracles of Jesus* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965), 141; Jacob Neusner, *A History of the Jews in Babylonia*, 5 vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1969-70), 2:147-50, 5:175-77, 217-43; Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 51, 75, 267; Theodore Schrire, "Amulets," and Joseph Dan, "Magic," in Cecil Roth, ed., *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 16 vols. (Jerusalem: Macmillan/Keter Publishing, 1971-72), 2:908, 912, 11:705-708, 714; Markham J. Geller, "Joshua b. Perahia and Jesus of Nazareth: Two Rabbinic Magicians," Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 1973; Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in Their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period*, trans. John Bowden, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974), 1:130, 238-41; Keith Thomas, "An Anthropology of Religion and Magic," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 6 (Summer 1975): 97; Judah Goldin, "The Magic of Magic and Superstition," in Elizabeth Schuessler Fiorenza, ed., *Aspects of Religious Propaganda in Judaism and Early Christianity* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1976), 116, 119-37; Jacob Neusner, *Talmudic Judaism in Sasanian Babylonia* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976), 56-57, 80-81; Herbert Bassler, "Superstitious Interpretations of Jewish Laws," *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period* 8 (Oct. 1977): 127-38; William Scott Green, "Palestinian Holy Men: Charismatic Leadership and Rabbinic Tradition," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der roemischen Welt*, II, 2.19 (1979): 625, 634-36, 638, 642, 644, 646-47; Michael Edward Stone, *Scriptures, Sects, and Visions: A Profile of Judaism from Ezra to the Jewish Revolts* (London: Collins; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980), 82-84; David E. Aune, "Magic in Early Christianity," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der roemischen Welt* II, 23.2. (1980): 1513; Gerd Theissen, *The Miracle Stories of the Early Christian Tradition*, trans. Francis McDonagh (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983), 232-33; Michael A. Morgan, trans., *Sepher-ha-Razim: The Book of the Mysteries* (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983); James H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 2 vols. (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983-85), 1:943-45; W. H. C. Frend, *The Rise of Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), 565-66; Francis C. R. Thee, *Julius Africanus and the Early Christian View of Magic* (Tuebingen, Ger.: J. C. B. Mohr/Paul Siebeck, 1984), 7, 300-10; Daniel Sperber, "Some Rabbinic Themes in Magical Papyri," *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period* 16 (June 1985): 93-103; R. J. Zwi Werblowsky and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Jewish Religion* (New York: Adama Books, 1986), 29, 46-47, 221; Neusner, "Science and Magic,"

Miracle and Magic in Formative Judaism," Moshe Idel, "Jewish Magic from the Renaissance Period to Early Hasidism," and Karen Louise Jolly, "Magic, Miracle, and Popular Practice in the Early Medieval West: Anglo-Saxon England," in Neusner, Frerichs, and Flesher, *Religion, Science, and Magic*, 76, 82-117, 175-76; Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, 56; Lawrence H. Schiffman and Michael D. Swartz, *Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts from the Cairo Genizah* (Sheffield, Eng.: Sheffield Academic Press/JSOT Press, 1992), 12; Paola Zambelli, *The SPECULUM ASTRONOMIAE and Its Enigma: Astrology, Theology and Science in Albertus Magnus and His Contemporaries* (Dordrecht, Neth.: Kluwer Academic Publications, 1992), 51-59; Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press/Hebrew University, 1993), 17-31; Frank R. Trombley, *Hellenic Religion and Christianization, C. 370-529*, 2 vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1993-94), 1:65, 150, 176, 183, 2:93, 191, 209; Swartz, "Magical Piety in Ancient and Medieval Judaism," 167-83; G. Stemmerger, "Non-Rabbinic Literature," in Jacob Neusner, ed., *Judaism in Late Antiquity*, 2 vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), 1:36, 38; Henry Maguire, "Magic and the Christian Image," and Robert Mathiesen, "Magic in Slavia Orthodoxa: The Written Tradition," in Maguire, ed., *Byzantine Magic* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library/Harvard University Press, 1995), 51-71, 153-77; Jacob Neusner and William Scott Green, eds., *Dictionary of Judaism in the Biblical Period, 450 B.C.E. to 600 C.E.*, 2 vols. (New York: Macmillan Library Reference USA/Simon & Schuster Macmillan, 1996), 2:401-402, 691-92; Hendrik F. Stander, "Amulets," and Gallagher, "Magic," in Ferguson, *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, 1:47, 2:705. Schiffman and Swartz, *Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 15, stated in 1992: "Ludwig Blau's *Das altjuedische Zauberwesen* (1914) remains the most thorough study of Jewish magic in the Talmudic period."

86. Julio Caro Baroja, *The World of the Witches*, trans. O. N. V. Glendinning (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), 22-23; also Nachman Ben-Yehuda, *Deviance and Moral Boundaries: Witchcraft, the Occult, Science Fiction, Deviant Sciences and Scientists* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 26.

87. Joanne K. Kuemmerlin-McLean, "Magic: Old Testament," in David Noel Freedman, ed., *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 6 vols. (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 4:468.

88. Charlesworth, *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 1:947-48, also 2:713, note A-c; also Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity*, 2d ed. (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1987), esp. 15, 17, 18; Schiffman and Swartz, *Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 17-18.

89. Werblowsky and Wigoder, *Encyclopedia of the Jewish Religion*, 247 and 47; also Stemmerger, "Non-Rabbinic Literature," 36. This perspective was missing from the categorical statement by a Mormon physician: "The Babylonian invention of astrology, heavily health-related, was uniformly and vigorously condemned by Old Testament and Talmud authors." See Roderick Saxey, "A Physician's Reflections on Old Testament Medicine," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 17 (Autumn 1984): 126.

90. Werblowsky and Wigoder, *Encyclopedia of the Jewish Religion*, 47; Neusner and Green, *Dictionary of Judaism in the Biblical Period*, 2:401, 1:64, 2:692.

91. Naude, *History of Magick*, 14 (emphasis in original). For Naude, see Brian P. Copenhaver, "The Power of Magic and the Poverty of Erudition: Magic in the Universal Library," in Peter Ganz, ed., *Das Buch als magisches und als Repraesentationsobjekt* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1992), 25-57.

92. John Beaumont, *An Historical, Physiological, and Theological Treatise of Spirits ...* (London: D. Browne, 1705), 321-23.

93. J. Hampden Porter, "Folk-Lore of the Mountain Whites of the Alleghanies," *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 7 (Apr.-June 1894): 107. William A. Wilson untitled review, *BYU Studies* 27 (Fall 1987): 102, criticized my book for citing "badly outdated publications" and faulted it for not "giving any serious heed to contemporary folklore and to contemporary folklore scholarship." This requires me to make the obvious statement that collections

of "contemporary folklore" gathered in the 1980s and 1990s will reveal nothing about people living more than 100 years earlier. I say "obvious," because Wilson's 1987 review also denied that there is an "unchanging group of people called the 'folk'" (102-103). Therefore, when interested in people living 100-200 years ago, historians must examine folklore sources as far distant in the past as possible—in dusty academic journals, local histories, newspapers, diaries, correspondence—none of which can be "contemporary" to a current folklorist. For the polemics of Wilson's approach, see page 334, note 31.

94. O'Keefe, *Stolen Lightning*, 237-39.

95. Bernard A. Weisberger, *They Gathered at the River: The Story of the Great Revivalists and Their Impact Upon Religion in America* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1958), 47; Jon Butler, "Magic, Astrology, and the Early American Religious Heritage, 1600-1760," *American Historical Review* 84 (Apr. 1979): 319; Peter W. Williams, *Popular Religion in America: Symbolic Change and the Modernization Process in Historical Perspective* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1980), 64; Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith*, 3, 9, 67-97, 228-34.

96. Laurence Moore, "The Occult Connection: Mormonism, Christian Science, and Spiritualism," in Kerr and Crow, *Occult in America*, 136; Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 73; Alan Taylor, "The Early Republic's Supernatural Economy: Treasure Seeking in the American Northeast, 1780-1830," *American Quarterly* 38 (Spring 1986): 19; Marvin S. Hill, *Quest for Refuge: The Mormon Flight from American Pluralism* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989), 4, 21; Richard L. Bushman and Larry C. Porter, "History of the Church: C. 1820-1831, Background, Founding, New York Period"; Richard L. Bushman and Dean C. Jessee, "Smith, Joseph: The Prophet"; Joseph I. Bentley, "Legal Trials of Joseph Smith"; A. Gary Anderson, "Smith, Joseph, Sr."; and Gordon A. Madsen, "South Bainbridge (Afton), New York," in Ludlow, *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 2:601, 3:1334, 1346, 1348, 1400. For this as an official product of LDS headquarters, see page 338, note 60.

97. Richard L. Bushman, "Treasure-seeking Then and Now," *Sunstone* 11 (Sept. 1987): 5. For the 1826 trial, see ch. 2.

98. See preface for discussion of difference between apologists and polemicists. William J. Hamblin, "An Apologist for the Critics: Brent Lee Metcalfe's Assumptions and Methodologies," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 6 (1994), no. 1:470, argued that this is the "fallacy of possible proof," and he wrote as if he were an objectivist historian (positivist) who believes that history can actually re-create the past exactly as it was: "The burden of proof for the naturalists is to demonstrate what Joseph knew ..." (emphasis in original). Hamblin thus required his opponents to engage in historical mind reading, while also insisting that any non-traditional view of Mormon history is inevitably flawed. He stated earlier (458-59) that "most past events" are "historically unverifiable," as an introduction to his comment (459): "Historical objectivism is an epistemological position that the past is not only knowable, but objectively knowable—not only that there was an ontologically real past, but that the past can be known as it really was, by means of historical methodologies" (emphasis in original).

In stating his requirements for "the naturalists," Hamblin was writing as an LDS polemicist, not as the trained historian with a Ph.D. from the University of Michigan. He acknowledged no problem with that trade-off because "I am proud to be a defender of the Kingdom of God" (Hamblin, "An Apologist for the Critics," 440).

Hamblin and I obviously see faith and its defense in very different ways, both as historians and as believers. According to his published comments about me, Hamblin thinks that my commitment to historical analysis has subverted my LDS faith. Having read many of his writings, I think Hamblin's commitment as "a defender" has subverted his historical training.

Polemicism has also warped Hamblin's judgment of what is religious. In his polemical review of Metcalfe's book, Hamblin constructed his essay to be published with a repetitive

left-margin acrostic ("Metcalf is butthead"). The FARMS editor discovered this while the article was in press and required Hamblin to change the acrostics, some of which he still left in recognizable form. As "a defender of the Kingdom of God," Hamblin tried to deceive a religious journal into publishing the kind of graffiti that teenagers scrawl on the walls of public restrooms. See "Book of Mormon Scholars Unleash Salvo of Barbs," *Deseret News*, 22 Mar. 1994, B-5; also "F.A.R.M.S./Signature Feud Continues With Attack On Metcalfe," *Sunstone* 17 (June 1994): 78-79. This is another example of how polemics warps the judgment of its LDS practitioners. See also previous note 79.

This is not simply a dispute between professionally trained scholars, but is an unfortunate symptom of fundamental chasms dividing Mormon historiography. I agree with FARMS writer Louis Midgley that there is a "Great Divide" in Mormon studies between historians who believe that Joseph Smith was "a genuine prophet" (as Smith defined himself) and those who do not. However, Midgley tosses any interpreter he dislikes into the category of disbeliever, anti-Mormon, or "cultural Mormon." See Midgley, "F. M. Brodie—'The Fasting Hermit and Very Saint of Ignorance': A Biographer and Her Legend," *FARMS Review of Books: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 8 (1996), no. 2: 147-230 (esp. 157, 221, 223). For Midgley as an author of "polemical" articles, see Daniel C. Peterson, "Editor's Introduction," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 4 (1992): ix, note 6.

However, that "divide" is equally true of those who believe/disbelieve that Muhammad was "a genuine prophet" (as Muhammad defined himself). Years ago, I emphasized that to Midgley at an informal gathering during the Mormon History Association's annual meeting. Midgley has no difficulty accepting Daniel C. Peterson as an Islamic scholar, even though Peterson is on the disbeliever side of that "Great Divide" in Islamic studies. Like Midgley, Muslims insist there is no "middle ground" on the question of whether Muhammad was God's last prophet.

There is, in fact, a more fundamental chasm in historiography than either the Mormon or Islamic examples. If writers believe in the metaphysical, they inevitably approach any metaphysical topic (including the occult) from a position that is irreconcilable with those who reject the possibility of metaphysical experience.

Finally, there is the chasm involved when polemicists for any view engage in deceptive methods to further their cause. As noted throughout this study, there is evidence of deception in the writings of several polemical reviewers for FARMS, but I must emphasize that not all FARMS reviewers write polemically. Nevertheless, the polemics of FARMS reviewers against the writings they dislike actually undermines the credibility of FARMS authors in defending the writings they love. Years from now, other historians may assess these chasms and conflicts with greater detachment and insight than any of us can at present.

99. Robin W. Winks, *The Historian as Detective* (New York: Harper & Row, 1969); James West Davidson and Mark Hamilton Lytle, *After the Fact: The Art of Historical Detection*, 2 vols. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982).

100. Bryan A. Garner, *A Dictionary of Modern Legal Usage*, 2d ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 685, 803.

101. Hugh W. Nibley, *Lehi in the Desert and the World of the Jaredites* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft Publishing, 1952); Nibley, *An Approach to the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: The Council of the Twelve Apostles of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1957); Nibley, *Since Cumorah: The Book of Mormon in the Modern World* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1967); Nibley, "Two Shots in the Dark," in Noel B. Reynolds, ed., *Book of Mormon Authorship: New Light on Ancient Origins* (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1982), 103-41; also John W. Welch "Chiasmus in the Book of Mormon," *BYU Studies* 10 (Autumn 1969): 69-84; George S. Tate, "The Typology of the Exodus Pattern in the Book of Mormon," in Neal A. Lambert, ed., *Literature of Belief: Sacred Scriptures and Religious Experience* (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1981),

245-62; C. Wilford Griggs, "The Book of Mormon as an Ancient Book," *BYU Studies* 22 (Summer 1982): 259-78; John L. Sorenson, *An Ancient American Setting for the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1985); Paul R. Cheesman, "Cultural Parallels between the Old World and the New World," in Cheesman, ed., *The Book of Mormon: The Keystone Scripture* (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1988), 206-17; Paul Y. Hoskisson, "Textual Evidences for the Book of Mormon," in Monte S. Nyman and Charles D. Tate, Jr., eds., *The Book of Mormon: First Nephi, the Doctrinal Foundation* (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1988), 283-95; Stephen D. Ricks, "'Holy War': The Sacral Ideology of War in the Book of Mormon and in the Ancient Near East," Bruce W. Warren, "Secret Combinations, Warfare, and Captive Sacrifice in Mesoamerica and the Book of Mormon," William J. Hamblin, "The Bow and Arrow in the Book of Mormon," and Sorenson, "Fortifications in the Book of Mormon Account Compared with Mesoamerican Fortifications," in Ricks and Hamblin, *Warfare in the Book of Mormon*, 103-17, 225-36, 365-99, 425-44; Allen J. Christenson, "Maya Harvest Festivals and the Book of Mormon," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 3 (1991): 1-31; John Gee, "Limhi in the Library," Alan Goff, "Boats, Beginnings, and Repetitions," and S. Kent Brown, "The Prophetic Laments of Samuel the Lamanite," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies: Foundation for Ancient Research & Mormon Studies* 1 (Fall 1992): 54-66, 67-84, 163-80; Brent L. Holbrook, "The Sword of Laban as a Symbol of Divine Authority and Kingship," Daniel N. Rolph, "Prophets, Kings, and Swords: The Sword of Laban and Its Possible Pre-Laban Origin," Jeanette W. Miller, "The Tree of Life: A Personification of Christ," Mark J. Morrise, "Simile Curses in the Ancient Near East, Old Testament, and Book of Mormon," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies: Foundation for Ancient Research & Mormon Studies* 2 (Spring 1993): 39-72, 73-79, 93-106, 124-38; Jennifer Clark Lane, "The Lord Will Redeem His People: Adoptive Covenant and Redemption in the Old Testament and Book of Mormon," Wallace E. Hunt, Jr., "Moses' Brazen Serpent as it Relates to Serpent Worship in Mesoamerica," and Jeffrey R. Chadwick, "Sariah in the Elephantine Papyri," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies: Foundation for Ancient Research & Mormon Studies* 2 (Fall 1993): 39-62, 121-31, 196-200; Gordon C. Thomasson, "What's in a Name?: Book of Mormon Language, Names, and (Metonymic) Naming," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies: Foundation for Ancient Research & Mormon Studies* 3 (Spring 1994): 7-27; Bruce M. Pritchett, Jr., "Lehi's Theology of the Fall in Its Preexilic/Exilic Context," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies: Foundation for Ancient Research & Mormon Studies* 3 (Fall 1994): 49-83; Robert F. Smith, "Book of Mormon Event Structure: The Ancient Near East," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies: Foundation for Ancient Research & Mormon Studies* 5 (1996), no. 2:98-147; Christenson, "The Sacred Tree of the Ancient Maya," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies: Foundation for Ancient Research & Mormon Studies* 6 (1997), no. 1:1-23; Welch, "What Does Chiasmus in the Book of Mormon Prove?"; Welch "The Narrative of Zosimus (History of the Rechabites) and the Book of Mormon"; and Sorenson, "The Book of Mormon as a Mesoamerican Record," in Noel B. Reynolds, ed., *Book of Mormon Authorship Revisited: The Evidence for Ancient Origins* (Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1997), 199-224, 323-74, 391-521.

102. Hamblin, "Apologist for the Critics," 485n111. While possibly unaware of the Book of Mormon claim to be an ancient American text written in "reformed Egyptian," Rafique A. Jairazbhoy has used various parallels to support a related thesis. See his *Ancient Egyptians and Chinese in America* (London: George Prior Associated Publishers, 1974), 7-99; *Ancient Egyptians in Middle and South America* (London: Ra Publications, 1981); *Rameses III: Father of Ancient America* (London: Karnak House; Chicago: Frontline International, 1992).

103. Some Mormons bristle even at the mention of the words "environment" or "environmental" in connection with Joseph Smith. "The point of discovering what parts of the upstate New York environment went into the Book of Mormon is to demonstrate how Joseph Smith may have fabricated it," explained Gary F. Novak in *Review of Books on the*

Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies 5 (1993): 236. He had previously acknowledged (235): "It would, of course, be silly to say that prophets are unaware of their 'environment' in the sense of being aware of circumstances around them. But this is clearly not the sort of thing 'New Mormon Historians,' for lack of a better term, mean when they call certain kinds of explanations 'environmental' or 'naturalistic.'" To the contrary, I have found that LDS polemicists are not interested in what a specific New Mormon Historian "means" when using the term "environmental," and they misrepresent any explanation the historian does give.

For readers who prefer the biblical "let us reason together," I affirm two things about environmentalism. First, Joseph Smith did not fabricate the *Book of Mormon* or falsify its claims. Second, in producing this sacred scripture from ancient records by the "gift and power of God," translator Joseph Smith left traces of his environment on the English translation (see chs. 5-6). To me those are two essential realities—the first an imperative of spiritual faith, the second an imperative of earthly evidence. Polemicists like Novak substitute fiat for faith, ignorance for evidence, and vilify anyone who disagrees with them.

104. Compare Arnold Toynbee, *A Study of History*, 12 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1939-60), 6:439-40.

105. Herbert Jennings Rose, *Concerning Parallels* (Oxford, Eng.: Clarendon Press, 1934), 9, 10.

106. Paul M. Edwards untitled review, *Saints Herald* 135 (Apr. 1988): 14.

107. Jung, *Collected Works*, 8:421, 436, 440, 481-82, 512; 9:4-5, 42-43, 48.

108. Joseph Campbell, "Bios and Mythos: Prolegomena to a Science of Mythology," in George M. Wilbur and Warner Muensterberger, eds., *Psychoanalysis and Culture: Essays in Honor of Geza Roheim* (New York: International Universities Press, 1951), 333-34; Joseph Campbell, *The Masks of God: Primitive Mythology* (New York: Viking Press, 1959), 15-16, 32-33; Mircea Eliade, *The Myth of the Eternal Return*, trans. Willard R. Trask (New York: Pantheon Books, 1959), 32, 46-48; compare Lowie, *Primitive Religion*, 29; A. L. Kroeber, "Stimulus Diffusion," *American Anthropologist* 42 (Jan.-Mar. 1940): 1-20.

109. Hugh Nibley, "Myths and Scriptures," *New Era* 1 (Oct. 1971): 38, reprinted in John W. Welch, Gary P. Gillum, and Don E. Norton, eds., *Old Testament and Related Studies, The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley: Volume 1* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1986), 47; Tod R. Harris, "The Journey of the Hero: Archetypes of Earthly Adventure and Spiritual Passage in 1 Nephi," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies: Foundation for Ancient Research & Mormon Studies* 6 (1997), no. 2:42-66.

110. Clifton Holt Jolley, "The Martyrdom of Joseph Smith: An Archetypal Study," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 44 (Fall 1976): 329-50; Edgar C. Snow, Jr., "One Face of the Hero: In Search of the Mythological Joseph Smith," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 27 (Fall 1994): 233-47; Gail L. Porritt and Robert S. Portlock, "Joseph Smith as Latter-day Halcyon: Spiritual Mythology and Mormon Symbolism," unpublished manuscript (27 Sept. 1997), copies at Marriott Library, at Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, at Donnell and Elizabeth Stewart Library of Weber State University, Ogden, Utah, at Milton R. Merrill Library of Utah State University, Logan, Utah, and at Harold B. Lee Library of Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

111. Todd Compton, "The Spirituality of the Outcast in the Book of Mormon," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies: Foundation for Ancient Research & Mormon Studies* 2 (Spring 1993): 144; Hamblin, "Apologist for the Critics," 463, 485n11. Because "historicism" has different meanings in historiography, I use Hamblin's terms for this discussion.

112. Russel B. Swensen, "Mormons at the University of Chicago Divinity School," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 7 (Summer 1972): 37-45; "Sidney B. Sperry," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies: Foundation for Ancient Research & Mormon Studies* 4 (Spring 1995): x, xiii-xiv.

113. Joseph Smith et al., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, Period I: *History of Joseph Smith the Prophet, and ...* Period II: *From the Manuscript History of Brigham Young and Other Original Documents*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1902-32; 2d ed. rev. [Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1978]), 1:4; Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2+ vols., with a different subtitle for each volume (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989-92+), 1:271.

114. Compton, "Spirituality of the Outcast," 144-45. One of the finest examples of that moderate approach, while doing incisive analysis of the debate over *Book of Mormon* historicity, is Kevin Christensen, "Paradigms Crossed," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 7 (1995), no. 2:144-218.

115. K. M. Briggs, *Pale Hecate's Team: An Examination of the Beliefs on Witchcraft and Magic among Shakespeare's Contemporaries and His Immediate Successors* (New York: The Humanities Press, 1962), 57; also Briggs, "Some Seventeenth-Century Books of Magic," *Folk-Lore: Transactions of the Folk-Lore Society* 64 (Dec. 1953): 445; Loomis, *White Magic*, 5; O'Keefe, *Stolen Lightning*, 525-26.

116. Richard Godbeer, *The Devil's Dominion: Magic and Religion in Early New England* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 35.

117. W. R. Jones, "Bibliothecae Arcanae: The Private Libraries of Some European Sorcerers," *Journal of Library History* 8 (Apr. 1973): 94, "the superstitions of the peasantry were drawn into the speculative systems of the European intelligentsia."

118. For various uses of folklore, see Christine Goldberg, "Comparative Approach," Dan Ben-Amos, "Contextual Approach," and Cathy Lynn Preston, "Cultural Studies," in Brunvand, *American Folklore*, 151-53, 157-59, 183-84; "Worldview and Tradition among European-Americans" and "Folklore and History," in Barre Toelken, *The Dynamics of Folklore*, rev. and enl. ed. (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1996), 266-75, 400-11.

119. Samuel Sandmel, "Parallelomania," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 81 (Mar. 1962): 7.

120. Childe, *Magic Craftsmanship and Science*, 18.

121. Hamblin, "Everything Is Everything," 282, claimed that in the first edition of this book I engaged in the "mistake of the addition of the probabilities . . . Probabilities are multiplied, not added. Combining two propositions, each of which has a 50% probability, does not create a 100% probability, it creates a 25% probability that both are true." He concluded (283): "The result is a monumentally high improbability that [the] overall thesis is correct." As a FARMS polemicist Hamblin committed the fallacy of wrongly applying statistical theory to historical inquiry.

Hamblin would discover his error very quickly if he applied his polemical analysis to his apologist writings in support of the historicity of the *Book of Mormon* as a text deriving from the ancient Near East. For example, there is a probability of historicity when a close parallel exists between warfare in that book's narrative and in the ancient Near East. A separate probability of historicity exists when there is a close parallel between kingly rituals in that book's narrative and in the ancient Near East. Underlying this apologetical approach is the assumption (often made as an explicit argument) that every ancient parallel increases the probability that the *Book of Mormon* is an English translation of an ancient text. However, according to Hamblin's polemical argument, the existence of those two probabilities would actually reduce the probability that the *Book of Mormon* reflects the ancient Near East. To the contrary, the existence of warfare similarities and kingly similarities does not reduce the probability that both are true and significant, nor lessen the probability that the *Book of Mormon* was Joseph Smith's rendition of an ancient record. As Hamblin expects his readers to conclude from his apologist writings in favor of that book's historicity, the probability of historical validation of an "overall thesis" is increased with each addition of new evidence in support of that thesis. This is true even though the evidences have varied probabilities of supporting the general thesis, when those evidences are viewed in isolation. Only when

cumulative evidence runs contrary to the FARMS agenda, do polemicists like Hamblin want readers to view each piece of evidence as though it existed in isolation.

122. For similar view expressed after this statement in my first edition, see Godbeer, *Devil's Dominion: Magic and Religion in Early New England*, 6.

123. Lloyd, *Magic, Reason, and Experience*, 5; John Baines, "Society, Morality, and Religious Practice," in Byron E. Shafer, ed., *Religion in Ancient Egypt: Gods, Myths, and Personal Practice* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), 165-66, 166n117; Lili L. Kaelas, "Religion and Art," in S. J. DeLaet, ed., *History of Humanity*, 3 vols. (Paris: UNESCO; London: Routledge Reference, 1994), 2:389.

124. For example, Daniel J. Driscoll, ed., *The Sworn Book of Honourius the Magician ... Prepared from two British Museum Manuscripts* (Gillette, NJ: Heptangle Books, 1977); Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*; Agrippa [alleged], *Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy*; Sibly, *New and Complete Illustration of the Occult Sciences*; Barrett, *Magus*; Johann Scheible, *Das Kloster*, 12 vols. (Stuttgart: J. Scheible, 1845-49); Eliphas Levi, *pseud.* [Alphonse Louis Constant], *Transcendental Magic: Its Doctrine and Ritual*, trans. Arthur Edward Waite (1856; London: William Rider and Son, 1923); Julius Firmicus Maternus, *Ancient Astrology Theory and Practice: Matheseos Libri VIII* [4th c. A.D.], trans. Jean Rhys Bram (Park Ridge, NJ: Noyes Classical Studies, Noyes Press, 1975).

125. Smith, *Map Is Not Territory*, 177; also Swartz, *Scholastic Magic*, 191, for "The Magical Chain of Tradition."

126. David D. Hall, "A World of Wonders: The Mentality of the Supernatural in Seventeenth-Century New England," in Gary B. Nash and Cynthia J. Shelton, eds., *The Private Side of American History*, vol. 1. (1984; New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1987), 55, 75.

127. "Members of the Mercurii: Raphael, the Metropolitan Astrologer" [Robert C. Smith], *The Astrologer of the Nineteenth Century: Or, The Master Key of Futurity, and Guide to Ancient Mysteries, Being a Complete System of Occult Philosophy*, 7th ed. (London: Knight and Lacey, 1825), 212n, 261 (emphasis in original); *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 754 vols. (London: Mansell, 1968-81), 5:306, 36:563; S. Liddle MacGregor Mathers, *The Key of Solomon the King (Clavicula Salomonis) Now First Translated and Edited from Ancient Mss in the British Museum* (London: George Redway, 1888); *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years MDCCCC-MDCCCCV* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1907), 183, including a *Clavicula Salomonis* which "does not agree with the *Clavicula* edited by S. L. M. Mathers (London, 1889), nor with the treatise known as *Lemegeton*"; L. W. de Laurence, ed., *The Lesser Key of Solomon: Goetia, The Book of Evil Spirits ... Translated from Ancient Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London (Hackensack, NJ: Wehman Brothers, 1916); Daniel J. Driscoll, *The Sworn Book of Honourius the Magician ... Prepared from two British Museum Manuscripts* (Gillette, NJ: Heptangle Books, 1977); Tom Ogden, *Wizards and Sorcerers: From Abracadabra to Zoroaster* (New York: Facts On File, 1997), 117-19, 121-25, 131-32.

128. Hansen, "Magic, Bookish (Western European)," in Strayer, *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, 8:33, 34.

129. Carleton F. Brown, "The Long Hidden Friend," *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 17 (Apr.-June 1904): 89-152; also see ch. 4 concerning Hohman's book.

130. Patrick Curry, *Prophecy and Power: Astrology in Early Modern England* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), 96.

131. Robert Collison, *The Story of Street Literature: Forerunner of the Popular Press* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 1973), 151.

132. Eric Maple, "Cunning Murrell: A Study of a Nineteenth-Century Cunning Man in Hadleigh, Essex," *Folklore* 71 (Mar. 1960): 40.

133. Ben-Yehuda, *Deviance and Moral Boundaries*, 82-83; contrast this and the above citations with a denial of the "timeless occult" in Alan Taylor, "Rediscovering the Context

of Joseph Smith Jr.'s Treasure-Seeking," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 19 (Winter 1986): 20. Taylor showed no familiarity with the relevant literature on this matter; also previous note 47.

134. Mircea Eliade, "Alchemy: An Overview," in Eliade, *Encyclopedia of Religion*, 1:183; also Eliade, *The Forge and the Crucible*, trans. Stephen Corrin (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1962), 110-12, 119-24, 130-32, 142-46, 169-72.

135. Hamblin, "Everything Is Everything," 253n8.

136. Edward A. Tiryakian, "Toward the Sociology of Esoteric Culture," *American Journal of Sociology* 78 (Nov. 1972): 498-99; also restated by Antoine Faivre, "Occultism," in Eliade, *Encyclopedia of Religion*, 11:36.

137. Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), 508.

138. See Preface for discussion of the difference between apologists and polemicists.

139. Hugh Nibley, "Controlling the Past (a Consideration of Methods)," *Improvement Era* 58 (Jan. 1955): 22.

140. Peterson, "Editor's Introduction," *Review of Books* 4 (1992): xlix, note 115, discussed the fact that my 1987 "book was (and, to some extent, continues to be) a popular item in anti-Mormon literature and on anti-Mormon radio programs." Peterson concluded: "Of course, it can easily be argued that such anti-Mormons misunderstand Quinn; I think they do."

141. David B. Honey and Daniel C. Peterson, "Advocacy and Inquiry in the Writing of Latter-day Saint History," *BYU Studies* 31 (Spring 1991): 162, commented favorably on the non-polemical intent of this phrase in my 1987 introduction: "To us, a different light means a new perspective from which to view the early church, one which can be combined with other perspectives—economic, social, religious, and political—to approach as comprehensive an understanding of the past as is possible."

Notes to Chapter One

1. Herbert Leventhal, *In the Shadow of the Enlightenment: Occultism and Renaissance Science in Eighteenth-Century America* (New York: New York University Press, 1976); Jon Butler, "Magic, Astrology, and the Early American Religious Heritage, 1600-1760," *American Historical Review* 84 (Apr. 1979): 317-46; Jon Butler, "The Dark Ages of American Occultism, 1760-1848," in Howard Kerr and Charles L. Crow, eds., *The Occult in America: New Historical Perspectives* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983); Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), 3, 9, 67-97, 228-34.

2. David D. Hall, "Introduction and Commentary," in Peter Benes, ed., *Wonders of the Invisible World, 1600-1900: The Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife Annual Proceedings, 1992* (Boston: Boston University Press, 1995), 11-12.

3. Gershom G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, rev. ed. (New York: Schocken Books, 1946), 21, 145.

4. Norman Perrin and Dennis C. Duling, *The New Testament: An Introduction*, 2d ed. (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1982), 33.

5. Joanne K. Kuemmerlin-McLean, "Magic: Old Testament," in David Noel Freedman, ed., *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 6 vols. (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 4:469; also Deut. 18:9-12, Lev. 19:26, Isa. 8:19, Jer. 27:9; Joshua Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition: A Study in Folk Religion* (New York: Behrman's Jewish Book House, 1939), 19-20.

6. Kurt Seligmann, *The History of Magic* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1948), 68-69; also S. J. Tambiah, "The Magical Power of Words," *Man: The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, new ser., 3 (June 1968): 175-208.

7. Truman G. Madsen, "Putting on the Names: A Jewish-Christian Legacy," in John

M. Lundquist and Stephen D. Ricks, eds., *By Study and Also By Faith*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co.; Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1990), 1:473.

8. J. Newton Brown, ed., *Fessenden & Co.'s Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge* ... (Brattleboro, VT: Fessenden and Co.; Boston: Shattuck & Co., 1835), 674; also John Allen, *Modern Judaism: or, A Brief Account of the Opinions, Traditions, Rites, and Ceremonies of the Jews in Modern Times*, 2d ed., rev. (1816; London: R. B. Seeley and W. Burnside, 1830), 87, rendered the Hebrew characters as *Jod He Vau He*, yet used *Yod* in a chart of Hebrew characters (76).

9. Louis F. Hartman, "GOD, NAMES OF," in Cecil Roth, ed., *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 16 vols. (Jerusalem: Macmillan/Keter Publishing, 1971-72), 7:680 (for "hybrid name"); also Samuel Macauley Jackson, ed., *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, 12 vols. (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1908-12), 6:116-17; George Arthur Buttrick, ed., *The Interpreter's Bible*, 12 vols. (New York: Abingdon Press, 1951-57), 2:817; Jacob Neusner and William Scott Green, eds., *Dictionary of Judaism in the Biblical Period, 450 B.C.E. to 600 C.E.*, 2 vols. (New York: Macmillan Library Reference USA/Simon & Schuster Macmillan, 1996), 2:629.

10. Alfred Guillaume, *Prophecy and Divination Among the Hebrews and Other Semites* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1938), 269; also M. Gaster, trans. and ed., "The Sword of Moses," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Jan. 1896): 153, 155; Hyrum P. Jones, "Magic and the Old Testament," M.S. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1933, 42; Gershom Scholem, "Kabbalah," in Roth, *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 10:494, 503; Daniel Lawrence O'Keefe, *Stolen Lightning: The Social Theory of Magic* (1982; New York: Vintage Books, 1983), 43-44.

11. D. S. Russell, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Patriarchs and Prophets in Early Judaism* (London: SCM Press, 1987), 81 (for quote), also 70 (that the pseudepigraphic *Prayer of Joseph* and *Prayer of Jacob* have "a certain affinity with Jewish magical texts of the third century AD"). Apparently uninformed by such scholarly literature, BYU biblical professor Stephen E. Robinson's untitled review, *BYU Studies* 27 (Fall 1987): 93, claimed that the *Pseudepigrapha* "had little or nothing to do with magic and the occult"; see page 516, note 274, and page 518, note 303.

12. Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic*, 80; also Buttrick, *Interpreter's Bible*, 1:176. Lawrence H. Schiffman and Michael D. Swartz, *Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts From the Cairo Genizah* (Sheffield, Eng.: Sheffield Academic Press/JSOT Press, 1992), 16, "The definitive work on medieval Jewish magic, and still the best general introduction to Jewish magic, is Joshua Trachtenberg's *Jewish Magic and Superstition* (1939)."

13. John M'Clintock and James Strong, eds., *Cyclopaedia of Biblical Theology, and Ecclesiastical Literature*, 12 vols. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1894), 2: 836; James Hastings, ed., *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, 13 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926), 4: 809; Jones, "Magic and the Old Testament," 61-62; Ann Jeffers, *Magic and Divination In Ancient Palestine and Syria* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996), 188-89.

14. Thomas Vaughan, *Magica Adamica, or the Antiquity of Magic* (1650), reprinted in Arthur Edward Waite, ed., *The Works of Thomas Vaughan* ... (London: Theosophical Publishing House, 1919), 158; also Basilus Valentinus, *The Last Will and Testament of Basil Valentine* ... (London: S. G. and B. G., 1671), 468.

15. Adam Clarke, *The Holy Bible ... With A Commentary and Critical Notes* ..., 6 vols. (New York: Ezra Sargeant, 1811), footnote printed below Gen. 44:15; often called "Clarke's Commentary," but listed in library catalogs under Bible, rather than Clarke; Thomas Hartwell Horne, *An Introduction To the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures*, 1st Am. ed., 4 vols. (Philadelphia: E. Littell, 1825), 3:358, 358n1; also "E. Littell ... has in press, AN INTRODUCTION To the Critical Study and Knowledge of THE HOLY SCRIPTURES By Thomas Hartwell Horne, M.A.," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 20 Apr. 1825, [3]; "Horne's

Introduction to the Study of the Bible, 4 vols., in "MORE NEW BOOKS," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 30 Aug. 1826, [3]; see ch. 6 for discussion of Horne's significance.

16. Richard Cavendish, ed., *Man, Myth & Magic: An Illustrated Encyclopedia of the Supernatural*, 24 vols. (New York: Marshall Cavendish, 1970), 18: 2506.

17. Theodore Besterman, *Crystal Gazing: A Study in the History, Distribution, Theory and Practice of Scrying* (1920; New Hyde Park, NY: University Books, 1965), 73, 75; also James George Frazer, *Folklore in the Old Testament*, 2 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1919), 2:426-434; also my Introduction concerning Frazer.

18. Hastings, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, 4:807; W. O. E. Oesterley and Theodore A. Robinson, *Hebrew Religion: Its Origin and Development* (New York: Macmillan, 1930), 83; Jones, "Magic and the Old Testament," 50-51; H. H. Rowley, *The Faith of Israel: Aspects of Old Testament Thought* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1957), 30; E. A. Speiser, *Genesis*, Anchor Bible Series (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1964), 331-33; "Divination," in Roth, *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 6:114; Jeffers, *Magic and Divination In Ancient Palestine and Syria*, 75-76; Neusner and Green, *Dictionary of Judaism in the Biblical Period*, 1:172; also Fred Gettings, *Encyclopedia of the Occult* (London: Rider, 1986), 111.

19. M'Clintock and Strong, *Cyclopaedia of Biblical Theology*, 5:642; J. D. Douglas et al., eds., *New Bible Dictionary*, 2d ed. (Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House, 1982), 724-25.

20. Louis Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, trans. Henrietta Szold, 7 vols. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1909-38), 7:95, for his index phrase: "Cup, the magic, of Joseph," and 7:293, for "magic, the names of persons versed in."

21. Neusner and Green, *Dictionary of Judaism in the Biblical Period*, 1:172; also "Divination," in Roth, *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 6:113; Jeffers, *Magic and Divination In Ancient Palestine and Syria*, 209. On the other hand, Cornelius Van Dam, *The Urim and Thummim: A Means of Revelation in Ancient Israel* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1997), 4, 209, 215-32, presents the revisionist argument (among biblical scholars) that this instrument gave complex answers of revelation to its users. While that coincides with my own beliefs as a Mormon, my purpose here is to summarize the scholarly consensus about ancient Israel and divination/magic.

22. Balthazar Bekker, *The World Bewitched ...*, 4 vols. (London: R. Baldwin, 1695), 1:95; Edward Smedley et al., *The Occult Sciences* (London: Richard Griffin, 1855), 330; Rowley, *Faith of Israel*, 27.

23. M'Clintock and Strong, *Cyclopaedia of Biblical Theology*, 5:519-20; Jackson, *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, 7:45-6; Jones, "Magic and the Old Testament," 54; Jeffers, *Magic and Divination In Ancient Palestine and Syria*, 96-98.

24. This is the emphasis in Stephen D. Ricks and Daniel C. Peterson, "Joseph Smith and 'Magic': Methodological Reflections on the Use of a Term," in Robert L. Millet, ed., *To Be Learned Is Good If ...* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1987), 134; Matthew Roper, "Unanswered Mormon Scholars," *FARMS Review of Books: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 9 (1997), no. 1:95-96.

25. Joseph Dan, "Magic," in Roth, *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 11:705.

26. Jacob Neusner, *The Wonder Working Lawyers of Talmudic Babylonia: The Theory and Practice of Judaism in its Formative Age* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1987), 62; also my Introduction and page 346, note 67.

27. Frederick Carl Eiselen, Edwin Lewis, and David Downey, eds., *The Abingdon Bible Commentary* (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1929), 308-309; also Joseph Dan, "Magic," in Roth, *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 11:705.

28. Buttrick, *Interpreter's Bible*, 2:243; also Jeffers, *Magic and Divination In Ancient Palestine and Syria*, 234.

29. Buttrick, *Interpreter's Bible*, 3:258.

30. Donald B. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times* (Princeton, NJ:

Princeton University Press, 1992), 383; also BYU's Jones, "Magic and the Old Testament," 19-65, for other less obvious instances of magic.

31. Buttrick, *Interpreter's Bible*, 9:255; M'Clintock and Strong, *Cyclopaedia of Biblical Theology*, 4:61.

32. Gabriel Naude, *The History of Magick ...*, trans. J. Davies (London: John Streater, 1657), 15; Isaac Disraeli, *Curiosities of Literature*, 2 vols. (London: J. Murray, 1791-92), 2:334; Abraham Rees, *The Cyclopaedia ...*, 1st Am. ed., 41 vols. (Philadelphia: Samuel F. Bradford, et al., 1805-24), s.v. "Celsus"; Allen, *Modern Judaism*, 248-49; Nathaniel Lardner, *The Works of Nathaniel Lardner, D.D.*, 10 vols. (London: John Dowding, 1827), 7:255-56; M'Clintock and Strong, *Cyclopaedia of Biblical Theology*, 5:648; Isadore Singer, ed., *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 12 vols. (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1907), 7:171; Bernard Pick, *Jesus in the Talmud ...* (Chicago: Open Court Publishing, 1913), 26-28; Hermann L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch* (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche, 1922), 38-39, 631; Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, 8 vols. (New York: Macmillan, Columbia University Press, 1923-58), 1:393, 395; Buttrick, *Interpreter's Bible*, 7:259-60, 397; Eugene V. Gallagher, *Divine Man or Magician? Celsus and Origen on Jesus*, Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series 64 (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1982), 44-45, 47-50, 68, 93, 101-102; Harold Remus, *Pagan-Christian Conflict Over Miracle In the Second Century* (Cambridge, MA: Philadelphia Patristic Foundation, 1983), 105-35; Robert L. Wilken, *The Christians as the Romans Saw Them* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 98-99; Howard Clark Kee, *Medicine, Miracle and Magic in New Testament Times* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 116-21.

33. W. H. C. Frend, *The Rise of Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), 443, 442.

34. R. H. Nicholson, "The Trial of Christ the Sorcerer in the York Cycle," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 16 (Fall 1986): 125-69.

35. "THE MANNER IN WHICH THE ANCIENT CHRISTIANS WERE CALUMNIATED," *Times and Seasons* 5 (1 Apr. 1844): 491-92. For other LDS references to Celsus, see "The Excellence of Scripture," *The Evening and the Morning Star* 1 (Aug. 1832): [19]; *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London and Liverpool: Latter Day Saints' Book Depot, 1854-86), 1:345 (J.M. Grant/1853); Brian H. Stuy, comp. and ed., *Collected Discourses Delivered by President Wilford Woodruff, His Two Counselors, the Twelve Apostles, and Others*, 5 vols. (Sandy and Woodland Hills, UT: B.H.S. Publishing, 1987-92), 5:100 (W. Budge/1896).

36. John M. Hull, *Hellenistic Magic and the Synoptic Tradition* (London: SCM Press, 1974), 4; also Ricks and Peterson, "Joseph Smith and 'Magic': Methodological Reflections on the Use of a Term," 135. For dissent from Hull's interpretation, see Susan R. Garrett, "Light on a Dark Subject and Vice-Versa: Magic and Magicians in the New Testament," in Jacob Neusner, Ernest S. Frerichs, and Paul Virgil McCracken Flesher, eds., *Religion, Science, and Magic: In Concert and in Conflict* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 148-50.

37. David Friedrich Strauss, *The Life of Jesus, Critically Examined*, 2 vols. (London: Chapman Brothers, 1846), 2:299, 305; Campbell Bonner, "Traces of Thaumaturgic Technique in the Miracles," *Harvard Theological Review* 20 (July 1927): 171-74; Walter Lowie, *Jesus According to St. Mark* (London: Longmans, Green, 1929), 288; Martin Dibelius, *From Tradition to Gospel*, trans. Bertram Lee Woolf (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935), 83-86; Buttrick, *Interpreter's Bible*, 7:756; Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, 13 vols. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1953-68), 2:160; Francis Wright Beare, *The Earliest Records of Jesus* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962), 133, 135; Rudolf Bultmann, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition*, trans. John Marsh (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), 213; Dennis Eric Nineham, *The Gospel of St. Mark* (1963; London: Penguin Books, 1973), 162, 202; S. G. F. Brandon, "Magic and the Black Art," *The Modern Churchman* 11 (Jan. 1968): 77; David Lenz Tiede, *The Charismatic Figure as Miracle Worker*, Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series, no. 1 (Missoula: University of Montana Press, 1972).

241-69; Markham J. Geller, "Joshua b. Perahia and Jesus of Nazareth: Two Rabbinic Magicians," Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 1973, 184; Hull, *Hellenistic Magic and the Synoptic Tradition*, 1-86; Hugh Anderson, *The Gospel of Mark* (London: Oliphants, 1976), 156, 193; Harold E. Remus, "Miracle," in Freedman, *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 4:861.

38. Robert Kriech Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice* (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1993), 89 (for quoted term), 91 (for quoted phrase).

39. Stephen Benko, *Pagan Rome and the Early Christians* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 118, 125, 132; also E. R. Dodds, *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety: Some Aspects of Religious Experience From Marcus Aurelius to Constantine* (Cambridge, Eng.: University Press, 1965), 125-26; Ramsay Macmullen, *Enemies of the Roman Order: Treason, Unrest, and Alienation in the Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966), 95-127.

40. Christopher Rowland, *Christian Origins: From Messianic Movement to Christian Religion* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1985), 147.

41. Martin Hengel, *Studies in Early Christology*, trans. Rollin Kearns et al. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1995), 323.

42. Caleb Gilman, "Tractatio Brevis de Mundo Luminoso: or A Brief Discovery of the Wonderful Mystery of the Divine Magia: the Greatest of All Secrets. Manifested thro the Glass of Divine Wisdom, in the Light of Eternal Nature. Written July 4:th Anno Christi 1708," manuscript, William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, University of California at Los Angeles; Fremont Rider, ed., *The American Genealogical-Biographical Index*, 186+ vols. (Middletown, CT: The Godfrey Memorial Library, 1952-96+), 63; s.v. "Caleb Gilman."

43. John Hamlin Dewey, *The New Testament Occultism* (New York: J. H. Dewey Publishing/Braunworth, 1895), [4] (long dedicatory quote from H. C. Agrippa), 91 (Jesus received the Spirit of God "in addition to what he received from the Hierophants of the Esoteric Brotherhoods"), 232-56 (comparison of the texts of Christ's miracles "with the works of Oriental occultism").

44. Max Weber, *The Sociology of Religion*, trans. Ephraim Fischhoff (1922; Boston: Beacon Press, 1963), 47, 191, 271; also Tom Ogden, *Wizards and Sorcerers: From Abracadabra to Zoroaster* (New York: Facts On File, 1997), 111-14.

45. Vincent Taylor, *The Gospel According to St. Mark*, 2d ed. (1952; London: Macmillan, 1966), 354; C. E. B. Cranfield, *The Gospel According to Mark* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 251; H. van der Loos, *The Miracles of Jesus* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965); Samson Eitrem, *Some Notes on the Demonology in the New Testament*, 2d ed. rev. (Oslo: University Press, 1966), 13, 40, 47, 55, 61; Howard Clark Kee, *Christian Origins in Sociological Perspective: Methods and Resources* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1980), 63, 110-11; Kee, *Miracle in the Early Christian World: A Study in Sociohistorical Method* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 214-18; George Luck, trans. and ed., *Arcana Mundi: Magic and the Occult in the Greek and Roman Worlds* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), 32-33; Kee, *Medicine, Miracle and Magic in New Testament Times*, 114-15; Kee, "Magic and Messiah," in Neusner, Frerichs, and Flesher, *Religion, Science, and Magic*, 136-39; Ben Witherington III, *The Jesus Quest: The Third Search For the Jew of Nazareth* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1995), 124-25.

46. Even the respected Geza Vermes resorted to assertion rather than analysis of this matter. In his *The Religion of Jesus the Jew* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 6, Vermes insisted: "I find J. D. Crossan's chapter on 'Magician and Prophet' in his recent book historically insensitive since the title 'magician' applied to Jesus (*pace* Morton Smith) is quite unsuitable, as is the epithet, 'peasant' in the subtitle of the volume." However, Vermes gave no explanation why the term *magician* was "historically insensitive," since (unlike "peasant") "magician" was both a term and concept in the languages and cultures of ancient Palestine. Nor did Vermes attempt to dispute the careful discussion by various scholars of this matter.

47. William R. Schoedel and Bruce J. Malina, "Miracle or Magic?" *Religious Studies Review* 12 (Jan. 1986): 32, 33, 37; also categorical denial of pagan similarities in Christ's miracles by Edwin Yamauchi, "Magic or Miracle? Diseases, Demons and Exorcisms," in David Wenham and Craig Blomberg, eds., *Gospel Perspectives: The Miracles of Jesus* (Sheffield, Eng.: JSOT Press/Department of Biblical Studies, University of Sheffield, 1986), 133, 136-37, 139, 140-41.

However, on this controversy Malina himself engaged in some curious scholarship. Bruce J. Malina and Jerome H. Neyrey, *Calling Jesus Names: The Social Value of Labels in Matthew* (Sonoma, CA: Polebridge Press, 1988), 11-32, analyzed the label of "Jesus as Witch," by giving major emphasis to the writings of Mary Douglas about witchcraft and sorcery in Africa and medieval Europe. Malina and Neyrey made no reference to similar studies about the ancient Near East as presented by John M. Hull, Morton Smith, David E. Aune, Gerd Theissen. These are the most well-known scholars who had previously published studies of the specific subject and label under discussion by Malina and Neyrey.

48. Alan F. Segal, "Hellenistic Magic: Some Questions of Definition," in R. Van den Broek and M. J. Vermaseren, eds., *Studies in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Religions* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1981), 367-69, also 351.

49. David E. Aune, "Magic in Early Christianity," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II, 23.2 (1980): 1508, 1539, 1538; also E. P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985), 169-73; compare Morton Smith, *Clement of Alexandria and a Secret Gospel of Mark* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973), 220-37; Morton Smith, *The Secret Gospel: The Discovery and Interpretation of the Secret Gospel According to Mark* (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), 16ff; Morton Smith, *Jesus the Magician* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1978); also James H. Charlesworth, *Jesus Within Judaism* (New York: Doubleday, 1988), 240, described *Jesus the Magician* as "unusually informed of the primary sources."

Writing for BYU's Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, John Gee engaged in typical polemics by ignoring all other scholars on this topic, and instead engaged in a personal attack on Morton Smith: "When I met Morton Smith, in the last year of his life, he was a recalcitrant and bitter old man who thought that anyone who disagreed with his work was a Christian apologist and not a scholar. ... Morton Smith's major witch-hunting work was his infamous book, *Jesus the Magician*. The picture of Jesus depicted in Smith's book has made many Christians feel uncomfortable. Smith, after all, depicted Jesus as a vagabond and a huckster, as homosexual and cannibalistic. ... However much Smith—who lost his own faith somewhere in the forties or fifties—may have delighted in tweaking the noses of the faithful, it is his fallacious theoretical framework, his problematic methodology, and his methodological manhandling of the evidence that should cause any scholar to be wary of his book. ... Given the theoretical muddle, methodological nightmare, and tortured evidence in this particular work of Morton Smith, it has a very limited value. Why have I spent so much time in this review on the work of the late unrepentant old crank, Morton Smith? It is because Jerald and Sandra Tanner [evangelical Christians and anti-Mormon writers] ironically rely heavily on Morton Smith's flawed presentation ..." See John Gee, "Abracadabra, Isaac, and Jacob," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 7 (1995), no. 1:67-68, 70. Gee's admirably dense source-notes did not even mention the related studies by Taylor (1952), Cranfield (1959), van der Loos (1965), Eitrem (1966), Hull (1974), Kee (1980, 1983), Theissen (1983), Wilken (1984), Sanders (1985), Charlesworth (1988). Even if Yale-trained Gee was otherwise unaware of this scholarship, he could have learned about most of it through my citations in this book's first edition which he reviewed in his polemical way (57, 59-60, 63-64). For the meaning of polemics and the FARMS-BYU relationship, see my Preface.

50. William L. Lane, *The Gospel According to Mark* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1974), 193; Kee, *Medicine, Miracle and Magic in New Testament Times*,

115, who used present-tense "border"; also Harold Remus, *Jesus as Healer* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 16-20.

51. John J. Rousseau and Rami Arav, *Jesus and His World: An Archaeological and Cultural Dictionary* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995), 194 (for first quote), 190 (for second quote).

52. Gerd Theissen, *The Miracle Stories of the Early Christian Tradition*, trans. Francis McDonagh (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983); Neusner and Green, *Dictionary of Judaism in the Biblical Period*, 2: 400, for the quote about the Egyptian origin of these manuscript written in both Greek and Demotic; also Geraldine Pinch, *Magic in Ancient Egypt* (London: British Museum Press, 1994), 67, "texts best described as the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri." Daniel C. Peterson, "Editor's Introduction: Triptych (Inspired by Hieronymus Bosch)," *FARMS Review of Books: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 8 (1996), no. 1:xxi, note 39, approvingly quotes an assessment that Theissen has done some of "the best research on the socio-historical context of Jesus and the first Christians."

53. R. J. Zwi Werblowsky and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Jewish Religion* (New York: Adama Books, 1986), 47.

54. Neusner and Green, *Dictionary of Judaism in the Biblical Period*, 2:691; also Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period*, trans. John Bowden, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974), 1:238-40.

55. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, 2:159; John Dominic Crossan, *The Historical Jesus: The Life of a Mediterranean Jewish Peasant* (San Francisco: Harper, 1992), 305, 310. As an example of the above observations, Ricks and Peterson, "Joseph Smith and 'Magic': Methodological Reflections on the Use of a Term," quoted (without dissent) various polemical descriptions of Catholic practices as "magical" (136-37), but argued against using that term for either biblical practices or early Mormon practices because "we affirm our belief" (140). They acknowledged (142) that this reflected their own bias: "Depending upon one's perspective, actions may be deemed deeply religious or thoroughly magical (thus the rite of the Mass, the casting of lots, or the miracles of Jesus)." However, I do not regard that fact as justification for dropping "magic" as a term or for pretending that all rituals are manifestations of religion. (See Intro.)

56. Bernard J. F. Lonergan, *Method in Theology* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1972), 110; also Ricks and Peterson, "Joseph Smith and 'Magic': Methodological Reflections on the Use of a Term," 140.

57. W. Dupre, "Magic," in William J. McDonald, ed., *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 15 vols. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), 9:66.

58. Dupre, "Magic," 65, emphasis added. For this problem of mind-reading, see Jonathan Z. Smith, *Map Is Not Territory: Studies in the History of Religion* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978), 194.

59. Peter Brown, *Religion and Society in the Age of St. Augustine* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), 140; Smith, *Map Is Not Territory*, 194.

60. Jacob Neusner, "Science and Magic, Miracle and Magic in Formative Judaism: The System and the Difference," in Neusner, Frerichs, and Flesher, *Religion, Science, and Magic*, 76.

61. Hans Dieter Betz, "Magic in Greco-Roman Antiquity," in Mircea Eliade, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, 16 vols. (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1987), 9:97; also Daniel J. Driscoll, ed., *The Sworn Book of Honorius the Magician ... Prepared from two British Museum Manuscripts* (Gillette, NJ: Heptangle Books, 1977), x. FARMS reviewer John Gee dismissed Betz with the polemical argument of guilt-by-association: "Chief among the witch-hunters have been Morton Smith, and Hans Dieter Betz." See Gee, "Abracadabra, Isaac, and Jacob," 66, also for his sarcastic summary of Betz's scholarship in 66n240, and demeaning personal references to Morton Smith (67-68, 70); also previous note 49 (2d para.).

62. Viktor Rydberg, *The Magic of the Middle Ages*, trans. August Hjalmar Edgren (New York: Henty H. Holt, 1879); C. Grant Loomis, *White Magic: An Introduction to the Folklore*

of *Christian Legend* (Cambridge, MA: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1948), 30, 105-106, 123-24; Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971), 27-47; O'Keefe, *Stolen Lightning*, 121-22; Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine*, vol. 4, *Reformation of Church and Dogma (1300-1700)* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 419, which indexed the term "magic" for discussions of the Roman Catholic sacraments, where the word "magic" did not appear on six of the listed pages; Darrel W. Amundsen and Gary B. Ferngren, "The Early Christian Tradition," in Ronald L. Numbers and Amundsen, eds., *Caring and Curing: Health and Medicine in the Western Religious Traditions* (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1986), 56-57; Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 78-80; Valerie I. J. Flint, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), 175-80, 280-81, 402; Hendrik F. Stander, "Amulets," in Everett Ferguson, ed., *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, 2d ed., 2 vols. (New York: Garland Publishing, 1997), 1:47; also ch. 3 for discussion of talismans.

63. Charles S. F. Burnett, "The Earliest Chiromancy in the West," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 50 (1987): 189-91, 190n10; Charles Burnett, *Magic and Divination in the Middle Ages: Texts and Techniques in the Islamic and Christian Worlds* (Aldershot, Eng.: VARIORUM/Ashgate Publishing, 1996), selection XI, 143-44.

64. Ioan Petru Culianu, "Magic in Medieval and Renaissance Europe," in Eliade, *Encyclopedia of Religion*, 9:98, 99; also James A. Weisheipl, "The Life and Works of St. Albert the Great," Betsey Barker Price, "The Physical Astronomy and Astrology of Albertus Magnus," and Pearl Kibre, "Albertus Magnus on Alchemy," in Weisheipl, ed., *Albertus Magnus and the Sciences: Commemorative Essays, 1980* (Toronto, Can.: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1980), 13-51, 155-85, 187-202; "The Question of Occult Powers" section in Francis J. Kovach, "The Enduring Question of Action at a Distance in Saint Albert the Great," in Kovach and Robert W. Strahan, eds., *Albert the Great: Commemorative Essays* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 200-204; Paola Zambelli, *The SPECULUM ASTRONOMIAE and Its Enigma: Astrology, Theology and Science in Albertus Magnus and His Contemporaries* (Dordrecht, Neth.: Kluwer Academic Publications, 1992), 51-59, 61-74, 209-73.

65. Adam Clarke, *A Bibliographical Dictionary, Containing a Chronological Account, Alphabetically Arranged, of the Most Curious, Scarce, and Important Books in All Departments of Literature* ..., 6 vols. (Liverpool: J. Nuttall; London: W. Baynes, 1802-1804), 1:40.

66. J. H. G. Grattan and Charles Singer, *Anglo-Saxon Magic and Medicine: Illustrated Specially From the Semi-Pagan Text "Lacnunga"* (London: Wellcome Historical Medical Museum/Oxford University Press, 1952), 16, 21; Edward Peters, *The Magician, the Witch, and the Law* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978), 47-49; Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, 56, 151-56; for necromancy, see ch. 5, Erika Bourguignon, "Necromancy," in Eliade, *Encyclopedia of Religion*, 10:344-47, and J. Gordon Melton, ed., *Encyclopedia of Occultism & Parapsychology*, 4th ed., 2 vols. (Detroit: Gale Research/International Thompson Publishing, 1996), 2:914-16.

67. Daniele Bini, ed., *Astrologia: Arte e Cultura in eta Rinascimentale/Art and Culture in the Renaissance* (Modena, Italy: Il Bulino, 1996), 31 (for the first quote); Jan R. Veenstra, *Magic and Divination at the Courts of Burgundy and France: Text and Context of Laurens Pignon's Contre les devineurs (1411)* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 11 (for the second quote); Laura Ackerman Smoller, *History, Prophecy, and the Stars: The Christian Astrology of Pierre d'Ailly, 1350-1420* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), 8, 18, 50, 51, 53, 55; Bernard Capp, *English Almanacs, 1500-1800: Astrology and the Popular Press* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1979), 17-18 (for third quote).

68. See page 336, note 52, to explain my choice of Cabala and cabalistic from among the various English transliterations of the Hebrew; also Gershom G. Scholem, *Kabbalah* (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, 1974); Werblowsky and Wigoder, *Encyclopedia of the*

Jewish Religion, 221, which identifies two types: "speculative ... esoteric philosophy" and "practical ... the magical use of kabalistic teaching for spiritual or temporal purposes"; see discussion in ch. 7.

69. Joseph L. Blau, "The Diffusion of the Christian Interpretation of the Cabala in English Literature," *Review of Religion* 6 (Jan. 1942): 156.

70. Jerome Friedman, *The Most Ancient Testimony: Sixteenth-Century Christian-Hebraica in the Age of Renaissance Nostalgia* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1983), 74, 81, also 75.

71. Catholic Church, *Liturgy and Ritual*, [Book of] Hours, Salisbury [Cathedral], *Hore Beate Marie ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis* (N.p., 1530), Sir Thomas More's inscribed copy, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut; also Catholic Church, *Liturgy and Ritual*, [Book of] Hours, York [Cathedral], *Hore beatissime Virginis Marie ...* (Rouen, 1517); Bini, *Astrologia*, 239-41 (for Man of Signs in prayer books published between 1503 and 1515).

72. John L. Brooke, *The Refiner's Fire: The Making of Mormon Cosmology, 1644-1844* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 5.

73. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 256, also 51, 75; also Richard Weisman, *Witchcraft, Magic, and Religion in 17th-Century Massachusetts* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1984), 54-57.

74. Reginald Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584; Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1964), 138, 142-43; William Perkins, *A Discourse of the Damned Art of Witchcraft* (London: Cantrel Legge, 1608), 234, 239; also D. P. Walker, "The Cessation of Miracles," in Ingrid Merkel and Allen G. Debus, eds., *Hermeticism and the Renaissance: Intellectual History and the Occult in Early Modern Europe* (Washington, D.C.: Folger Books/The Folger Shakespeare Library; London and Toronto: Associated University Libraries, 1988), 111-24.

75. John Gaule, *A Collection Out of the Best Approved Authors, Containing Histories of Visions, Apparitions, Prophecies, Spirits, Divinations, and other wonderful Illusions of the Devil Wrought by Magick or otherwise* (London: Joshua Kirton, 1657), with running title as page-header: "Mag-astro mancer posed and puzzel'd." An earlier edition was titled *The Mag-Astro-Mancer, or the Maggicall-Astrological-Diviner Posed, and Puzzled* (London: Joshua Kirton, 1652).

76. Daniel Defoe, *A System of Magick; or, A History of the Black Art* (London: J. Roberts, 1727), 7, 8 (emphasis in original).

77. *The Complete Wizzard: Being a Collection of Authentic and Entertaining Narratives of the Real Existence and Appearance of Ghosts, Demons and Specters ... To which is prefixed an account of haunted houses, and subjoined a treatise on the effects of magic* (London: T. Evans, 1770), a publication of 304 pages; *The Wonders of the Invisible World Displayed, In an Authentic Select Series of Tremendous and Entertaining Tales of Apparitions, Omens, Dreams, Impulses, Auguring, Second-Sight, Witchcraft, Prediction, Magic, Transportation by Invisible Agents, Miracles, Day and Local Fatality, & ... to which are added the Maxims, Charms and Incantations of Magicians, Astrologers, Witches, Soothsayers, &c.* (London: T. Sorrell, 1803), a publication of thirty-six pages.

78. For the concept of the "mainline" Protestantism, see Sidney E. Mead, "The Fact of Pluralism and the Persistence of Sectarianism," in Elwyn A. Smith, ed., *The Religion of the Republic* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971), 255; Steven Ozment, *The Age of Reform, 1250-1550: An Intellectual and Religious History of Late Medieval and Reformation Europe* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1980), 344. The Baptists were originally regarded as so radical that both Roman Catholics and mainline Protestants in Europe hunted them down mercilessly. The Methodists emerged in the eighteenth century as a radical alternative to the Anglican church. Neither group became "mainline" in America until after the American Revolution, and did not gain dominance until after the 1820s. See Sidney E. Mead, *The Lively Experiment: The Shaping of Christianity in America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), 3.

36, 40; Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), 436-37, 441-42.

79. Scot, *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584), 167.

80. O. I. A. Roche, *The Jefferson Bible: With the Annotated Commentaries on Religion of Thomas Jefferson* (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, 1964), 24, 339; Dickinson W. Adams, ed., *Jefferson's Extracts from the Gospels: "The Philosophy of Jesus" and "The Life and Morals of Jesus"* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983), 7, 375, 392, 409.

81. William Smellie, ed., *Encyclopaedia ...*, 1st Am. ed., 18 vols. (Philadelphia: Thomas Dobson, 1798), 6:65. This was the U.S. edition of *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. See Robert Darner, *Dobson's ENCYCLOPAEDIA: The Publisher, Text, and Publication of America's First BRITANNICA, 1798-1803* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991).

82. Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1628; New York: Empire State Book, 1924), 294.

83. Richard Godbeer, *The Devil's Dominion: Magic and Religion in Early New England* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 6; also Michael Hunter and Annabel Gregory, eds., *An Astrological Diary of the Seventeenth Century: Samuel Jeake of Rye, 1652-1699* (Oxford, Eng.: Clarendon Press, 1988), 8-21.

84. Brooke, *Refiner's Fire*, 26, which used the term "radical sects."

85. David D. Hall, *Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgment: Popular Religious Belief in Early New England* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989), 7.

86. Michael P. Winship, "Cotton Mather, Astrologer," *New England Quarterly* 63 (June 1990): 311, with analysis on 311-13.

87. Hall, *Worlds of Wonder*, 99-100; John Putnam Demos, *Entertaining Satan: Witchcraft and the Culture of Early New England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982).

88. Hardick Warren, *Magick & Astrology Vindicated ...* (London: J. M., 1651), 2.

89. Sloane MS 3822, folio 159, Manuscript Department, British Museum-Library, London, England. For sigil, see Melton, *Encyclopedia of Occultism & Parapsychology*, 2:1179; Fred Gettings, *Dictionary of Occult, Hermetic and Alchemical Sigils* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981).

90. Mordechai Feingold, "The Occult Tradition in the English Universities of the Renaissance: A Reassessment," in Brian Vickers, ed., *Occult and Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 78, 84, 86, 89; also Hilary Carey, *Courting Disaster: Astrology at the English Court and University* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992).

91. Ron Charles Hogart, *Alchemy: A Comprehensive Bibliography of the Manly P. Hall Collection of Books and Manuscripts* (Los Angeles: The Philosophical Research Society, 1986), 180, 224-25, 234, 282.

92. Christopher McIntosh, *The Rosicrucians: The History, Mythology and Rituals of an Occult Order*, rev. ed. (Wellingborough, Eng.: Crucible/Aquarian Press/Thorsons Publishing Group, 1987), 102-104 (for copy of Bacstrom's initiation certificate and discussion of its significance), also 65 (for "the occult aspects of Rosicrucianism").

93. Ronald Sterne Wilkinson, "The Alchemical Library of John Winthrop, Jr. (1606-1676) and His Descendants in Colonial America," *Ambix: The Journal of the Society for the Study of Alchemy and Early Chemistry* 11 (Feb. 1963): 33; 13 (Oct. 1966): 139; also Wilkinson, "The Problem of the Identity of Eirenaeus Philalethes," *Ambix: The Journal of the Society for the Study of Alchemy and Early Chemistry* 12 (Feb. 1964): 37-43, for Winthrop as the identity of this alchemical pseudonym; Wilkinson, "'Hermes Christianus': John Winthrop, Jr. and Chemical Medicine in Seventeenth Century New England," in Allen G. Debus, ed., *Science, Medicine, and Society in the Renaissance*, 2 vols. (New York: Science History Publications/Neale Watson Academic Publications, 1972), 1:221-41; Brooke, *Refiner's Fire*, 36-37. By contrast, J. Gordon Melton, ed., *Rosicrucianism in America* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1990), [ii], omitted the American colonial experience in his introductory

statement: "The first Rosicrucian in the United States was Paschal Beverly Randolph (1825-1875) ..." That was an incorrect overstatement of McIntosh, *Rosicrucians*, 128-29: "The first man, however, to promote Rosicrucianism widely in America was Paschal Beverly Randolph. Born in 1825 ..."

94. Samuel Eliot Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1936), 1:214, 2:580; Leventhal, *In the Shadow of the Enlightenment*, 129-31; Butler, "The Dark Ages of American Occultism, 1760-1848," 70-71; Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith*, 76, which also (233-34) gave Samuel "Danford" as the name of the Massachusetts jurist-chemist. Actually, it was Samuel Danforth (1696-1777) who "was distinguished for his love of natural philosophy and chemistry." See James Grant Wilson and John Fiske, eds., *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, 6 vols. (New York: D. Appleton, 1887-89), 2:74.

95. Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith*, 78 (for quote), with discussion of his library on 77-80.

96. Ronald Sterne Wilkinson, "New England's Last Alchemists," *Ambix: The Journal of the Society for the Study of Alchemy and Early Chemistry* 10 (Feb. 1962): 128, 131-38; Wilkinson, "George Starkey, Physician and Alchemist," *Ambix: The Journal of the Society for the Study of Alchemy and Early Chemistry* 11 (Feb. 1963): 121-52; Leventhal, *In the Shadow of the Enlightenment*, 130.

97. Viola Sachs, *The Game of Creation: The Primeval Unlettered Language of Moby Dick, or, The Whale* (Paris: Editions de la Maison des Sciences de L'Homme, 1982); Sachs, "The Occult Language and Scripture of the New World," *Social Science Information* 23 (1984), no. 1:129-41; also my Preface.

98. Joseph Leon Blau, *The Christian Interpretation of the Cabala in the Renaissance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944), 24-25; also Walter Raleigh, *The History of the World, in Five Books* (London: Thomas Bassett, 1687), 116; Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 197; Chaim Wirszubski, *Pico Della Mirandola's Encounter with Jewish Mysticism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), 64-65, 121-32, 145, 161-69.

99. Frances A. Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964), 351-54; William G. Craven, *Giovanni Pico Della Mirandola: Symbol of His Age* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1981), 57-59, 67-69; William B. Ashworth, Jr., "Catholicism and Early Modern Science," in David C. Lindberg and Ronald L. Numbers, *God & Nature: Historical Essays on the Encounter between Christianity and Science* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 149-50.

100. Henry Cornelius Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (London: Gregory Moule, 1651), 358; also Charles G. Nauert, Jr., *Agrippa and the Crisis of Renaissance Thought* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965); "Introduction," in V. Perrone Compagni, ed., *Cornelius Agrippa: DE OCCULTA PHILOSOPHIA LIBRA TRES*, vol. 48 in *Studies in the History of Christian Thought* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992), [1]-50; Donald Tyson, ed., *Three Books of Occult Philosophy, Written by Henry Cornelius Agrippa of Nettesheim, Completely Annotated, with Modern Commentary, The Foundation Book of Western Occultism*, trans. James Freake (St. Paul, MN: Llewellyn Publications, 1993), xv-xliii.

101. Culianu, "Magic in Medieval and Renaissance Europe," in Eliade, *Encyclopedia of Religion*, 9:99.

102. Clarke, *Bibliographical Dictionary*, 1:40.

103. *Arbatel of Magic*, in Henry Cornelius Agrippa [alleged], *Henry Cornelius Agrippa: His Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy* (London: Thomas Rooks, 1665), 170, also 1783 edition (266), but not in pseudo-Agrippa's first edition of 1655; Nauert, *Agrippa*, 228. While my narrative sentences follow the custom of using "pseudo-Agrippa," my source-notes follow the custom of putting pseudonym or [alleged] after the surname of author. For Robert Turner's significance as an occult publisher and author, see Ogden, *Wizards and Sorcerers*, 209-10.

104. Lynn Thorndike, *The Place of Magic in the Intellectual History of Europe* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1905), 12-13.
105. Paolo Rossi, *Francis Bacon: From Magic to Science*, trans. Sacha Rabinovitch (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), xii, 16, 22, 32; Frances A. Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), 119-20, 125-28.
106. Francis Lieber, ed., *Encyclopaedia Americana*, 13 vols. (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea, and Cary, 1829-33), 1:431; Mark Graubard, "Astrology's Demise and its Bearing on the Decline and Death of Beliefs," *Osiris* 13 (1958): 225-50; P. I. H. Naylor, *Astrology: An Historical Examination* (London: Robert Maxwell, 1967), 91-92; Charles Webster, *From Paracelsus to Newton: Magic and the Making of Modern Science* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 30; Edward Rosen, "Kepler's Attitude Toward Astrology and Mysticism," in Vickers, *Occult and Scientific Mentalities*, 257-59.
107. Martha Baldwin, "Alchemy and the Society of Jesus in the Seventeenth Century: Strange Bedfellows?" *Ambix: The Journal of the Society for the Study of Alchemy and Early Chemistry* 40 (July 1993): 41-64.
108. John Harrison and Peter Laslett, *The Library of John Locke*, 2d ed. (Oxford, Eng.: Clarendon Press, 1971), 140, 282, 292-93, 301, 306, 309.
109. Richard S. Westfall, "Newton and Alchemy," in Vickers, *Occult and Scientific Mentalities*, 315; also H. W. Turnbull, et al., eds., *The Correspondence of Isaac Newton*, 7 vols. (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1959-77), 3:193, 216-17; Michael T. Walton, "Boyle and Newton on the Transmutation of Water and Air," *Ambix: The Journal of the Society for the Study of Alchemy and Early Chemistry* 27 (Mar. 1980): 11-18; Allison Coudert, *Alchemy: The Philosopher's Stone* (Boulder, CO: Shambhala, 1980), 124, 206; L. M. Principe, "Robert Boyle's Alchemical Secrecy: Codes, Ciphers and Concealments," *Ambix: The Journal of the Society for the Study of Alchemy and Early Chemistry* 39 (July 1992): 63-74.
110. Lawrence I. Conrad et al., *The Western Medical Tradition, 800 BC to AD 1800* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 414.
111. Joscelyn Godwin, *The Theosophical Enlightenment* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994), 94.
112. John Maynard Keynes, "Newton, the Man," *Newton Tercentenary Celebrations, 15-19 July 1946* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1947), 27; Frank E. Manuel, *A Portrait of Isaac Newton* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968), 162-90; P. M. Rattansi, "Newton's Alchemical Studies" and Richard S. Westfall, "Newton and the Hermetic Tradition," in Debus, *Science, Medicine, and Society in the Renaissance*, 2:167-82, 183-98; Betty Jo Teeter Dobbs, *The Foundations of Newton's Alchemy* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1975); Dobbs, "Newton's Copy of 'Secrets Reveal'd' and the Regimens of the Work," *Ambix: The Journal of the Society for the Study of Alchemy and Early Chemistry* 26 (Nov. 1979): 145-69; Coudert, *Alchemy*, 108, 124, 197, 206; Dobbs, "Newton's 'Clavis': New Evidence on Its Dating and Significance," *Ambix: The Journal of the Society for the Study of Alchemy and Early Chemistry* 29 (Nov. 1982): 198-202; Westfall, "Alchemy in Newton's Library," *Ambix: The Journal of the Society for the Study of Alchemy and Early Chemistry* 31 (Nov. 1984): 97-101; Dobbs, "Newton's Commentary on the Emerald Tablet of Hermes Trimegistus: Its Scientific and Theological Significance," in Merkel and Debus, *Hermeticism and the Renaissance*, 182-91.
113. Westfall, "Newton and Alchemy," 315, 319; Richard S. Westfall, *Never at Rest: A Biography of Isaac Newton* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 285-86, 290, 367.
114. Marsha Keith Schuchard, "Swedenborg, Jacobinism, and Freemasonry," in Erland J. Brock, ed., *Swedenborg and His Influence* (Bryn Athyn, PA: Academy of the New Church, 1988), 361, 362.
115. David Kubrin, "Newton's Inside Out!: Magic, Class Struggle, and the Rise of

Mechanism in the West," in Harry Woolf, ed., *The Analytic Spirit: Essays in the History of Science* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1981), 96.

116. Brian Vickers, "Introduction" and William L. Hine, "Marin Mersenne: Renaissance Naturalism and Renaissance Magic," both in Vickers, *Occult and Scientific Mentalities*, 17, 165; compare R. Laurence Moore, *In Search of White Crows: Spiritualism, Parapsychology, and American Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), xi-xii.

117. Betty Jo Teeter Dobbs, *The Janus Faces of Genius: The Role of Alchemy in Newton's Thought* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 17-18.

118. Craven, *Giovanni Pico Della Mirandola*, 57-59, 67-69; Nauert, *Agrippa*, 157-58, 197-200, 209-11; William Lilly, *Mr. William Lilly's History of His Life and Times* (1715), reprinted as Katharine M. Briggs, ed., *The Last of the Astrologers* (London: The Folklore Society, 1974); C. H. Josten, "An Unknown Chapter in the Life of John Dee," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 28 (1965): 257; Peter J. French, *John Dee: The World of an Elizabethan Magus* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), 9-10, 34-35, 44, 121-22; Wayne Shumaker, *Renaissance Curiosa: John Dee's Conversations with Angels*, *Girolamo Cardano's Horoscope of Christ, Johannes Trithemius and Cryptography*, *George Dalgarno's Universal Language* (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies/Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1982), 16, 18; Nicholas H. Clulee, *John Dee's Natural Philosophy: Between Science and Religion* (London: Routledge, 1988), 33-34; Julian Roberts and Andrew G. Watson, eds., *John Dee's Library Catalogue* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1990), 4.

Dee's generally accepted reputation as an occult practitioner has resulted in a revisionist study by William H. Sherman, who ignored or misrepresented all available evidences that his hero was involved in occult study and practice. Although Dee's occult reputation was not inconsistent with his role as a political philosopher, Sherman's *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995), 15, set out to disprove "the distorting effects of the myth of the magus."

Typical of polemicists, Sherman simply refused to acknowledge the existence of contrary evidence, such as the above-cited references to Dee's arrest and trial for criminal "enchantment" of Queen Elizabeth I, Dee's near arrest for "necromancy" and sorcery while visiting Catholic Bohemia, and Dee's offer to be tried for "conjuring" in 1604. Dee's like-minded ally in the Catholic accusation of sorcery was later beheaded for trying to defend the occult views both men shared. Sherman's bibliography omitted Josten's article on the latter accusation by Catholic authorities against Dee, and omitted Shumaker's book which discussed all three incidents and emphasized (20) Dee's "lifelong involvement in magic." In his secular apologist effort to free Dee from occultism, Sherman also omitted the related study of W. R. Jones, "Bibliothecae Arcanae: The Private Libraries of Some European Sorcerers," *Journal of Library History* 8 (Apr. 1973): 91, which stated: "A document composed by Dee and preserved by Dee [shows that] ... Dee burned twenty-eight books of magic in the spring of 1586, while he and [Edward] Kelley were resident in Bohemia." Sherman's bibliography did cite a two-volume study by Christopher Whitley, but did not mention its documentation of Dee's use of occult texts nor Whitley's analysis of Dee's "magical system." See Whitley, *John Dee's Actions with Spirits*, 2 vols. (New York: Garland Publishing, 1988), 1:63-75, 141-49, 2:34, 99. Sherman's bibliography also cited the Roberts and Watson study of Dee's library, but did not acknowledge their discussion (4) of Dee's arrest for "conjuring," his ownership of a "staggering" number of occult works by Paracelsus and Agrippa (11, 28), or their description of Dee as "a practising alchemist" (35). Sherman neither acknowledged nor challenged Clulee's discussion (136-38) of Dee's enthusiastic notes on "the magical chapters of Pliny" and on "Trithemius's Steganographia, containing a type of demonic magic." Nor did Sherman acknowledge or challenge French's observations (113) about Dee's use of Agrippa's *Occult Sciences* and the fact that Dee asked the angel Uriel

for confirmation of Agrippa's work. Typical of the convenient lapses in the bibliography of Sherman's effort to disprove Dee's occultism, he also omitted Michael T. Walton, "John Dee's *Monas Hieroglyphica*: Geometrical Cabala," *Ambix: The Journal of the Society for the Study of Alchemy and Early Chemistry* 23 (July 1976): 116-23, which discussed magic and the occult in Dee's most famous work. Sherman's revisionist study is an embarrassing example of academic polemics in service of the secular world view.

119. Alan Macfarlane, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England: A Regional and Comparative Study* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970), 4, 117-18; Christina Lerner, *Enemies of God: The Witch-hunt in Scotland* (London: Chollot & Windus, 1981), 9, 101, 122-23, 139-42; Demos, *Entertaining Satan*, 81-84, 358; Lerner, *Witchcraft and Religion: The Politics of Popular Belief*, ed. Alan Macfarlane (Oxford, Eng.: Basil Blackwell, 1984), 4, 32, 37-38, [141]-52; Darrel W. Amundsen, "The Medieval Catholic Tradition," in Numbers and Amundsen, *Caring and Curing*, 93; Carol F. Karlsen, *The Devil in the Shape of a Woman: Witchcraft in Colonial New England* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1987), 9, 141-44; Leland L. Estes, "Good Witches, Wise Men, Astrologers, and Scientists: William Perkins and the Limits of the European Witch-Hunts," in Merkel and Debus, *Hermeticism and the Renaissance*, 159-62; Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith*, 70; David D. Hall, ed., *Witch-Hunting in Seventeenth-Century New England: A Documentary History, 1638-1692* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1991), 5, 20, 135, 185, 187, 188, 230, 249-50; Godbeer, *Devil's Dominion*, 66-68; Anne Llewellyn Barstow, *Witchcraze: A New History of the European Witch Hunts* (New York: Pandora/HarperCollins, 1994), 109-27; Brooke, *Refiner's Fire*, 7; Robin Briggs, *Witches & Neighbors: The Social and Cultural Context of European Witchcraft* (New York: Viking, 1996), 171-74, 277-81.

120. Michael McDonald, *Mystical Bedlam: Madness, Anxiety, and Healing in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 216.

121. Stanley Jeyaraja Tambiah, *Magic, Science, Religion, and the Scope of Rationality* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 31.

122. Godbeer, *Devil's Dominion*, 6.

123. Garth Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes: A Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind* (1986; Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 79.

124. Julius Friedrich Sachse, *The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: P. C. Stockhausen, 1899), 2:163, 1:359.

125. James Thacher, *An Essay on Demonology, Ghosts and Apparitions, and Popular Superstitions* (Boston: Carter and Hendee, 1831), 4.

126. Ahlstrom, *Religious History of the American People* 280-94, 415-54; Louise Bilebofet, ed., *Dictionary of American History*, rev. ed., 8 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1976), 1:238, 3:214; Daniel G. Reid, *Dictionary of Christianity in America* (Downer's Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1990), 494-96, 1067-68; Eric Foner and John A. Garraty, eds., *The Reader's Companion to American History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1991), 466-67, 975. In their "Awakenings and Routine Revivalism," Roger Finke and Rodney Stark, *The Churching of America, 1776-1990: Winners and Losers in Our Religious Economy* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992), 87-108, emphasized the pre-planned nature of revivals and camp meetings, with statistical measures of their success.

127. John B. Boles, *The Great Revival, 1787-1805* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1972), 98; John M. Mecklin, *The Story of American Dissent* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1934), 252.

128. Frederick Henry Quitman, *A Treatise on Magic, or, On the Intercourse Between Spirits and Men: With Annotations* (Albany, NY: Balance Press, 1810), 15-16.

129. Leigh Eric Schmidt, *Holy Fairs: Scottish Communion and American Revivals in the Early Modern Period* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), 146, 148, with sample narratives of waking visions of Jesus on 120, 145, 146, 148.

130. Richard Brothers, *A Revealed Knowledge of the Prophecies and Times*, 2 vols. in 1

(West Springfield, MA: Edward Gray, 1797), 1:49; *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 754 vols. (London: Mansell, 1968-81), 78:366; *Catalogue of Books, for Sale at the Bookstore ... on the road leading to Lebanon* (Hanover, NH: N.p., 1799), 6; Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet and His Progenitors for Many Generations* (Liverpool: S. W. Richards, 1853), 59-60, reprinted in Dan Vogel, comp. and ed., *Early Mormon Documents*, 1+ vols. (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996-), 1:259-60.

131. David Brainerd, *Memoirs ...* (1748; New Haven: S. Converse, 1822), 46; *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 72:179-83.

132. Elias Smith, *The Life, Conversion, Preaching, Travels, and Sufferings of Elias Smith* (Portsmouth, NH: Beck and Foster, 1816), 58-59.

133. Putnam, Benjamin, *A Sketch of the Life of Elder Benj. Putnam ...* (Woodstock, VT: David Watson, 1821), 19.

134. John Samuel Thompson, *The Christian Guide* (Utica, NY: A.G. Dauby, 1826), 67, 71. Joseph Sr. first moved to Palmyra, where the *Book of Mormon* was later published. In between those two events, the Smiths moved to adjacent Manchester. For convenience, I often use Palmyra generically to refer to residents and events there and in Manchester, New York.

135. "Remarkable VISION and REVELATION, as seen and received by Asa Wild, of Amsterdam, (N.Y.)." *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 22 Oct. 1823, [4]; Walter A. Norton, "Comparative Images: Mormonism and Contemporary Religions as Seen by Village Newspapermen in Western New York and Northeastern Ohio, 1820-1833," Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1991, 258. Palmyra's "newspapers in 1820 were totally devoid of any reference to Joseph Smith's first vision," Norton explained, "because editors in that era did not print local news" (248).

136. Hannah Adams, *Dictionary of All Religions and Religious Denominations*, 4th ed. (New York: James Eastburn, 1817), 202; Robert Paul, "Joseph Smith and the Manchester (New York) Library," *BYU Studies* 22 (Summer 1982): 347; *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 3:431-32; see also ch. 6 for discussion of the Manchester Library and Joseph Jr.'s reading habits.

137. "SWEDENBORGIAN," *Western Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 6 Dec. 1808, [1]; Horatio G. Spafford, *A Gazetteer of the State of New-York* (Albany: E. D. Packard, 1824), 302, 401. Rather than calculating from Canandaigua to Manchester village (ten miles according to Spafford), Lucy Mack Smith stated that Canandaigua was nine miles from the Smith farm in Manchester. See Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith*, 96; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:318. I consistently use her estimate in this revised edition. However, in preparing the first edition I forgot about Lucy's statement and conservatively estimated the distance as twelve miles, so as not to overstate their closeness.

138. Richard Laurence, trans., *Ascensio Isaiæ ...* [Ethiopian, Latin, and English text of the "Ascension of Isaiah"] (Oxford, Eng.: University Press, 1819), 105.

139. Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 58-59.

140. Peter C. Erb, ed., *Johann Conrad Beissel and the Ephrata Community: Mystical and Historical Texts* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellon Press, 1985), 355, 358, 360 (for quotes).

141. Blilly, Hibbard, *Memoirs ...* (New York: J. C. Totten, 1825), 1, 17, 23, 72, 118; *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 244:665.

142. Benjamin Abbott, *The Experience and Gospel Labours of the Rev. Benjamin Abbott*, ed. John Ffirth (1801; Philadelphia: Solomon W. Conrad, 1802), 16; *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 1:332-33; Ralph R. Shaw and Richard H. Shoemaker, *American Bibliography: A Preliminary Checklist, 1801-1819: Corrections, Author Index* (New York: The Scarecrow Press, 1966), 41.

143. *The Religious Experience of Norris Stearns*, quoted in Richard Lyman Bushman, "The Visionary World of Joseph Smith," *BYU Studies* 37 (1997-98), no. 1:191.

144. Lorenzo Dow, *History of Compolite; or the Four Volumes of Lorenzo's Journal Concentrated In One ...*, 3d ed., enl. (Philadelphia: Joseph Rakestraw, 1816), 12-13; also paraphrased in Bernard A. Weisberger, *They Gathered at the River: The Story of the Great Revivalists and Their Impact Upon Religion in America* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1958), 47.

145. Leonard J. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), 10; "BOOKS IN DIVINITY, For Sale at the Canandaigua Bookstore," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 20 June 1820, [1].

146. Hall, *Worlds of Wonder*, 110; also with regard to anti-intellectual resistance, see Daniel Boorstin, *The Americans: The Colonial Experience* (New York: Random House, 1958), 286-87; Richard Hofstadter, *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964), 48-49.

147. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 125-26, 638; Leventhal, *In the Shadow of the Enlightenment*, 107, 111; Butler, "Dark Ages of American Occultism," 68-69; Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith*, 74, 77.

148. J. Gordon Melton, "Toward a History of Magical Religion in the United States," in Richard Woods, ed., *Heterodoxy, Mystical Experience, Religious Dissent and the Occult* (River Forest, IL: Listening Press, 1975), 116; also J. Gordon Melton, *Magic, Witchcraft, and Paganism in America: A Bibliography* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1982), 8.

149. Melton, *Encyclopedia of Occultism & Parapsychology*, 2:1109 (for first quote); A. Leland Jamison, "Religions on the Christian Perimeter," in James Ward Smith and A. Leland Jamison, eds., *The Shaping of American Religion*, 4 vols. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1961), 1:191 (for second quote); also Julius Friedrich Sachse, *The German Pietists of Provincial Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: P. C. Stockhausen, 1895), 69-92, 109-36, 219-422; Sachse, *The Diary of Magister Johannes Kelpius* (Lancaster, PA: Pennsylvania-German Society, 1917), 31, 52; Mark Holloway, *Heavens on Earth: Utopian Communities in America, 1680-1880* (New York: Library Publishers, 1951), 38, 41; Robert S. Fogarty, *Dictionary of American Communal and Utopian History* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980), 62; Elizabeth W. Fisher, "'Prophecies and Revelations': German Cabbalists in Early Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 109 (July 1985): 299-333; Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith*, 76. However, McIntosh, *Rosicrucians*, 128-29, mentioned the Kelpius group without citing any of the above sources, relying instead (155) on A. E. Waite's *Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross*.

150. Official document concerning Johann Jacob Zimmermann, translated in full in Sachse, *German Pietists of Provincial Pennsylvania*, 467.

151. Jacob Martin correspondence and essays (1762), Scrapbook, 5, 6-8, 16, Ephrata Cloister, Pennsylvania Historical-Museum Commission, Ephrata, Pennsylvania; "Physica et Metaphysica et Hyperphysica," eighteenth-century Pennsylvania German manuscript, MS 45, Manly P. Hall Collection, Philosophical Research Society, Los Angeles, California; Sachse, *German Sectarians of Pennsylvania*, 2:373-80; Manly P. Hall, *Codex Rosae Crucis* (Los Angeles: Philosopher's Press, 1938); James E. Ernst, *Ephrata: A History*, ed. John Joseph Stoudt (Allentown: Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, 1963), 43, 97, 116, 124-25, 134; E. G. Alderfer, *The Ephrata Commune: An Early American Counter Culture* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1985), 22, 59, 146-48; Erb, *Johann Conrad Beissel and the Ephrata Community*, 20, 29, 31.

Despite publishing his revised edition years after the publication of all the above sources, McIntosh, *Rosicrucians*, 128-29, discussed the Ephrata commune without a single reference to any of those sources in his text, source-notes (155), or "Select Bibliography" (156-58). Nor did McIntosh's 1987 index (159-60) have any reference to America, to Ephrata, or to the United States. Nevertheless, William J. Hamblin, "Everything Is Everything: Was Joseph Smith Influenced by Kabbalah?" *FARMS Review of Books: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 8 (1996), no. 2:269-70, cited McIntosh's 1987 book in order to assert: "McIntosh is skeptical about alleged Rosicrucian influences on Pennsylvania

German mystical communities (such as that in Ephrata), but even if they existed, these influences were very mild and the movements had all but disappeared by the early nineteenth century"; also see following note 156 and page 445, note 135. Hamblin knew about the other sources on Ephrata's Rosicrucianism, because I cited them in my 1987 first edition, which he claims to have read.

152. Peter Benes, "Fortune-tellers, Wise-Men, and Magical Healers in New England, 1644-1850," in Benes, *Wonders of the Invisible World, 1600-1900*, 132-33.

153. Hogart, *Alchemy*, 245-46.

154. John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania In the Olden Times*, 2 vols. (1830; Philadelphia: King & Baird, 1850), 2:275 (for first quote, emphasis in original), 1:267-68 (for second quote).

155. Samuel Whitaker Pennypacker, *The Settlement of Germantown Pennsylvania and the Beginning of German Emigration to North America* (1899; New York: Benjamin Blom, 1970), 224 (for facsimile of 1758 document in Pennypacker's possession); Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania In the Olden Times*, 1:267-68, 2:275; *Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790: Pennsylvania* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1908), 196, for Henry Fraley and Jacob Fraley in Germantown, Philadelphia County; John "D" Stemmons, ed., *Pennsylvania in 1800: A Computerized Index to the 1800 Federal Population Schedules of the State of Pennsylvania* (Salt Lake City: By the author, 1972), 195, for Henry Fraley and Jacob Fraley in Germantown; Ronald Vern Jackson, ed., *Pennsylvania, 1810* (North Salt Lake: Accelerated Indexing Systems, 1976), 89, for Henry "Fraily" in Germantown and Jacob "Frailey" in Moyamens, Philadelphia County; Jackson and Gary Ronald Teeple, eds., *Pennsylvania, 1820: Census Index* (Bountiful, UT: Accelerated Indexing Systems, 1978), 115, for Henry Fraley in Germantown.

156. Godwin, *Theosophical Enlightenment*, 104-105 (for Rainsford), 120 (for quote). Hamblin, "Everything Is Everything," 267n46, 269n56, 270n60, cited Godwin, yet this FARMS polemicist ignored Godwin's emphasis on the persistence of Rosicrucian ideas and advocates into the early 1800s. Contrary to informed scholarly analysis (see page 445, note 135), much of which Hamblin claimed to have read, he emphasized (269) Rosicrucianism as an organized movement which "had all but disappeared by the early nineteenth century." This denial of Rosicrucianism as a persistent intellectual tradition was necessary in order to support Hamblin's conclusion (269): "Thus Joseph Smith was alive precisely during the period of the least influence of Kabbalah, hermeticism, and Rosicrucianism, all of which had seriously declined by the late eighteenth century—before Joseph's birth—and would revive only in the late-nineteenth century after Joseph's death" (emphasis in original); see previous note 151.

157. Henry W. Shoemaker, *The Origins and Language of Central Pennsylvania Witchcraft* (Reading, PA: Reading Eagle Press, 1927), 5; also Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania*, 1:266-68.

158. J. Hampden Porter, "Notes on the Folklore of the Mountain Whites of the Alleghenies," *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 7 (Apr.-June 1894): 105-106. William A. Wilson untitled review, *BYU Studies* 27 (Fall 1987): 102, criticized my book for citing "badly outdated publications" and faulted it for not "giving any serious heed to contemporary folklore and to contemporary folklore scholarship." This requires me to make the obvious statement that collections of "contemporary folklore" gathered in the 1980s and 1990s will reveal nothing about people living more than 100 years earlier. I say "obvious," because Wilson's 1987 review also denied that there is an "unchanging group of people called the 'folk'" (102-103). Therefore, when interested in people living 150-200 years ago, historians must examine folklore sources as far distant in the past as possible—in dusty academic journals, local histories, newspapers, diaries, correspondence—none of which can be "contemporary" to a current folklorist. For the polemics of Wilson's approach, see page 334, note 31.

159. John Ferguson, *Bibliographical Notes on the Witchcraft Literature of Scotland* (Edinburgh: By the author, 1897), 21.
 160. Johann Georg Theodor Graesse, *Bibliotheca Magica ...* (Leipzig: W. Englemann, 1843).
 161. Robert B. Winans, *A Descriptive Checklist of Book Catalogues Separately Printed in America, 1693-1800* (Worcester, MA: American Antiquarian Society, 1981), viii.
 162. Matthew Clarkson, *For Sale at Public Vendue ...* [broadside] (Philadelphia: Charles Cist, 1784).
 163. Robert E. Cazden, *A Social History of the German Book Trade in America to the Civil War* (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1984), 18.
 164. Library Company, *A Catalogue of the Books ...* (Philadelphia: Zachariah Paulson, Jr., 1789), 248, 260, 264, 329, 335, 337, 367.
 165. Ralph R. Shaw and Richard H. Shoemaker, *American Bibliography: A Preliminary Checklist for 1807* (New York: Scarecrow Press, 1961), 150, no. 13288.
 166. Aristotle, pseud., *Aristotle's Complete Master-piece ...*, 30th ed. ([New York?], 1796); *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 21: 24-31; also Leventhal, *In the Shadow of the Enlightenment*, 30; Butler, "Magic, Astrology, and the Early American Religious Heritage," 335; Orho T. Beall, "Aristotle's Master Piece in America: A Landmark in the Folklore of Medicine," *William and Mary Quarterly* 20 (Apr. 1963): 207-22, esp. 212n.
 167. *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 161:565-66.
 168. Thomas Lupton, *A Thousand Notable Things ...* (London: John Wright, 1650); *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 346:100-101; Matthew Carey, *Catalogue of An Extensive Collection of Books in Every Department, Ancient and Modern* (Philadelphia: Thomas H. Palmer, 1818), 72.
 169. *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 118:239-40, 120:165.
 170. Allen G. Debus, "Scientific Truth and Occult Tradition: The Medical World of Ebenezer Sibly (1751-1799)," *Medical History* 26 (July 1982): 259-60 (first quotes), 263 (last quote).
 171. *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 545:135-37; Patrick Curry, *Prophecy and Power: Astrology in Early Modern England* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), 135-37; Ebenezer Sibly, *A New and Complete Illustration of the Occult Sciences* (London: Champante and Whitrow, 1784), illustrations opposite 1103 (for Scot's illustrations); also figs. 60-62, 64-66. Debus, "Scientific Truth and Occult Tradition," 261, incorrectly claimed that "some later editions" (actually more than half) of Sibly's "complete" handbook had the title *Occult Sciences*. Also, despite their erudition, the following sources wrongly stated the date of Sibly's first printing (actually 1784), the number of printings (actually thirteen), and failed to recognize that the book's content was exactly the same regardless of the title: Christopher McIntosh, *The Astrologers and Their Creed: an Historical Outline* (London: Hutchinson, 1969), 85-86; Godwin, *Theosophical Enlightenment*, 432.
- Despite the well-known example of Sibly and other physicians in the Age of Reason (cited above) who studied the writings of Paracelsus and other alchemists, Hamblin's "Everything Is Everything," 285, claimed: "It is as unlikely that [Luman] Walter [b. 1788]—assuming he had any medical training at all—would have studied Paracelsus as it is that a modern medical school would be teaching phrenology." Aside from imposing the presentist fallacy on medicine in the late 1700s and early 1800s, this FARMS polemicist did not acknowledge the obvious distinction between what a school teaches a physician and what the physician privately reads. For Walter, see ch. 4.
172. William D. Stahlman, "Astrology in Colonial America: An Extended Query," *William and Mary Quarterly* 13 (Oct. 1956): 552. This is compiled from data extracted from Stahlman's distribution chart for astrological books published in Britain from 1550 to 1910. One major problem with his analysis is that he did not specify whether his data included subsequent imprints and editions of each work. If his distribution included only original

imprints without reprints and subsequent editions, then his data underreport the total number of astrological books published annually. I know of no other distribution study to amend or replace Stahlman's possibly flawed chart.

173. *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 333:297-98, 297:453; see also ch. 4, for the *Book of Fate* (published in New York in 1817 and 1823) that was on sale in Palmyra, New York.

174. *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 32:350, 244:435, 666:669, 674:504, 188:519, 480:178.

175. *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 7:293-94; Pearl Kibre, "Alchemical Writings Ascribed to Albertus Magnus," *Speculum: A Journal of Mediaeval Studies* 7 (Oct. 1942): 499-518, 511, 504.

176. *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 5:304, 25:434, 533:522; Nauert, Agrippa, 228; Robert H. West, *Reginald Scot and Renaissance Writings on Witchcraft* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1984), 105-106; John Aubrey, *Miscellanies* (London: Edward Castle, 1696), 1: "A Collection of Hermetick Philosophy."

177. *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 136:550-52, 652.

178. Malcolm Macleod, *Macleod's History of Witches* (Newark, NJ: William Tuttle, 1811); *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 353:49-50.

179. *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 458:590.

180. Demos, *Entertaining Satan*, 387-91; Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith*, 228.

181. Francis Grose, *A Provincial Glossary with a Collection of Local Proverbs, and Popular Superstitions* (London: S. Hooper, 1787), 1-75; John Brand, *Observations on the Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, 3d ed., 3 vols. (1777; London: Henry G. Bohn, 1849), esp. 3:1-67, 252-359; *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 72:339-40, 220:7.

182. Benjamin Franklin, "Busy-Body, No. 8," *American Weekly Mercury*, 27 Mar. 1729, in Leonard W. Larabee, William B. Willcox, and Barbara B. Oberg, eds., *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, 32+ vols. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1959-96+), 1:136.

183. *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 5:304, 306, 7:293, 533:522.

184. Alfred Wallis, "Some Notes on Charms and Exorcisms," *Reliquary* 17 (July 1876): 141.

185. Francis King, *Magic: The Western Tradition* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1975), 17; Antoine Faivre, *Access to Western Esotericism* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994), 75; also E. M. Butler, *Ritual Magic* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1949), 254; Cavendish, *Man, Myth & Magic*, 2:221; Nevill Drury, *Dictionary of Mysticism and the Occult* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1985), 25; Godwin, *Theosophical Enlightenment*, 119; Ogden, *Wizards and Sorcerers*, 131-32; *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 36:563.

186. [Peter Buchan], *Witchcraft Detected & Prevented; or, the School of Black Art Newly Opened ... particularly from Scott's [sic] DISCOVERY OF WITCHCRAFT ... It will also contain a variety of the most approved CHARMS in MAGIC; RECEIPTS in MEDICINE, NATURAL PHILOSOPHY, and CHEMISTRY, &c. BY A MEMBER OF THE SCHOOL OF BLACK ART, ITALY* (Peterhead, [Eng.]: P. Buchan, 1823), with original paper covers at back of the subsequently leather-bound copy at Watkinson Library, Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut (leather covers verified as later binding by associate curator Alesandra Schmidt); Charles Welsh and William H. Tillinghast, comps., *Catalogue of English and American Chapbooks in Harvard College Library* (1905; Detroit: Singing Tree Press/Book Tower, 1968), 120 (no. 2129); *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 669:638; also Harry B. Weiss, *A Book About Chapbooks: The People's Literature of Bygone Times* (1942; Hatboro, PA: Folklore Associates, 1969); Weiss, "American Chapbooks, 1722-1842," *Bulletin of The New York Public Library* 49 (July 1945), 491-98; John Tebbel, *A History of Book Publishing in the United States*, 4 vols. (New York: R. R. Bowker, 1972-81), 1:160-62.

187. Francis Hutchinson, *An Historical Essay Concerning Witchcraft* (London: R. Knaplock, 1718), xiv.
188. Judith Devlin, *The Superstitious Mind: French Peasants and the Supernatural in the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987), 166-67.
189. Leventhal, *In the Shadow of the Enlightenment*, 110; Butler, "Magic, Astrology, and the Early American Religious Heritage," 333; Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia*, 1:266.
190. Leventhal, *In the Shadow of the Enlightenment*, 107, 111; Butler, "Dark Ages of American Occultism," 68-69; Shoemaker, *Origins and Language of Central Pennsylvania Witchcraft*, 14.
191. "History of Free Masonry," *Anti-Masonic Review* 1 (1828): 340-41.
192. James S. Purcell, "A Book Pedlar's Progress in North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review* 29 (Jan. 1952): 15.
193. "Just received at the Rochester Book-Store," *Western Farmer* (Palmyra, NY), 31 July 1822, [3].
194. J. R. Dolan, *The Yankee Peddlers of Early America* (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, 1964), 81.
195. William J. Gilmore, "Peddlers and the Dissemination of Printed Material in Northern New England, 1780-1840," in Peter Benes, ed., *Itinerancy in New England and New York: The Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife Annual Proceedings 1984* (Boston: Boston University Press, 1986), 80.
196. Godbeer, *Devil's Dominion*, 122-52.
197. Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (1651), 279; Francis Barrett, *The Magus, or Celestial Intelligencer; Being A Complete System of Occult Philosophy*, 2 vols. in 1 (London: Lackington, Allen, 1801), 1:148; also Curry, *Prophecy and Power*, 11.
198. George Lyman Kittridge, *The Old Farmer and His Almanack* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1924), 39-61; Joseph Phillip Goldberg, "The Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia Almanac and Its English Counterpart," Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1962, 137, 145n15; Jon Butler, "Magic, Astrology, and the Early American Religious Heritage," 330; Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith*, 80-81; David J. Whittaker, "Almanacs in the New England Heritage of Mormonism," *BYU Studies* 29 (Fall 1989): 91-92, 109.
199. Capp, *English Almanacs*, 20, 23-24, 42-43; also Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas during the English Revolution* (New York: Viking Press, 1972), 71-73; Ann Geneva, *Astrology and the Seventeenth Century Mind: William Lilly and the Language of the Stars* (Manchester, Eng.: Manchester University Press, 1995).
200. Louis K. Wechsler, *The Common People of Colonial America* (New York: Vantage Press, 1978), xv; Whittaker, "Almanacs in the New England Heritage of Mormonism," 112n38.
201. Leventhal, *In the Shadow of the Enlightenment*, 36; Butler, "Magic, Astrology, and the Early American Religious Heritage," 330-31; Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith*, 78-83.
202. Marion Barber Stowell, *Early American Almanacs: The Colonial Weekday Bible* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1977), 162-63.
203. Peter Benes and Jane Montague Benes, "Forward," and John L. Brooke, "'The True Spiritual Seed': Sectarian Religion and the Persistence of the Occult in Eighteenth-Century New England," in Benes, *Wonders of the Invisible World, 1600-1900*, 7 (for quote about shipowners), 107 (for quote from *Newport Mercury*, 31 May 1773).
204. Clarence S. Brigham, "Report of the Librarian," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 35 (Oct. 1925): 200; *National Union Catalog* 112:336; Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith*, 230. *The Christian Almanac, For New England* was published at Boston from 1821 through 1840.
205. *The Methodist Almanac ... 1827* (Boston: T. R. Marvin, 1826); *Christian Almanac, For the State of New York ... 1828* (Albany: The American Tract Society, 1827).
206. Stahlman, "Astrology in Colonial America," 552, 555-56.

207. Franklin, "Busy-Body, No. 8," in Larabee, *Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, 1:137; Richard Saunders, pseud. [Benjamin Franklin], *Poor Richard improved: Being an Almanack ... 1758 ...* (Philadelphia: B. Franklin and D. Hall, [1757]); also Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith*, 86.
208. David D. Hall, "The Uses of Literacy in New England, 1600-1850," in William L. Joyce, et al., eds., *Printing and Society in Early America* (Worcester, MA: American Antiquarian Society, 1983), 28.
209. Capp, *English Almanacs*, 263-67; Stahlman, "Astrology in Colonial America," 552.
210. *American Almanac ... 1830* (Boston: Gray and Bowen, 1829), 72, 70.
211. Longworth's *American Almanac, New York Register, and City Directory* (New York: Thomas Longworth, 1840), 12; compare with the man of signs in Longworth's *American Almanac, New-York Register, and City Directory* (New York: Thomas Longworth, 1822), first unnumbered page after copyright page.
212. Longworth's successor was John Doggett Jr.'s *New York City Directory*.
213. R. Goudy, Jr., *The Illinois Farmer's Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge For the Year 1841 ...* (Jacksonville, IL: C. & R. Goudy, [1840]), [2]; Goudy, *Goudy's Illinois Farmer's Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge For the Year 1842 ...* (Springfield, IL: R. Goudy, [1841]), [2].
214. Thomas Spofford, *The United States Farmers' Almanac, For the Year of Our Lord and Saviour, 1843* (New York: David Felt & Co., 1842), [4].
215. Whittaker, "Almanacs in the New England Heritage of Mormonism," 104.
216. Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith*, 83.
217. Longworth's *American Almanac, New-York Register, and City Directory* (New York: T. & J. Swords, 1797), [8], "Astronomical Characters Explained," and "Signs of the Zodiac."
218. Leventhal, *In the Shadow of the Enlightenment*, 28-29; *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 129:197-204; also Raymond Phineas Stearns, *Science in the British Colonies of America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970), 17, for Culpeper's "astrological botany."
219. John Camp, *Magic, Myth, and Medicine* (New York: Taplinger, 1974), 11; Leventhal, *In the Shadow of the Enlightenment*, 32-33; Letitia Humphreys Wrenshall, "Incantations and Popular Healing in Maryland and Pennsylvania," *Journal of American Folk Lore* 15 (Oct.-Dec. 1902): 268-74.
220. Joshua Gordon, "Witchcraft Book," manuscript [1784], 6, 8, 10-11, 14, 16-18, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina at Columbia; Butler, "Magic, Astrology, and the Early American Religious Heritage," 335-37; Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith*, 231-32.
221. W. R. Jones, "'Hill-Diggers' and 'Hell-Raisers': Treasure Hunting and the Supernatural in Old and New England," in Benes, *Wonders of the Invisible World, 1600-1900*, 97.
222. Paracelsus, pseud. [Theophrastus von Hohenheim], *Of the Supreme Mysteries of Nature*, trans. Robert Turner (London: J. C., 1656), 66; Reginald Scot, *The Discovery of Witchcraft ...* [this edition greatly expanded the details of magic rituals] (London: Andrew Clark, 1665), 109; William Lilly, *Christian Astrology* (London: Thomas Brudenell, 1647), 215-18; Richard Ball, *Astrology Improv'd ...* 2d ed. (London: G. Parker, 1723), 272; Sibly, *New and Complete Illustration of the Occult Sciences*, 1118.
223. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 234.
224. Reginald Scot, *A Discourse Concerning The Nature and Substance of Devils and Spirits* (London: N.p., 1665), 41-42, bound as separately-paged addition to Scot's 1665 *Discovery of Witchcraft*.
225. George Lyman Kittredge, *Witchcraft in Old and New England* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1929), 205; Geoffrey Crayon, pseud. [Washington Irving], *Tales of a Traveller, Part 4* (Philadelphia: Carey and Lea, 1824), 134-36; D. P. Thompson, *May Martin; or, The Money Diggers. A Green Mountain Tale* (Montpelier, VT: E.P. Walton, 1835).

226. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 236-37; see also ch. 2 for "Mosaical rods."
227. Dorothy Dengler, "Tales of Buried Treasure in Rochester," *New York Folklore Quarterly* 2 (Aug. 1946): 174-81; Richard M. Dorson, *Jonathan Draws the Long Bow: New England Popular Tales and Legends* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1946), 173-87; Gerard T. Hurley, "Buried Treasure Tales in America," *Western Folklore Quarterly* 10 (July 1951): 197-216; Pamela Gee, "The Money Diggers of Pocock," *Vermont History* 28 (Oct. 1960): 302-308; Leventhal, *In the Shadow of the Enlightenment*, 113-18; Ronald W. Walker, "The Persisting Idea of American Treasure Hunting," *BYU Studies* 24 (Fall 1984): 429-59; Alan Taylor, "The Early Republic's Supernatural Economy: Treasure Seeking in the American Northeast, 1780-1830," *American Quarterly* 38 (Spring 1986): 6-34.
228. Thompson, *May Martin; or, The Money Diggers*; Abby Maria Hernenway, *The Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, 4 vols. (Burlington: By the author, 1877-82), 1:784-85, 4:241; Clark Jillson, *Green Leaves From Whittingham Vermont: A History of the Town* (Worcester, MA: By the author, 1894), 113; Gee, "The Money Diggers of Pocock"; Walker, "The Persisting Idea of American Treasure Hunting," 447; John Phillip Walker, ed., *Dale Morgan on Early Mormonism: Correspondence and A New History* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1986), 229.
229. William J. Buck, *History of Bucks County* (Doylestown, PA: John S. Brown, 1855), 57; also Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania*, 1:268.
230. "GOLD BIBLE, NO. 3," *The Reflector* (Palmyra, NY), 1 Feb. 1831, 92-93, reprinted in Francis W. Kirkham, *A New Witness for Christ in America: The Book of Mormon*, 2 vols. (Independence, MO: Zion's Printing and Publishing, 1951), 1:69 (with slight variations); also Walker, *Dale Morgan on Early Mormonism*, 351.
231. Mrs. Caroline Rockwell Smith statement (25 Mar. 1885), in *Naked Truths About Mormonism* 1 (Apr. 1888), 1, reprinted in Rodger I. Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1990), 165; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).
232. Edward Augustus Kendall, *Travels Through the Northern Parts of the United States in the Years 1807 and 1808*, 3 vols. (New York: I. Riley, 1809), 3:84, 87-88; also Alan Taylor, *Liberty Men and Great Proprietors: The Revolutionary Settlement on the Maine Frontier, 1760-1820* (Williamsburg, VA: Institute of Early American History and Culture; Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 79-82.
233. Taylor, "The Early Republic's Supernatural Economy," 20.
234. Caleb Butler, *History of the Town of Groton* (Boston: T. R. Marvin, 1848), 256.
235. Joshua V. H. Clark, *Onondaga; or Reminiscences of Earlier and Later Times ...*, 2 vols. (Syracuse, NY: Stoddard and Babcock, 1849), 2:226, regarding the village of Manlius.
236. Jillson, *Green Leaves From Whittingham Vermont*, 113-15, 119; Leventhal, *In the Shadow of the Enlightenment*, 115.
237. Aaron C. Willey, "Observations on Magical Practices," *Medical Repository* 15 (1812): 378.
238. New York, *Laws of the State of New-York ...*, 2 vols. (Albany: H.C. Southwick, 1813), 1:114.
239. Butler, "Magic, Astrology, and the Early American Religious Heritage," 318, for the entire colonial period to early 1800s. Selecting the year 1776 as their only colonial reference point, Finke and Stark, *Churching of America*, 15, 26-27, used statistical measures to estimate that 17 percent of America's white population belonged to churches during that year. Likewise (16), their estimate of U.S. church membership for 1810 (18.2 percent) was nearly double Butler's emphasis on the lowest membership rate during the two decades after American independence from England.
240. Boorstin, *Americans: The Colonial Experience*, 286-87; Hofstadter, *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life*, 48-49.

241. Peter W. Williams, *Popular Religion in America: Symbolic Change and the Modernization Process in Historical Perspective* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1980), 64.
242. James Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society: South Lindsey, 1825-1875* (Oxford, Eng.: Clarendon Press, 1976), 259; also Jon Butler, "The People's Faith in Europe and America: Four Centuries in Review," *Journal of Social History* 12 (Fall 1978): 160; compare Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic*, viii.
243. Peter Rushton, "A Note on the Survival of Popular Christian Magic," *Folklore* 91 (1980), no. 1:115-18.
244. Weisberger, *They Gathered at the River*, 47.
245. "The Divining Rod," *Worcester Magazine and Historical Record* 1 (Oct. 1825): 27.
246. J. T. Crane, "Mystic Arts in Our Own Day," *Methodist Quarterly Review* 30 (Apr. 1848): 211.
247. Lucy Crawford, *The History of the White Mountains* (White Hills, NH: F.A. and A.F. Gerrish, 1846), 106.
248. Taylor, "The Early Republic's Supernatural Economy," 23, 25.
249. David Foster Estes, *The History of Holden, Massachusetts, 1684-1894* (Worcester, MA: C.F. Lawrence, 1894), 92-3, 96, 216-18.
250. Rev. Joseph Avery to Chester Dewey, 1821, on blank page of Dewey's original letter to Avery, 26 Apr. 1821, described in Rick Grunder, *Mormon Parallels: A Preliminary Bibliography of Material Offered for Sale, 1981-1987* (Ithaca, NY: Rick Grunder—Books, 1987), 45, no. 23.
251. W. Harbutt Dawson, "An Old Yorkshire Astrologer and Magician, 1694-1760," *Reliquary* 23 (Apr. 1883): 197.
252. Franklin, "Busy-Body, No. 8," in Larabee, *Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, 1:134-39; Leventhal, *In the Shadow of the Enlightenment*, 113-14, 118.
253. Andrew Barton, pseud. [Thomas Forrest?], *The Disappointment: or, The Force of Credulity ...* (New York: Goddard, 1767), iii, ix; Leventhal, *In the Shadow of the Enlightenment*, 110-12.
254. Smellie, *Encyclopaedia*, 6:65.
255. Ebenezer Parkman diary, 27 Apr. 1755, in Francis G. Walett, ed., *The Diary of Ebenezer Parkman, 1703-1782* (Worcester, MA: American Antiquarian Society, 1974), 288; also Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith*, 88.
256. Josiah F. Goodhue, *History of the Town of Shoreham, Vermont ...* (Middlebury, VT: A. H. Copeland, 1861), 146.
257. Quitman, *Treatise on Magic, or, On the Intercourse Between Spirits and Men*, 26.
258. Grant Underwood, *The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 106.

Notes to Chapter Two

1. Aaron C. Willey, "Observations on Magical Practices," *Medical Repository* 15 (1812): 377.
2. Jon Butler, "Magic, Astrology, and the Early American Religious Heritage, 1600-1760," *American Historical Review* 84 (Apr. 1979): 318; Jon Butler, "The Dark Ages of American Occultism, 1760-1848," in Howard Kerr and Charles L. Crow, eds., *The Occult in America: New Historical Perspectives* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983), 68-69; also rephrased in Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), 3.
3. Joseph Smith et al., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Period I: History of Joseph Smith the Prophet, and ... Period II: From the Manuscript History of Brigham Young and Other Original Documents*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1902-32; 2d ed. rev. [Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1978]),

1:6 (hereafter *History of the Church*); Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2+ vols., with a different subtitle for each volume (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989-92+), 1:xxxix, 272-73, 430, 444, 448-49; Dan Vogel, comp. and ed., *Early Mormon Documents*, 1+ vols. (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996-), 1:28, 37-39, 43-44, 60-62, 170, 182, 184, 189-90.

Emphasizing Smith's reminiscence that the religious revival was "in the place where we lived" prior to his vision in "the spring of 1820," several authors have insisted that historical evidence does not support 1819-20 but leaves 1824-25 as the only possibility they will admit. See Wesley P. Walters, "New Light on Mormon Origins from Palmyra (N.Y.) Revival," *Bulletin of the Evangelical Theological Society* 10 (Fall 1967): 238; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:58n19, 61n25, 288n87, 306n103, 494-95, 494n5; H. Michael Marquardt and Walters, *Inventing Mormonism: Tradition and the Historical Record* ([San Francisco]: Smith Research Associates, 1994), xxvi-xxviii, 18-33, 36n13 (which also dismisses the significance of the Palmyra newspaper's June 1820 report of "a Methodist camp meeting in the vicinity of the village"); Marvin S. Hill, *Quest for Refuge: The Mormon Flight from American Pluralism* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989), 193n54 (which actually departs from his previous acceptance of an 1820 revival and dating; see below).

On the other hand, LDS scholars have emphasized Smith's phrase that "the whole district of country seemed affected by it," and they show evidence of extensive religious revivals in 1819-20 in a twenty-mile radius of the Smith home. Despite some conflicting evidence, these authors support the traditional 1820 dating for Smith's first vision. See Richard Lloyd Anderson, "Circumstantial Confirmation of the First Vision Through Reminiscences," *BYU Studies* 9 (Spring 1969): 404; Peter Crawley, "A Comment on Joseph Smith's Account of His First Vision and the 1820 Revival," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 6 (Spring 1971): 106-107; Milton V. Backman, Jr., *Joseph Smith's First Vision: Confirming Evidences and Contemporary Accounts*, 2d ed., rev. and enl. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980), 67-71, 74, 79-89, 157-166; Marvin S. Hill, "The First Vision Controversy: A Critique and Reconciliation," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 15 (Summer 1982): 41-42; Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 50-53, 56, 203-204n31; Backman, "Joseph Smith's First Vision: Cornerstone of a Latter-day Faith," in Robert L. Millet, ed., *To Be Learned Is Good If ...* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1987), 35; Backman, "Lo, Here! Lo, There! Early in the Spring of 1820," in Larry C. Porter and Susan Easton Black, eds., *The Prophet Joseph: Essays on the Life and Mission of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1988), 19-35; Walter A. Norton, "Comparative Images: Mormonism and Contemporary Religions as Seen by Village Newspapermen in Western New York and Northeastern Ohio, 1820-1833," Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1991, 254-56; Richard L. Bushman, "Just the Facts Please," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 6 (1994), no. 2:126-29; Larry C. Porter, "Reinventing Mormonism: To Remake or Redo," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 7 (1995), no. 2:129-31; Davis Bitton, *Images of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Aspen Books, 1996), 3-4. See also Palmyra's front-page emphasis on the 1820 wave of revivals nationally in "Great Revivals in Religion," *Palmyra Register* (Palmyra, NY), 7 June 1820, [1].

I accepted the evidence supporting the 1820 date of the revivals which led to Smith's theophany before I realized the significance of statements by his neighbors that 1819-20 was the year he also became involved as a treasure-seer (see ch. 4 and following narrative text of ch. 2). For me this is sufficient evidence from two different directions that Smith's vision of deity occurred in spring 1820, as officially dated. However, from a perspective I do not share, G. St. John Stott, "Joseph Smith's 1823 Vision: Uncovering the Angel Message," *Religion* 18 (Oct. 1988): 358n6, stated that he was "persuaded that there was an 1820 vision by the parallels between the biography Smith gives to the youthful Mormon (the *Book of Mormon*, pp. 518-19) and the events of his own youth."

4. Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned-Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of*

Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850 (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1950); also Gordon S. Wood, "Evangelical America and Early Mormonism," *New York History* 61 (Oct. 1980): 359-86; Glenn C. Altschuler and Jan M. Saltzgaber, *Revivalism, Social Conscience and Community in the Burned-Over District: The Trial of Rhoda Bement* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983); Michael Barkun, *Crucible of the Millennium: The Burned-Over District of New York in the 1840s* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1986).

5. Mary Audentia Smith Anderson, *Ancestry and Posterity of Joseph Smith and Emma Hale* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1929), 54-55, 101-105; Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum, eds., *The Salem Witchcraft Papers: Verbatim Transcripts of the Legal Documents of the Salem Witch Outbreak of 1692*, 3 vols. (New York: DaCapo Press, 1977), 1:301-302, 814-15; Richard Weisman, *Witchcraft, Magic, and Religion in 17th-Century Massachusetts* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1984), 220; Thomas S. Catherall, "Joseph Smith's Progenitors and the Salem Witchcraft Trials," 8, 13, paper delivered at Sunstone Theological Symposium, 23 Aug. 1986, Salt Lake City, Utah, copy in fd 25, box 141, H. Michael Marquardt papers, Manuscript Division, Department of Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City; John L. Brooke, *The Refiner's Fire: The Making of Mormon Cosmology, 1644-1844* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 66-67, emphasized the Easty case and "the Smith-Gould connection," but made no reference to the Wilds case, not even in the source-notes (339-40).

6. Brooke, *Refiner's Fire*, 43, 45, 71, 74-78, 133-34.

7. B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of The Church ...*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1930), 1:26-27.

8. Joseph Sr. first moved to Palmyra, where the *Book of Mormon* was later published. In between those two events, the Smiths moved to adjacent Manchester. For convenience, I often use Palmyra generically to refer to residents and events there and in Manchester, New York.

9. Richard Lloyd Anderson, "Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reappraised," *BYU Studies* 10 (Spring 1970): 307 (for first quote); Anderson untitled review, *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 3 (1991): 75 (for second quote).

10. Frederic G. Mather, "The Early Days of Mormonism," *Lippincott's Magazine* 26 (Aug. 1880): 198; Richard Lloyd Anderson, "The Reliability of the Early History of Lucy and Joseph Smith," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 4 (Summer 1969): 24, for quotes about Mather's interview.

11. Ronald Vern Jackson and Gary Ronald Teeple, eds., *New York 1830 Census Index* (Bountiful, UT: Accelerated Indexing Systems, 1977), 397; Fayette Lapham, "Interview with the Father of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet, Forty Years Ago: His Account of the Finding of the Sacred Plates," *Historical Magazine* 7 (May 1870): 306 (for quote), reprinted in Francis W. Kirkham, comp. and ed., *A New Witness for Christ in America: The Book of Mormon*, 2 vols. (Independence, MO: Zion's Printing and Publishing, 1951), 2:384, and in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:457; also Jan Shipps, *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985), 8; Paul Hedengren, *In Defense of Faith: Assessing Arguments Against Latter-day Saint Belief* (Provo, UT: Bradford and Wilson, 1985), 148; John Phillip Walker, ed., *Dale Morgan on Early Mormonism: Correspondence and A New History* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1986), 220-21.

12. Lorenzo Saunders interview (17 Sept. 1884), 2, in fd 7, box 1, E. L. Kelley papers, Library-Archives, Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Independence, Missouri (hereafter RLDS library-archives); repeated in Lorenzo Saunders interview (20 Sept. 1884), 1, fd 44, box 2, P 19, "Miscellany 1795-1948," and in Lorenzo Saunders interview (12 Nov. 1884), 12, fd 8, box 1, Kelley papers; also in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

13. Joshua Gordon, "Witchcraft Book," manuscript [1784], South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina at Columbia; Butler, "Magic, Astrology, and the Early American Religious Heritage," 335-37; Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith*, 231-32.
14. Richard Lloyd Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New England Heritage* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1971), 111; John W. Welch, ed., "The Document Corner: Jesse Smith's 1814 Protest," *BYU Studies* 33 (1993): no. 1:131-44.
15. Richard Lloyd Anderson, "The Mature Joseph Smith and Treasure Searching," *BYU Studies* 24 (Fall 1984): 526; *The Book of Mormon*, published at Salt Lake City in various editions, with verse citations (similar to the Bible) according to the names of its constituent books. The original spelling for the name of Joseph Jr.'s brother was "Hiram." See Vermont general index to vital records (early to 1870), entry for birth of "Hiram Smith" (9 Feb. 1800), microfilm, Family History Library, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter LDS Family History Library); also spelling of "Hiram" Smith in Joseph Smith to Martin Harris, 22 Feb. 1831, "Hiram" in Joseph Smith to Hyrum Smith, 3 Mar. 1831, and "Hiram" in Joseph Smith to Emma Hale Smith, 6 June 1832, in *The Essential Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1995), 11, 22, 23; also Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1984), 230, 239.
16. Jesse Smith to "Hiram" Smith, 17 June 1829, letterbook 2:59-60, Joseph Smith papers, microfilm, Archives and Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter Lee Library), in RLDS library-archives, and in Marriott Library; published in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:553.
17. John Beaumont, *An Historical, Physiological, and Theological Treatise of Spirits ...* (London: D. Browne, 1705), 321-22; also Daniel Defoe, *A System of Magic; or, A History of the Black Art* (London: J. Roberts, 1727), 74; Albert Pietersma, ed. and trans., *The Apocryphon of Jannes and Jambres the Magicians* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994), 3-42.
18. Johann Jahn, *Jahn's Biblical Archaeology*, trans. Thomas C. Upham (Andover, MA: Flagg and Gould, 1823), 512, sect. 403, sub-sect. 1; *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 276:156.
19. Brian D. Stubbs, "Book of Mormon Language," in Daniel H. Ludlow, ed., *Encyclopedia of Mormonism: The History, Scripture, Doctrine, and Procedure of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 5 vols. (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1992), 1:179-80. For this an official product of LDS headquarters, see page 338, note 60.
20. "BOOKS," *Times and Seasons* 3 (1 Sept. 1842): 908, with Smith as sole editor on 910; "From Jahn's Biblical Archaeology," *Times and Seasons* 3 (15 Sept. 1842): 918, with Smith as sole editor on 926.
21. Ann Jeffers, *Magic and Divination in Ancient Palestine and Syria* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996), 186-88.
22. Adam Clarke, *The Holy Bible ... With A Commentary and Critical Notes ...*, 6 vols. (New York: Ezra Sargeant, 1811), footnote for Exodus 7:9. Often called "Clarke's Commentary," but listed in library catalogs under Bible, rather than Clarke.
23. Georgius Agricola, *De Re Metallica, translated from the First Latin Edition of 1556*, ed. Herbert Clark Hoover and Lou Henry Hoover (1556; New York: Dover Publications, 1950), 40; Basilus Valentinus, *Basil Valentine, His Triumphant Chariot of Antimony* (London: Dorman Newman, 1678), 56-58; also William Barrett and Theodore Besterman, *The Divining Rod: An Experimental and Psychological Investigation* (London: Methuen, 1926), 2.
24. [Pierre] LeLorrain Vallemont, *La Physique Occult ...* (Paris: Jean Anisson, 1693), 23-29; Christopher Bird, *Divining Hand* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1979).
25. Matthew Carey, *Catalogue of An Extensive Collection of Books in Every Department, Ancient and Modern* (Philadelphia: Thomas H. Palmer, 1818), 239.
26. Peter Ingersoll affidavit (2 Dec. 1833), in Eber D. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled ...* (Painesville, OH: By the author, 1834), 233, reprinted Kirkham, *New Witness*, 2:134, in Roger L. Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined* (Salt Lake City: Signature

Books, 1990), 135, in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming); also J. H. Kennedy, *Early Days of Mormonism: Palmyra, Kirtland, and Nauvoo* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1888), 19.

27. Mather, "Early Days of Mormonism," 198.

28. Mrs. S. F. Anderick affidavit (24 June 1887), in *Naked Truths About Mormonism* 1 (Jan. 1888): 2, reprinted in Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined*, 153, in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

29. Christopher M. Stafford statement (23 Mar. 1885), in *Naked Truths About Mormonism* 1 (Apr. 1888): 1, reprinted in Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined*, 166, and in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming); also Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 12; John W. Barber and Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of the State of New York* (New York: S. Tuttle, 1841), 581; Thomas Ford, *History of Illinois* (Chicago: S. G. Griggs, 1854), 252; Daniel Hendrix statements in *San Francisco Chronicle*, 14 May 1893, [12], in *New York Times*, 15 July 1895, 5, in *St. Louis Globe Democrat*, 21 Feb. 1897, photocopies in fd 25, box 149, Marquardt papers, Marriott Library.

30. Isaac Butts statement (ca. 1885) in *Naked Truths About Mormonism* 1 (Jan. 1888): 2, reprinted in Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined*, 154, in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

31. Palmyra, New York, Highway Tax Assessment Lists, 1811-31, Palmyra Town Records, King's Daughters' Museum, Palmyra, New York, microfilm, LDS Family History Library; compare Anderson, "Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reappraised," 301n34. I have not verified the name of Isaac's father, but from 1811 to 1831 Abraham, Ephraim, and Silas Butts appeared on the list of adult males eligible for the highway assessment in Palmyra (cited above).

32. "GOLD BIBLE, NO. 3," *The Reflector* (Palmyra, NY), 1 Feb. 1831, 92, reprinted in Kirkham, *New Witness*, 2:68, in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

33. Scott H. Faulring, ed., *An American Prophet's Record: The Diaries and Journals of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books/Smith Research Associates, 1987), 4; Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:3; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:27; which was rendered as "in my tenth year, or thereabouts" in *History of the Church*, 1:2.

34. Marquardt and Walters, *Inventing Mormonism*, 3.

35. William Stafford affidavit (8 Dec. 1833), Willard Chase affidavit (11 Dec. 1833), Henry Harris affidavit (1833), Joshua Stafford statement (15 Nov. 1833), in Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 237, 240, 251, 258, reprinted in Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined*, 143, 120, 131, 142, and in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming); Hamilton Child, *Gazetteer and Business Directory of Wayne County, N.Y. for 1867-8* (Syracuse: Journal Office, 1867), 53; Pomeroy Tucker, *Origin, Rise, and Progress of Mormonism ...* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1867), 20-21; W. H. McIntosh, *History of Wayne County, New York ...* (Philadelphia: Everts, Ensign & Everts/J. B. Lippincott, 1877), 150.

36. Lapham, "Interview with the Father of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet," 306; Kirkham, *New Witness for Christ in America*, 2:384; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:457.

37. "MONEY DIGGERS," *Palmyra Herald, and Canal Advertiser* (Palmyra, NY), 24 July 1822, [1-2]; also Loud & Wilmarth, *The Farmer's Diary, or, Ontario Almanac For the Year of Our Lord, 1823* (Canandaigua, NY: J. D. Bemis & Co., [1822]), unnumbered page (sixth page after the December calendar for the first quote from the same article; fifth page for the long quote); Jonathan Swift, "The Virtues of SID HAMET the MAGICIAN's Rod," which I cite for convenience to its modern printing in Herbert Davis, ed., *Swift: Poetical Works* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), 89; "New Books," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 4 Sept. 1821, [3]; "BOOKS," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 7 Oct. 1823, [4], for Swift's complete works.

For the distance of nine miles, see Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet and His Progenitors for Many Generations* (Liverpool: S. W. Richards, 1853),

96, reprinted in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:318. Horatio G. Spafford, *A Gazetteer of the State of New-York* (Albany: E. D. Packard, 1824), 302, gave the distance as ten miles between Canandaigua and the town of Manchester itself, rather than to the Smith's farm on the outskirts of Manchester. *ATLAS OF ONTARIO COUNTY, NEW YORK: From actual Surveys ...* (Philadelphia: Pomeroy, Whitman & Co., 1874), 11, stated the precise distance between the two towns as 7.1 miles. In preparing the first edition I forgot about Lucy's statement and conservatively estimated the distance as twelve miles, so as not to overstate their closeness. In this and all remaining chapters, I emphasize how close Canandaigua was to the Smith's farm, and use Lucy's estimate for convenience. While she may have over-estimated the actual distance, her statement is sufficient to establish their close proximity.

38. Butler, "Dark Ages of American Occultism, 1760-1848," 69; also partly restated in Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith*, 229.

Some readers may wonder why this chapter's discussion of divining rods in early America does not mention counterfeiting, since Brooke, *Refiner's Fire*, 121, argued: "Divining, alchemy, and counterfeiting formed a hermetic triad in popular culture, in effect the poor man's bank." First, his decision to "widen our definition of alchemy to include counterfeiting" (108) is the most fatal of his book's flaws. Second, I find no evidence of the kind of philosophical connections that Brooke proposed between treasure-divining and money-counterfeiting in early America. His linkage of these two activities was an innovative interpretative model for intellectual history, and common people (including counterfeiters) have an intellectual history as legitimate as that of elites. However, Brooke's argument lacks the kind of mundane evidence that social historians like me prefer as support for interpretative models. Third, and most compelling, Brooke himself acknowledged: "Overall, the evidence suggests that divining and counterfeiting occurred among different groups of people living in the same localities" (123, emphasis in original, also 127-28). Therefore, Brooke's geographic associations of treasure-divining and counterfeiting are irrelevant to the analysis of this chapter.

39. "The Divining Rod," *Worcester Magazine and Historical Record* 1 (Oct. 1825): 27.

40. "The Divining Rod," *American Journal of Science and Arts* 11 (Oct. 1826): 203; also Agricola, *De Re Metallica*, 40; Edward Augustus Kendall, *Travels Through the Northern Parts of the United States in the Years 1807 and 1808*, 3 vols. (New York: I. Riley, 1809), 3:101; William J. Buck, "Local Superstitions," in Theodore W. Bean, ed., *The History of Montgomery County* (Philadelphia: Everts and Peck, 1884), 342; Rossiter W. Raymond, "The Divining Rod," *Transactions of the American Institute of Mining Engineers* 11 (Feb. 1883): 419; Barrett and Besterman, *Divining Rod*; Edward Katz and Peter Paulson, "A Brief History of the Divining Rod in the United States," *Journal of the American Society for Psychical Research* 42 (Oct. 1948): 119-31, 43 (Jan. 1949): 3-18; Herbert Leventhal, *In the Shadow of the Enlightenment: Occultism and Renaissance Science in Eighteenth-Century America* (New York: New York University Press, 1976), 112-18; Walker D. Wyman, *Witching for Water, Oil, Pipes, and Precious Minerals: A Persistent Folk Belief from Frontier Days Down to the Present* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press/River Falls Foundation, 1977); Thomas J. Riley, "The Archaeologist as Witch," *Field Museum of Natural History Bulletin* 49 (June 1978): 6-11.

41. Anderson, "The Mature Joseph Smith and Treasure Searching," 526.

42. Richard Cavendish, ed., *Man, Myth & Magic: An Illustrated Encyclopedia of the Supernatural*, 24 vols. (New York: Marshall Cavendish, 1970), 5:683, 652; Ronald W. Walker, "The Persisting Idea of American Treasure Hunting," *BYU Studies* 24 (Fall 1984): 441.

43. Bird, *Divining Hand*.

44. Joshua Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition: A Study in Folk Religion* (New York: Behrman's Jewish Book House, 1939), 226.

45. "Divination," in Cecil Roth, ed., *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 16 vols. (Jerusalem: Macmillan/Keter Publishing, 1971-72), 6:120.

46. "A History of the Divining Rod; With the Adventures of an Old Rodsman," *United States Magazine and Democratic Review* 26 (Mar. 1850): 200, 223, (Apr. 1850): 319; Marvin S. Hill, "Money Digging Folklore and the Beginnings of Mormonism: An Interpretive Suggestion," *BYU Studies* 24 (Fall 1984): 476-77; Brooke, *Refiner's Fire*, 53, 251, 333n75, for identification of this rodsman as Stephen Davis (b. 1777). On the basis of very slender evidence, Brooke (251, 313, 388n50) also identified Samuel Hildrith as the author of the 1850 article. Hildrith was the uncle of Mormonism's infamous John C. Bennett, who used Hildrith's medical endorsements to further his various monetary schemes. Brooke dropped that suggested authorship in the citation of the 1850 article in his "The True Spiritual Seed: Sectarian Religion and the Persistence of the Occult in Eighteenth-Century New England," in Peter Benes, ed., *Wonders of the Invisible World, 1600-1900: The Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife Annual Proceedings*, 1992 (Boston: Boston University Press, 1995), 121n33.

Regarding my own citations to nineteenth-century publications of folklore, William A. Wilson untitled review, *BYU Studies* 27 (Fall 1987): 102, criticized the first edition of this book for citing "badly outdated publications" and faulted it for not "giving any serious heed to contemporary folklore and to contemporary folklore scholarship." This requires me to make the obvious statement that collections of "contemporary folklore" gathered in the 1980s and 1990s will reveal nothing about people living more than 100 years earlier. I say "obvious," because Wilson's 1987 review also denied that there is an "unchanging group of people called the 'folk'" (102-103). Therefore, when interested in people living 150-200 years ago, historians must examine folklore sources as far distant in the past as possible—in dusty academic journals, local histories, newspapers, diaries, correspondence—none of which can be "contemporary" to a current folklorist. For the polemics of Wilson's approach, see page 334, note 31.

47. "The Rodsmen," *Vermont American* (Middlebury, VT), 7 May 1828, [2]; also Barnes Frisbie, *The History of Middletown, Vermont* (Rutland, VT: Tuttle, 1867), 46-47, 50-51; Abby Maria Hemenway, *The Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, 4 vols. (Burlington: By the author, 1877-82), 3:814 (for quote with emphasis); Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:608-09.

48. Frisbie, *History of Middletown*, 52.

49. John Hayward, *Gazetteer of Vermont ...* (Boston: Tappan, Whittemore, and Mason, 1849), 133 (for quote); *ATLAS OF RUTLAND CO., VERMONT: From actual Surveys ...* (New York: Beers, Ellis, and Soule, 1869), 2.

50. "The Rodsmen," *Vermont American* (Middlebury, VT), 7 May 1828, [2]; Frisbie, *History of Middletown*, 109-10; H. P. Smith and W. S. Rann, *History of Rutland County, Vermont ...* (Syracuse, NY: D. Mason & Co., 1886), 659.

51. "The Rodsmen," *Vermont American* (Middlebury, VT), 7 May 1828, [2]; also Frisbie, *History of Middletown*, 54-55; Donal Ward, "Religious Enthusiasm in Vermont, 1761-1847," Ph.D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 1980, 74; Stephen A. Marini, *Radical Sects of Revolutionary New England* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), 54-55; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:609n15, 609-13, 614n24; also page 449, note 182, for my reconstruction of the Wood Scrape's climax as January 1802, rather than the common dating of 1801.

52. "THE VILLAGE OF PALMYRA," *The Reflector* (Palmyra, NY), 21 Aug. 1830, 102.

53. Frisbie, *History of Middletown*, 43 (for number of interviews) 62 (for next section of quotes), also 50 (for Zenas Frisbie's farm); Hemenway, *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, 3:819; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:618, 607, 607n14, 599. Wilson untitled review (1987), 97-98, wrote: "Quinn's answers to those questions are based partly on associational evidence, on possible connections. About 1800, people in Vermont, not far from the Smith family, began using divining rods for revelatory purposes (30-33); from this we are to infer that the Smiths began doing the same." Despite his claim that he read the book twice (96), Wilson made no reference to the specific claim of Vermonters that Joseph Sr. was involved in this movement, nor did Wilson try to explain why postal announcements in Palmyra's

newspaper verified Vermonter claims that this divining-rod movement's instigator (a man named Winchell) later moved to Palmyra (see ch. 4). For the polemics of Wilson's approach, see page 334, note 31.

54. Anderson, "The Mature Joseph Smith and Treasure Searching," 521-24; compare ch. 4.

55. Historian David M. Ludlum's *Social Ferment in Vermont, 1791-1850* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), 242, concluded: "The strands of connection between the Wood Scrape and the Palmyra outcroppings are too tenuous to withstand historical criticism. Nevertheless, the two incidents suggest similar social tendencies in the soil of the two 'infected districts.'" However, like Frisbie, Ludlum did not know about the LDS evidence of Oliver Cowdery's divining rod or about Jesse Smith's 1829 letter. Compare Anderson, "The Mature Joseph Smith and Treasure Searching," 523; Bruce G. Stewart, "Hiram Page: An Historical and Sociological Analysis of an Early Mormon Prototype," M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1987, 99n43.

56. Hiland Paul and Robert Parks, *History of Wells, Vermont ...* (Rutland, VT: Tuttle and Co., 1869), 81-82, with age and death information of Joseph Parks on 129; also Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:604n11.

57. Smith and Rann, *History of Rutland County, Vermont*, 653-54, for David Wood as one of the participants; John Sumner Wood, Sr., *The Wood Family Index: A Given Name Index* (N.p.: Garrett and Massie, 1966), 102, no. 80. I have not verified Orilla's relationship to Joseph Parks.

58. Anderson, "The Mature Joseph Smith and Treasure Searching," 554n107, first paragraph.

59. Frisbie, *History of Middletown*, 50; Hemenway, *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, 3:819, 813; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:607.

60. *The Doctrine and Covenants of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, published at Salt Lake City in various editions, sec. 6:10-12, hereafter D&C with numbers of section and verse(s); *History of the Church*, 1:32 (for Smith's statement that he first met Oliver Cowdery on 5 April 1829); also Robert F. Smith, "JOSEPH SMITH JR BACKGROUND: Miscellaneous Event Structure," typescript (1983), 3, citing *Wayne Sentinel*, 6 Apr. 1825, in fd 6, box 10, Richard S. Van Wagoner papers, Marriott Library.

61. *A Book of Commandments for the Government of the Church of Christ ...* (Zion [Independence, MO]: W. W. Phelps, 1833), 19; Robert J. Woodford, "The Historical Development of the Doctrine and Covenants," 3 vols., Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1974, 1:185-91; Lyndon W. Cook, *The Revelations of the Prophet Joseph Smith: A Historical and Biographical Commentary of the Doctrine and Covenants* (Provo, UT: Seventy's Mission Bookstore, 1981), 16; Richard P. Howard, *Restoration Scriptures: A Study of Their Textual Development*, 2d ed., rev. and enl. (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1995), 156-58.

62. Charles A. Shook, *The True Origin of The Book of Mormon* (Cincinnati, OH: Standard Publishing, 1914), 16n1.

63. Anderson, "The Mature Joseph Smith and Treasure Searching," 524-29.

64. Charles Buck, *A Theological Dictionary ...* (Philadelphia: W. W. Woodward, 1818), 129; *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 754 vols. (London: Mansell, 1968-81), 82:136-38; "PALMYRA Book Store" and "NEW BOOKS at the Palmyra Book Store," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 12 May 1824, [3], and 1 Dec. 1826, [3]; George Arthur Buttrick, ed., *The Interpreter's Bible*, 12 vols. (New York: Abingdon Press, 1951-57), 6:609; Jeffers, *Magic and Divination in Ancient Palestine and Syria*, 184-85.

65. Joseph Smith, "Try the Spirits," *Times and Seasons* 3 (1 Apr. 1842): 745.

66. Thomas Hartwell Horne, *An Introduction To the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures*, 1st Am. ed., 4 vols. (Philadelphia: E. Littell, 1825), 3:358, 358n1; also "E. Littell ... has in press, AN INTRODUCTION To the Critical Study and Knowledge of THE

HOLY SCRIPTURES By Thomas Hartwell Horne, M.A., *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 6 Apr. 1825, [3]; "Horne's Introduction to the Study of the Bible, 4 vols.," in "MORE NEW BOOKS," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 30 Aug. 1826, [3]; see ch. 6 for discussion of Horne's significance. Later editions of Horne's book corrected the misspelling of rhabdomanancy.

67. "WONDERFUL INFATUATION: Modern Pilgrims," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 26 May 1826, [4]; paraphrased in F. Gerald Ham, "The Prophet and the Mummyjums: Isaac Bullard and the Vermont Pilgrims of 1817," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 56 (Summer 1973): 294; also Ward, "Religious Enthusiasm in Vermont," 43-45, 70, 72, 76, 162-63.

68. Francis Lieber, ed., *Encyclopaedia Americana*, 13 vols. (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea, and Cary, 1829-33), 4:258 (emphasis added). This volume was published in 1830. To avoid possible confusion with recent editions of *Encyclopaedia Americana*, this chapter's subsequent citations list the years of the edition being cited.

69. Gahnel Plattes, *A Discovery of Subterranean Treasure* (Philadelphia: Robert Bell, 1784), 8; *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 461:299.

70. Kendall, *Travels*, 3:101-103; "The Divining Rod" (1825); "The Divining Rod" (1826); Lieber, *Encyclopaedia Americana* (1829-33), 13:225; "The Money Diggers," *The Casket: Flowers of Literature, Wit, and Sentiment* (Philadelphia), June 1830, 247; Buck, "Local Superstitions," 342-43.

71. Douce MS 116, folio 77, Bodleian Library, Oxford University, Oxford, England; Vallemont, *La Physique Occult*; William Lilly, *Mr. William Lilly's History of His Life and Times* (1715), reprinted in Katharine M. Briggs, ed., *The Last of the Astrologers* (London: The Folklore Society, 1974), 32, 93; Thomas Pennant, *A Tour in Wales*, 2 vols. (London: Henry Hughes, 1778-81), 1:53-54; Charles R. Beard, *The Romance of Treasure Trove* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, 1933), 55, 62; *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 13 vols. (Oxford, Eng.: Clarendon Press, 1933).

Without identifying the author, M. C. Poinso, *The Encyclopedia of Occult Sciences* (New York: Robert M. McBride, 1939), 322, quoted: "The Rod, also called Caduceus, divining Rod, Rod of Aaron, Staff of Jacob, etc. was known in all times, and many writers mention it," from a two-volume source cited in the footnote as "Occult Physics, published by Moetiens at the Hague in 1772." This was the two-volume, seventh edition of Vallemont's *La Physique Occult*, published by A. Moetiens in 1762 (not 1772) at the Hague (*National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 628:347). I examined only Vallemont's first edition of 1693 and overlooked the "Rod of Aaron" reference quoted by Poinso.

72. "Curious Occult Secrets," *Conjuror's Magazine* 2 (Apr. 1793): 330; "History of the Divining Rod," 218.

73. Anderson, "The Mature Joseph Smith and Treasure Searching," 528-29.

74. Kendall, *Travels*, 3:101; also Robert Paul, "Joseph Smith and the Manchester (New York) Library," *BYU Studies* 22 (Summer 1982): 354; see ch. 6 for discussion of the Manchester Library and Joseph Jr.'s reading habits.

75. Dean C. Jessee, ed., "Joseph Knight's Recollection of Early Mormon History," *BYU Studies* 17 (Autumn 1976): 33.

76. "A Journal of Mary A. Noble," [2], second part of Joseph B. Noble journal book, microfilm, Archives, Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter LDS archives).

77. Martin Harris interview (Jan. 1859), in Joel Tiffany, "MORMONISM—No. 11," *Tiffany's Monthly. Devoted to the Investigation of the Science of Mind* ... 5 (July 1859), 164, reprinted in Kirkham, *New Witness*, 2:377, and in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming). Even careful researchers have misstated the subtitle of this periodical and given the wrong date for this installment, which was the third article of a series on Mormonism that began in May 1859. Tiffany wrote (163): "The following narration we took down from the lips of Martin Harris, and read the same to him after it was written, that we

might be certain of giving his statement to the world." The entire interview was in quotes, preceded by the words: "Mr. Harris says:"

78. Jessee, "Joseph Knight's Recollection," 33. Bushman, *Joseph Smith*, 83, accepted the misspelling of "Mr. Braman, a friend from Livonia" in Lucy Mack Smith's history (probably a scribal error by Martha Knowlton Coray), and did not recognize its restatement with the correct spelling in Joseph Smith's diary and official history, or the correct spelling later in Lucy's history as "Esquire Beaman's, in Livonia." Thus, Bushman did not recognize this was the same man as the "one Beeman, who worked with divining rods" to steal the plates from the Smith family.

79. Brigham Young sermon, 18 Feb. 1855, manuscript, LDS archives; this remained-converted-until-death description separates this reference to the Baptist deacon from Young's descriptions of the conjuror who converted temporarily and then left Mormonism (ch. 4); *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London and Liverpool: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1854-86), 2:180-81 (B. Young/1855), which deleted his sermon's reference to the LDS conversion of the Baptist deacon; Lucy Mack Smith manuscript history (1845), 69 (as typed-in pagination), transcribed by Martha Jane Coray, photocopy, Marriott Library; Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith*, 102-103; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:331. For Lucy Mack Smith's manuscript history, my page citations follow the pagination in the photocopy at the Marriott Library, while Vogel gives different page numbers as his internal citations. For Young's marriage to Louisa Be(a)man, see Todd Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness: The Plural Wives of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997), 61-69.

Jessee, "Joseph Knight's Recollection," 33n12, noted apparent contradictions in the reports that in 1827 Be(a)man both helped Palmyra neighbors to discover the plates and helped the Smiths to conceal the plates from their neighbors. Be(a)man did not live in Palmyra, but Martin Harris said he participated with Joseph Smith in treasure-digging there. Be(a)man is the only New York associate of Smith who fits Young's description, thus reconciling the otherwise contradictory statements about Be(a)man's actions in 1827.

80. Lucy Mack Smith manuscript history (1845), 74; Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith*, 108, both in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:340-41; Parley P. Pratt, *Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt* ..., ed. Parley P. Pratt, Jr. (New York: Russell Brothers, 1874), 118; John W. Welch and Tim Rathbone, *The Translation of the Book of Mormon: Basic Historical Information* (Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1986), 5n11.

81. *History of the Church*, 2:43-44, 367, 370; Joseph Smith manuscript diary, 14-15 Mar. 1834, 11 Jan., 15 Jan., 23 Jan. 1836, in Faulring, *American Prophet's Record*, 24, 99, 106, 122; Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:473; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:421.

82. Donna Hill, *Joseph Smith: The First Mormon* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1977), 72, 350; Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:473; Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness*, 4, 55, 59-60, with section on "A Grate Rodsman" (57-58).

83. Defoe, *System of Magick*, 3; also *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "Seer."

84. Meric Casaubon, *A True & Faithful Relation of What passed for many Years Between Dr. John Dee (A Mathematician of Great Fame in Q. Eliz. and King James their Reignes) and Some Spirits* (London: D. Maxwell, 1659), unpaginated "Preface" [28, 47], also illustrations opposite title page; Francis Barrett, *The Magus, or Celestial Intelligencer; Being a Complete System of Occult Philosophy*, 2 vols. in 1 (London: Lackington, Allen, 1801), II:195-97, also Ebenezer Sibly, *A New and Complete Illustration of the Occult Sciences* (London: Champante and Whitrow, 1784), illustration opposite 1098; Tom Ogden, *Wizards and Sorcerers: From Abracadabra to Zoroaster* (New York: Facts On File, 1997), 116-17; for Dee as an occult practitioner, see page 369, note 118.

85. J. Mitchell and John Dickie, *The Philosophy of Witchcraft* (Glasgow: Paisley, 1839), 392.

86. Elias Ashmole, *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum, Containing Several Poetical Pieces*

of our Famous English Philosophers, who have written the Hermetique Mysteries in their owne Ancient Language (London: J. Grismond, 1652), "Prolegomena."

87. John Aubrey, *Miscellanies* [p. 1: "A Collection of Hermetick Philosophy"] (London: Edward Castle, 1696), 128-29; *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 25:434; New York Society Library, *A Catalogue of the Books ...* (New York: C. S. Van Winkle, 1813); also compare Jeffers, *Magic and Divination In Ancient Palestine and Syria*, 215; Cornelius Van Dam, *The Urim and Thummim: A Means of Revelation in Ancient Israel* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1997), 4, 209, 215-32.

88. Sloane MS 1727, folio 5, Manuscript Department, British Museum-Library, London, England.

89. John Brand, *Observations on the Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, 3d ed., 3 vols. (1777; London: Henry G. Bohn, 1849), 3:60; Francis Grose, *A Provincial Glossary with a Collection of Local Proverbs, and Popular Superstitions* (London: S. Hooper, 1787), "Superstitions," 35-36; William Smellie, ed., *Encyclopaedia ...*, 1st Am. ed., 18 vols. (Philadelphia: Thomas Dobson, 1798), 17:609 (emphasis added); also Robert Darmer, *Dobson's ENCYCLOPAEDIA: The Publisher, Text, and Publication of America's First BRITANNICA, 1798-1803* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991).

90. Hemenway, *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, 1:785.

91. Edward Hailstone, "Magic Mirrors," *Notes and Queries*, 3d ser., 4 (29 Aug. 1863): 180.

92. McIntosh, *History of Wayne County, New York*, 155; *ATLAS OF WAYNE CO., NEW YORK: From actual Surveys and Official Records* (Philadelphia: D. C. Beers & Co., 1874), 4, for distance between Palmyra and "Rose Valley." For the first edition, I did not have access to this atlas and its exact mileages, and from maps I under-estimated the distance.

93. "IMPOSITION AND BLASPHEMY!!—MONEY-DIGGERS, &c.," *The Gem: A Literary and Miscellaneous Journal* (Rochester, NY), 15 May 1830, 15, reprinted in Kirkham, *New Witness*, 2:47-49; Dorothy Dengler, "Tales of Buried Treasure in Rochester," *New York Folklore Quarterly* 2 (Aug. 1946): 175; Spafford, *Gazetteer of the State of New-York*, 401, for distance between Palmyra and Rochester.

94. George H. Harris, "Myths of Onanda, or Treasure Hunters of the Genesee," 2-6, manuscript (22 Mar. 1886), Harris papers, Rochester Public Library, Rochester, New York; also Dengler, "Tales of Buried Treasure in Rochester," 178-79. As a young man living with his parents, Zimri Allen did not appear in the head-of-household list of New York's residents in the 1820 census. See New York manuscript census (federal) of 1830 and 1840 for "Zimm" Allen in Spring, Cayuga County, New York, microfilm, LDS Family History Library.

95. Dogberry, pseud. [Cole], "Book of Pukei," *The Reflector* (Palmyra, NY), 12 June 1830, 36; reprinted with wrong date in Kirkham, *New Witness*, 2:52; also John Phillip Walker, ed., *Dale Morgan on Early Mormonism: Correspondence and A New History* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1986), 233; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

96. Mrs. S. F. Anderick affidavit (1887); also Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith*, 109; Ezra Pierce interview (1881), in William H. Kelley, "THE HILL CUMORAH AND THE BOOK OF MORMON: The Smith Family, Cowdery, Harris, and Other Old Neighbors—What They Know," *Saints' Herald* 28 (1 June 1881): 163; Abel D. Chase manuscript statement (1881), 7, notebook 5, box 43, William H. Kelley Papers, RLDS library-archives, published in edited form in *Saints' Herald* 28 (1 June 1881): 165; John Stafford manuscript statement (1881), 16, notebook 5, Kelley Papers, published in edited form in *Saints' Herald* 28 (1 June 1881): 167; Benjamin Saunders interview (Sept. 1884), 29-30, fd 44, box 2, P 19, "Miscellany 1795-1948," RLDS library-archives; Lorenzo Saunders interview (12 Nov. 1884), 9-10; Caroline Rockwell Smith [sister of Orrin Porter Rockwell] statement (25 Mar. 1885), in *Naked Truths About Mormonism* 1 (Apr. 1888): 1; Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined*, 153, 170-71 (compare 90-91), 171, 173, 165; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

97. John Stafford manuscript statement (1881), 13; John Stafford published statement (1881), 167, reprinted in Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined*, 172, and in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).
98. Caroline Rockwell Smith statement (1885); Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined*, 165; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).
99. Bushman, *Joseph Smith*, 70-71; also Tucker, *Origin, Rise, and Progress of Mormonism*, 39.
100. Jessee, "Joseph Knight's Recollection," 32.
101. Joseph Capron statement (8 Nov. 1833), in Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 259-60; Martin Harris interview (1859), in Tiffany, "MORMONISM—No. II," 164; Kirkham, *New Witness*, 1:377-78; Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined*, 118-19; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).
102. "MONEY DIGGERS," *Palmyra Herald, and Canal Advertiser* (Palmyra, NY), 24 July 1822, [1-2]; Loud & Wilmarth, *Farmer's Diary, or, Ontario Almanac For the Year of Our Lord, 1823*, unnumbered pages (fifth and sixth pages after the December calendar).
103. "A Prize," *Palmyra Herald, and Canal Advertiser* (Palmyra, NY), 4 Sept. 1822, [3].
104. "Green Mountain Boys" [at Orange County, Vermont] to Thomas C. Sharp [editor of the *Warsaw Signal*], 15 Feb. 1844, [3, 4], Sharp papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut; published in Annette P. Hampshire, "Thomas Sharp and Anti-Mormon Sentiment in Illinois, 1842-1845," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 72 (May 1979): 87, in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:597.
105. Statement by Daniel Woodward (b. 1804) in "Birthplace and Early Residence of Joseph Smith, Jr.," letter to the editor by a "Vermont in Cambridge," *Historical Magazine* 7 (Nov. 1870): 316; also Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:19; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:624-25, and 576.
106. Samantha Payne manuscript affidavit (29 June 1881), Ontario County Clerk's Office, Canandaigua, New York, photocopy in fd 31, box 149, Marquardt papers, Marriott Library; also published in *Ontario County Times* (Canandaigua, NY), 27 July 1881, 3; in E. L. Kelley and Clark Braden, *Public Discussion of the Issues Between The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints and The Church of Christ (Disciples) Held in Kirland, Ohio, Beginning February 12, and Closing March 8, 1884 Between E. L. Kelley, of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints and Clark Braden, of the Church of Christ* (St. Louis, MO: Clark Braden, 1884), 350, short-titled on all pages as "THE BRADEN AND KELLEY DEBATE"; in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).
107. John Stafford manuscript statement (1881), verso of 13; John Stafford published statement (1881), 167; Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined*, 172; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).
108. William D. Purple, "Joseph Smith, the Originator of Mormonism: Historical Reminiscences of the Town of Afton," *Chenango Union* (Norwich, NY), 2 May 1877, [3], reprinted in Kirkham, *New Witness*, 1:479-80, 2:365; Walker, *Dale Morgan on Early Mormonism*, 333; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming). *Chenango Union's* first-page masthead gave the wrong date of "May 3," which was corrected on page 3.
109. Lapham, "Interview with the Father of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet," 306; Kirkham, *New Witness for Christ in America*, 2:384; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:457. However, Lapham remembered Joseph Sr. saying that his son borrowed the stone belonging to "a man."
110. Scott G. Kenney, ed., *Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833-1898 Typescript*, 9 vols. (Midvale, UT: Signature Books, 1983-85), 5 (11 Sept. 1859): 382-83.
111. Martin Harris interview (1859), in Tiffany, "MORMONISM—No. II," 164; Kirkham, *New Witness*, 2:377; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).
112. Tucker, *Origin, Rise, and Progress of Mormonism*, 19; McIntosh, *History of Wayne*

County, New York, 150; Ellen E. Dickinson, *New Light on Mormonism* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1885), 247; Kennedy, *Early Days of Mormonism*, 19-20.

Dan Vogel, "The Locations of Joseph Smith's Early Treasure Quests," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 27 (Fall 1994): 202n11 states: "Unfortunately, Quinn follows Tucker's dating of September 1819 for Smith's acquiring his first stone." Because Joseph Smith gave primary emphasis to the brown stone he found on the Chase property in 1822 and later used to translate the *Book of Mormon* (see ch. 5), Vogel has mistaken it as Smith's first seer stone. Building on that assumption, Vogel correspondingly uses 1822 as an erroneous benchmark (201) for "the earliest period of Joseph Smith's activities as treasure seer (1822-25)." This error (repeated in various places, including his chronological table on 230) requires Vogel to reject the independent statements (which he acknowledges on 201) of Palmyra neighbors that Joseph Smith began treasure-digging in 1819 or 1820. Because of this error in identifying the brown stone as Smith's first seer stone and because (see narrative text below) of ignoring the significance of Oliver Harper's death date, Vogel's important article presents the wrong chronology for Joseph Smith's earliest experiences of treasure-digging in the Palmyra area and along the Susquehanna River. Moreover, Vogel's article totally ignored Lapham's recounting of Joseph Sr.'s statement to him that Joseph Jr. first obtained a seer stone "when about fourteen years of age" (i.e., 1819-20), even though Lapham's account was cited in my first edition's pages which Vogel listed in his above note of disagreement.

113. E. W. Vanderhoof, *Historical Sketches of Western New York* (Buffalo: Matthews-Northrup Works, 1907), 138-39.

114. "Just received at the Rochester Book-Store," *Palmyra Herald & Canal Advertiser* (Palmyra, NY), 31 July 1822, [3]; "The Bible Society of Cayuga county," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 10 Mar. 1826, [2]; see also ch. 6.

115. William Riley Hine statement (ca. 1884-5), and Cornelius R. Stafford statement (Mar. 1885), in *Naked Truths About Mormonism* 1 (Jan. 1888): 2, 3, reprinted in Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined*, 155, 167-68; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

116. Several statements by Palmyra neighbors confused the white stone and the brown one. For example, untitled preface to "BLASPHEMY," *Cincinnati Advertiser and Ohio Phoenix*, 2 June 1830, [1], reprinted from the *Rochester Republican*; Tucker, *Origin, Rise, and Progress of Mormonism*, 19-20; Dickinson, *New Light on Mormonism*, 247; Kennedy, *Early Days of Mormonism*, 19-20. Because of those apparent contradictions, Hugh Nibley, *The Myth Makers* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1961), 126, 128, 157-58, challenged the credibility of any assertion that Smith used seer stones for treasure-digging or for translating the *Book of Mormon*. Compare with Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined*, 11-12, 20-21.

However, in the accounts of the 1826 court case, two witnesses referred specifically to Smith's using both a "dark-colored stone" and a "white stone" for treasure-seeking and divination in Pennsylvania. Thus, witnesses in different states claimed that Smith used two stones (dark and white) for divination in the 1820s. See Charles Marshall, "The Original Prophet," *Frazer's Magazine* 87 (Feb. 1873): 229-30; Kirkham, *New Witness*, 2:361.

117. Mrs. S. F. Anderick affidavit (1887); Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined*, 153; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

118. Emily C. Blackman, *History of Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen and Haffelfinger, 1873), 577.

119. Norman C. Pierce statement (24 Nov. 1934) and Pierce to Wilford C. Wood, 5 Feb. 1937, both in reel 16, Film 413, Wood Papers, LDS archives; Ogden Kraut, *Seer Stones* ([Dugway, UT: N.p., 1967?]), 32-33.

A descendant of Philo Dibble wrote that he had never heard of the seer stone, although he noted that other branches of the family never answered any of his inquiries about Dibble

(Edwin S. Dibble to D. Michael Quinn, 7 June 1986). The fact that some of Philo Dibble's descendants today are unaware of his seer stone may be a result its leaving the possession of the family around 1900. That is what Pierce wrote in 1934.

120. Also photographs MSSP-187, M. Willford Poulson papers, Lee Library.

121. Alfred Bush [curator of Special Collections, the Firestone Library, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey] telephone conversation with D. Michael Quinn, 6 Oct. 1986.

122. Margaret Merrill Toscano, Paul Toscano, Lynne Knavel Whitesides, and I were among those whom Martha Pierce invited to examine the seer stone in Salt Lake City on this occasion.

123. Willard Chase affidavit (1833); also letter from Palmyra, 12 Mar. 1831, in *The Telegraph* (Painesville, OH), 22 Mar. 1831, [2]; [Abram W. Benton], "Mormonites," *Evangelical Magazine and Gospel Advocate*, 9 Apr. 1831, 120; William Stafford affidavit (1833); Joseph Capron statement (1833); Martin Harris interview (1859), in Tiffany, "MORMONISM—No. II," 163, 169; Tucker, *Origin, Rise, and Progress of Mormonism*, 20-22; McIntosh, *History of Wayne County, New York*, 150; Abel D. Chase affidavit (2 May 1879), in W. Wyl. pseud. [Wilhelm Ritter von Wymetal], *Mormon Portraits, or the Truth About Mormon Leaders From 1830 to 1886* (Salt Lake City: Tribune Printing and Publishing, 1886), 231; Mather, "Early Days of Mormonism," 202; Abel D. Chase manuscript statement (1881), 8; Abel D. Chase published statement (1881), 165; Lorenzo Saunders interview (12 Nov. 1884), 9; William Riley Hine statement (ca. 1884-5); Isaac Butts statement (ca. 1885); George Q. Cannon, *Life of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1888), 56; Roberts, *Comprehensive History*, 1:129; Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined*, 120, 143-44, 118, 171, 155-56, 154; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

124. Thomas L. Cook, *Palmyra and Vicinity* (Palmyra, NY: Palmyra Courier-Journal, 1930), 238.

125. Abel D. Chase published statement (1881), 165.

126. Tucker, *Origin, Rise, and Progress of Mormonism*, 19; Kennedy, *Early Days of Mormonism*, 19-20; Dickinson, *New Light on Mormonism*, 247.

127. Nibley, *Myth Makers*; Anderson, "Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reappraised"; compare Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined*.

128. Bushman, *Joseph Smith*, 74-75.

129. Howard J. Booth, "An Image of Joseph Smith, Jr: A Personality Study," *Courage: A Journal of History, Thought, and Action* 1 (Sept. 1970): 7-8 (for affirmation of his visions), 11-12 (for matter-of-fact statement of his treasure-quest); Wayne Ham, comp. and ed., *Publish Glad Tidings: Readings in Early Latter Day Saint Sources* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1970), 13; Marvin S. Hill, "Brodie Revisited: A Reappraisal," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 7 (Winter 1972): 77-78; Hill, "Joseph Smith and the 1826 Trial: New Evidence and New Difficulties," *BYU Studies* 12 (Winter 1972): 232-33; Jan Shipps, "The Prophet Puzzle: Suggestions Leading Toward a More Comprehensive Interpretation of Joseph Smith," *Journal of Mormon History* 1 (1974): 14; Hill, *Joseph Smith*, 65-68; Hill, "Money Digging Folklore and the Beginnings of Mormonism"; Richard P. Howard, *The Church Through the Years*, 2 vols. (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1992-93), 1:78-81; James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 2d ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 40-42.

130. Hedengren, *In Defense of Faith*, 178.

131. Ronald W. Walker, "Joseph Smith: The Palmyra Seer," *BYU Studies* 24 (Fall 1984): 464.

132. Bushman, *Joseph Smith*, 70-71; Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined*, 33, 66, 67-68, 165, 167, 173.

133. Joshua Stafford statement (1833); John Stafford manuscript statement (1881), 14; John Stafford published statement (1881), 167.

134. Cornelius R. Stafford statement (1885); Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined*, 167; Vogel, "Locations of Joseph Smith's Early Treasure Quests," 203; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).
135. Isaac Butts statement (ca. 1885); Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined*, 154; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).
136. Brooke, *Refiner's Fire*, 51-53, 151. Since Joseph Stafford was the granduncle of the Palmyra Staffords, Brooke was mistaken in referring to them as "his descendants" (51).
137. Willard Chase affidavit (1833).
138. John Stafford published statement (1881), 167.
139. Tucker, *Origin, Rise, and Progress of Mormonism*, 20-21; McIntosh, *History of Wayne County, New York*, 150; Joshua Stafford statement (1833); Vogel, "Locations of Joseph Smith's Early Treasure Quests," 201; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:457n4. See page 391, note 112, for Vogel's fundamental error in re-dating this to 1822.
140. Lorenzo Saunders interview (12 Nov. 1884), 9. For year of Alvin Smith's death, see page 460, note 46.
141. Peter Ingersoll affidavit (1833); Kirkham, *New Witness*, 2:134-35; Vogel, "Locations of Joseph Smith's Early Treasure Quests," 203.
142. Lorenzo Saunders interview (12 Nov. 1884), 9.
143. Peter Ingersoll affidavit (1833); Kirkham, *New Witness*, 2:134-35.
144. Tucker, *Origin, Rise, and Progress of Mormonism*, 39.
145. Joshua Stafford statement (1833).
146. Joseph Capron statement (1833).
147. William Stafford affidavit (1833); also compare Anderson, "Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reappraised," 293-95, with Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined*, 143-45.
148. Clark Jillson, *Green Leaves From Whittingham Vermont: A History of the Town* (Worcester, MA: By the author, 1894), 113-15, 119; Leventhal, *In the Shadow of the Enlightenment*, 115.
149. Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 73; Hill, *Quest for Refuge*, 4; Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined*, 109.
150. Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith*, 57; Hill, *Joseph Smith*, 44; C. Jess Groesbeck, "The Smiths and Their Dreams and Visions: A Psycho-historical Study of the First Mormon Family," *Sunstone* 12 (Mar. 1988): 22-29; Dan Vogel, *Religious Seekers and the Advent of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988), 25, 27-28, 32; Richard L. Bushman and Dean C. Jessee, "Joseph Smith: The Prophet," in Ludlow, *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 3:1333. For this *Encyclopedia* as an official product of LDS headquarters, see page 338, note 60.
151. Bushman, *Joseph Smith*, 70-76, 82-84; A. Gary Anderson, "Joseph Smith, Sr.," and Richard Lloyd Anderson, "Lucy Mack Smith," in Ludlow, *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 3:1348, 1356-57.
152. Dean C. Jessee, "The Reliability of Joseph Smith's History," *Journal of Mormon History* 3 (1976): 40-41; also Jessee, "Priceless Words and Fallible Memories: Joseph Smith as Seen in the Effort to Preserve His Discourses," *BYU Studies* 31 (Spring 1991): 19-40.
153. Oliver Cowdery to W. W. Phelps, "LETTER VIII," *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* 2 (Oct. 1835): 201; *History of the Church*, 1:17, 3:29; Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith*, 91-92; Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:93, 282; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:67-68, 309-10. For traditional LDS historians on this matter, see Cannon, *Life of Joseph Smith*, 47; Roberts, *Comprehensive History*, 1:81-82; John Henry Evans, *Joseph Smith: An American Prophet* (New York: Macmillan, 1942), 37-38; Preston Nibley, *Joseph Smith, the Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1944), 48-49; Kirkham, *New Witness*, 1:492-94; John A. Widtsoe, *Joseph Smith: Seeker After Truth, Prophet of God* (Salt Lake City: Deseret

News Press, 1951), 34; Francis M. Gibbons, *Joseph Smith: Martyr, Prophet of God* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1977), 44; Bushman, *Joseph Smith*, 65, 68-69; Richard Neitzel Holzapfel and T. Jeffery Cottle, *Old Mormon Palmyra and New England: Historic Photographs and Guide* (Santa Ana, CA: Fieldbrook Productions, 1991), 162-63; Richard L. Bushman and Larry C. Porter, "History of the Church: 1820-1831, Background, Founding, New York Period," Bushman and Jessee, "Joseph Smith: The Prophet," Anderson, "Joseph Smith, Sr.," and Gordon A. Madsen, "South Bainbridge (Afton), New York," in Ludlow, *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 2:601, 3:1334, 1348, 1400 (also see page 338, note 60). As a significant example, see Susan Easton Black, "Isaac Hale: Antagonist of Joseph Smith," in Larry C. Porter, Milton V. Backman, Jr., and Susan Easton Black, eds., *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint History: New York* (Provo, UT: Department of Church History and Doctrine, Brigham Young University, 1992), which quoted (96-97) from the account by Joseph Lewis and Hiel Lewis that I quote in this discussion. However, Black deleted their reference to Joseph Smith's employment as a treasure-seer before Oliver Harper's death in 1824. She also cited (99, 111) the publications by Blackman and Mather that I quote, but this BYU professor made no reference to the claims of their eye-witnesses for Joseph Smith's pre-1825 activities as a treasure-seer along the Susquehanna.

154. Vogel, "Locations of Joseph Smith's Early Treasure Quests," 213 (which includes all of Pennsylvania in his limited chronology), 215n69 (which specifically rejects the "years before November 1825" chronology), 217n74 (which rejects the pre-1825 dating by residents in Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania), 224n96, 225, 225n107 (which all reject the pre-1825 claim of an eye-witness in Broome County, New York, north of Susquehanna County), also 227 (which rejects the pre-1825 dating of another eye-witness in Broome County); see previous note 112.

155. Jacques Barzun and Henry F. Graff, *The Modern Researcher*, 4th ed. (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1985), 115.

156. Blackman, *History of Susquehanna County*, 575; Ronald Vern Jackson, Gary Ronald Teeple, and David Schaefermeyer, eds., *Pennsylvania 1830 Census Index* (Bountiful, UT: Accelerated Indexing Systems, 1976), 60, for "John B. Buck" in Gibson, Susquehanna County; also Jackson and Teeple, eds., *Pennsylvania 1820 Census Index* (Bountiful, UT: Accelerated Indexing Systems, 1978), 45, for two Susquehanna County residents named John Buck.

157. Photograph of Oliver Harper gravestone (11 May 1824), fd 4, box 157, Marquardt papers, Marriott Library; Broome County, New York probate book B, 267 (22 May 1824), microfilm, LDS Family History Library; Blackman, *History of Susquehanna County*, 582; Vogel, "Locations of Joseph Smith's Early Treasure Quests," 223, also acknowledged Harper's 1824 death date, without recognizing that it verifies the dating in the eye-witness accounts that Vogel rejected. Committed to excluding all such accounts of Joseph Smith's pre-1825 treasure-quests along the Susquehanna River, Vogel dismissed (213n64) Buck's statements as "unlikely." See previous note 112.

158. Joseph Lewis and Hiel Lewis, "MORMON HISTORY, A New Chapter, About to Be Published," *Amboy Journal* (Amboy, IL), 30 Apr. 1879, [1], reprinted with slight variations in Wyl, *Mormon Portraits*, 78, also forthcoming in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2. In retelling this information, Susan Easton Black made two curious misstatements. First, she claimed that the female seer was allegedly unnamed, despite the fact that this BYU religion professor quoted extensively from the Lewises who gave the woman's name as "Odle" (which Black deleted from her quote). Second, Black ignored and deleted the statement of the Lewises that William Hale was "a distant relative" of Isaac Hale, and instead she claimed that William was "Isaac's brother." In fact, Isaac Hale had no brother named William. See Black, "Isaac Hale," 97; the computerized Ancestral File, LDS Family History Library, for Reuben Hale (b. 1737), Isaac's father.

Vogel, "Locations of Joseph Smith's Early Treasure Quests," 214n65, quoted most of

the statement by the Lewises, but omitted their reference to Stowell as Harper's partner. In the same note Vogel excluded Stowell from the 1822 treasure-digging partnership described by the Lewises and asserted that Stowell's participation began three years later: "the William Hale/Oliver Harper company (1822/1823?), the William Hale/Josiah Stowell company (summer 1825), and the William Hale/Josiah Stowell/Joseph Smith company (November 1825)." As indicated in my narrative text, I regard that omission and shift in chronology as inconsistent with the statements by several eye-witnesses of Joseph Smith's pre-1825 activity in the treasure-quest along the Susquehanna River. Vogel explained (217n74): "The Lewises unfortunately adopted Blackman's historical interpretations and inaccurate chronology regarding Joseph Smith's involvement." In a passing comment, however, Vogel referred (223) to "Josiah Stowell's former money-digging companion Oliver Harper," without acknowledging the fact that accepting their partnership also involves accepting the statements that Joseph Smith participated in their pre-1824 activities as partners. See previous note 112.

159. Ronald Vern Jackson, ed., *New York 1820 Census Index* (North Salt Lake, UT: Accelerated Indexing Systems, 1977), 451, as Josiah "Stowel"; Jackson and Teeple, *New York 1830 Census Index*, 651, as Josiah "Stowel." See spelling of "Stowell" in the census for Josiah's brother Aaron, in following note 214.

160. Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith*, 91-92; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:309-10. She made this comment in connection with Smith's better-known work for Stowell in 1825.

161. Barzun and Graff, *Modern Researcher*, 119. Also concerning Lucy Mack Smith's moving this first contact from pre-1824 to 1825 in her dictation two decades later, it is useful to remember the further comment of this historian's handbook (119): "It would be absurd to disbelieve the main fact because the date is two years off" in a reminiscence.

162. Postscript signed "Josiah Stowell By J Stowell Jr.," in Josiah Stowell, Jr., (at Chemeny, New York) to John S. Fullmer, 17 Feb. 1843, photocopy of holograph, LDS archives; typescript in fd 18, box 10, Linda King Newell papers, Marriott Library; reprinted with some variations in "Josiah Stowell Replies To Letter," *Deseret News "Church News,"* 12 May 1985, 10.

163. Andrew Jenson, comp., *Church Chronology: A Record of Important Events Pertaining to the History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 2d ed., rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1914), entry for June 1829; *History of the Church*, 1:109.

164. Purple, "Joseph Smith, the Originator of Mormonism," [3]; Kirkham, *New Witness*, 1:478, 2:364; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

165. Jenson, *Church Chronology*, entries for June and August 1830; *History of the Church*, 1:101, 103, 106, 108-109.

166. To support his insistence on their acquaintance no earlier than the fall of 1825, Vogel, "Locations of Joseph Smith's Early Treasure Quests," 215n69, cited the 1843 letter and stated: "Josiah Stowell said he was acquainted with Joseph Smith '6 years,' that is, from 1825 until Smith's departure from New York in 1831." The first problem with this equation is that Stowell gave no reference point for his statement of six years. Second, Joseph Smith moved permanently from New York state in January 1831 (see *History of the Church*, 1:145; Jenson, *Church Chronology*). Six years prior to that date would be January 1825, significantly earlier than the fall 1825 dating that Vogel insisted upon. Third, Smith moved permanently from Stowell's neighborhood five months before the permanent move from New York. Even ignoring the evidence of Harper's death date and the statement by Hale's nephews, Smith's permanent move from Harmony would require Vogel's statement to read "from 1824 until Smith's departure from Harmony (nearby Stowell) in 1830." Despite Vogel's objection, a Stowell-Smith association "years before November 1825" is the only chronology that does not exclude significant evidence from multiple sources and various eye-witnesses. See previous note 112.

167. Jackson, *New York 1820 Census Index*, 202, 209, 340. There was no William Hale living in Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania, which was Isaac Hale's county of residence. See Jackson and Teeple, *Pennsylvania 1820 Census Index*, 141. By 1823 William Hale had moved to Colesville, Broome County, but there was no longer a householder "Clary Odell" (or variations of those names) in New York state of 1830. For William Hale-Joseph Knight deed, see Broome County Index to Deeds, Grantee Book (1806-43), 334 (7 Oct. 1823), microfilm at LDS Family History Library; Jackson and Teeple, eds., *New York 1830 Census Index* (Bountiful, UT: Accelerated Indexing Systems, 1977), 291, 493-94.

168. Related by his brother Ketchel A. E. Bell's affidavit (6 May 1885, at Painesville, OH), in *Naked Truths About Mormonism* 1 (Jan. 1888): 3, who was born in Harpersville, Delaware County, New York, moved to Broome County, New York, in the early 1820s, and then both brothers moved to Painesville, Ohio; also "A LIST OF LETTERS," *Painesville Telegraph*, 4 July 1828, [3], for spelling of his name. Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined*, 65, acknowledged Bell's affidavit but did not include it in his reprints of the other affidavits published in 1888. However, Bell's affidavit will be in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

169. Blackman, *History of Susquehanna County*, 580-81 (for Doud's statement), 580 (for the statement of an unidentified informant).

170. Jackson, *New York 1820 Census Index*, 142; Jackson and Teeple, *New York 1830 Census Index*, 204. Vogel, "Locations of Joseph Smith's Early Treasure Quests," 215n72, observed that R. C. Doud "may be the same Russell Dowd listed in the 1820 and 1830 censuses of Windsor."

171. Blackman, *History of Susquehanna County*, 581-82; Vogel, "Locations of Joseph Smith's Early Treasure Quests," 215, 217.

172. Mather, "Early Days of Mormonism," 199 (for quote) and 200n concerning his sources: "At the residence of Mrs. Elizabeth Squires I found both herself and Mrs. Sally McKune, the widow of Joseph McKune ... The statement given above with regard to the digging for treasure is that of Mrs. McKune, supplemented by Mrs. Squires."

173. James B. Allen, "Joseph Smith as a Young Man," *New Era* 1 (Jan. 1971): 21; Richard L. Bushman and Dean C. Jessee, "Smith, Joseph: The Prophet," in Ludlow, *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 3:1338; Alexander L. Baugh, "Joseph Smith's Athletic Nature," in Susan Easton Black and Charles D. Tate, Jr., *Joseph Smith: The Prophet, The Man* (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1993), 137-48; Bitton, *Images of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, 85-86.

174. Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith*, 81; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:291.

175. "ANOTHER TESTIMONY: Statement of William Smith, Concerning Joseph, the Prophet," *Deseret Evening News*, 20 Jan. 1894, 11; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:512, also 505: "After my father's family moved to New York State [by fall of 1816], in about five years [i.e., by fall of 1821] they cleared sixty acres of land, and fenced it." See my above text for date of the Smith family's arrival in Palmyra area; also Allen and Leonard, *Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 25, rendered this as clearing thirty acres of timber.

176. William Riley Hine statement (ca. 1884-5); Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined*, 155-56; Jackson and Teeple, *New York 1830 Census Index*, 326, for "Riley" Hine as resident of Windsor, Broome County, New York; Jackson, *New York 1820 Census Index*, 226, which did not list a William or Riley Hine, but listed Jesse "Hines" in Broome County; see page 551, note 225, for Hine's alternate listings in Ohio as William or Riley. Despite Hine's statements of these eye-witness observations, Richard L. Anderson's untitled review (1991), 70, claimed that Hine "repeats the standard rumors of Joseph's searches in the Susquehanna area, but speaks directly only in the case of digging for salt." Anderson concluded: "However, only a small percentage of Hine's episodes are firsthand, and few correlate with responsible historical accounts." Also, in Vogel's rejection of all

eye-witness accounts of Joseph Smith's pre-1825 treasure-quest activities in this area, his "Locations of Joseph Smith's Early Treasure Quests," 224n96 dismissed as "an error" Hine's statement that Joseph Smith "dug over one year without success" on Monument Hill in Broome County. As Vogel noted (223), Josiah Stowell also referred to Smith's role in this dig. But it is Hine's claim of "over one year" that Vogel rejected because that would push Smith's activities in the area back to 1824. Likewise, regarding Hine's eye-witness claim, Vogel stated (225n107): "His statement that Smith dug in the area 'two summers' is especially troublesome. Smith's first visit to the area was in the late fall and winter of 1825-26 ..." On Vogel's fundamental error in rejecting such eye-witness accounts of Smith's pre-1825 activities along the Susquehanna, see previous note 112.

177. See previous note 112.

178. William Riley Hine statement (ca. 1884-5); Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined*, 156; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

179. Henry A. Sayer affidavit (24 Feb. 1885), in *Naked Truths About Mormonism* 1 (Jan. 1888): 3, reprinted in Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined*, 164; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

180. Jackson, *New York 1820 Census Index*, 404, for Charles Sayer in Bainbridge, Chenango County; Jackson and Teeple, *New York 1830 Census Index*, 587, for Daniel "Sayre" and William S. "Sayre" in Bainbridge and for Wittington "Sayres" in Colesville, Broome County; Jackson, Teeple, and Schaefermeyer, *Pennsylvania 1830 Census Index*, 409, for Benjamin "Sayre" in Montrose, Susquehanna County.

181. Anderson untitled review (1991), 69.

182. John Stafford published statement (1881): 167.

183. Richard Lloyd Anderson, *Investigating the Book of Mormon Witnesses* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1981), 118n1, referring to Martin Harris 1859 interview in Tiffany, "MORMONISM—No. II." Anderson stated (33n15): "Martin Harris seems responsibly reported by Tiffany, with the exception of the discovery of the plates, where Tiffany admits that he is interested in proving Mormonism a production of superstition or spiritualistic influence. Not only does the Tiffany interview show serious inconsistency on this issue, but a reading of all of his installments on Mormonism discloses that he as an interviewer was highly interested in using Harris to support his preconceived explanations." First, Anderson did not inform his readers of Tiffany's introduction (163): "The following narration we took down from the lips of Martin Harris, and read the same to him after it was written, that we might be certain of giving his statement to the world." Second, Anderson did not acknowledge that Harris lived for sixteen years after this interview, but never claimed that Tiffany misquoted his statements in 1859.

184. Martin Harris interview (1859), in Tiffany, "MORMONISM—No. II," 164; Kirkham, *New Witness*, 2:377; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

185. Daniel S. Kendig statement, in *History of Seneca Co., New York ...* (Philadelphia: Everts, Ensign & Everts, 1876), 129, also 95 (for Kendig's birth in 1803 and his service as one of the "first Trustees" of Junius), 81 (for Jacob Chamberlain as constable of Junius and for Waterloo's absorption of Junius in 1829), and 34 (for quote about 1820). Kendig immediately followed that last quote with a reference to Smith's activities at Fayette in 1829-30, when Joseph Jr. was a married man. However, the quoted description clearly referred to Smith's physical appearance and clothing in the early 1820s, not when he was the president of a new church in 1830. Although Wayne County did not exist until 1823, Kendig referred to Palmyra's location in Wayne County, where it was located as of the publication of his statement in the 1870s. This standard practice of identifying the current county for a town does not in itself push Kendig's "about the year 1820" to a post-1822 dating. This reference to Waterloo was in the first edition of my book in 1987, but Vogel's 1994 "Locations of Joseph Smith's Early Treasure Quests," 230, did not include Seneca County in his list of locations. Nor did his article mention Kendig's claim, even in the footnotes.

186. "We have received the following letter from Palmyra, N.Y.," *Painesville Telegraph* (Painesville, OH), 22 Mar. 1831, [2]; Kirkham, *New Witness*, 2:98; Susan Ward Easton Black, *Membership of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830-1848*, 50 vols. (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1984-88), 9:283.

187. Spafford, *Gazetteer of the State of New-York*, 259; *ATLAS OF ONTARIO COUNTY, NEW YORK: From actual Surveys*, 11; "LIST OF LETTERS, Remaining at the Junius Post-Office, in the village of Waterloo, April 1, 1819," *Waterloo Gazette* (Waterloo, NY), 7 Apr. 1819, [3]; "LIST OF LETTERS, Remaining in the Junius Post-Office, at Waterloo, July 1, 1820," *Waterloo Gazette* (Waterloo, NY), 12 July 1820, [3].

188. Anderson, "Reliability of the Early History of Lucy and Joseph Smith," 22.

189. Jackson, *New York 1820 Census Index*, 17 (for date census began); "A Journal of Mary A. Noble," [4] for quote, and [2] for her pre-1828 emphasis.

190. Mrs. S. F. Anderick affidavit (1887); Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined*, 153-54; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming). However, in his rejection of the claims for Smith's presence along the Susquehanna River before fall 1825, Vogel's "Locations of Joseph Smith's Early Treasure Quests" did not cite Anderick. See previous note 112.

191. William Riley Hine statement (ca. 1884-5); Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined*, 155-56; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

192. *History of Geauga and Lake Counties, Ohio, With Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of Its Pioneers and Most Prominent Men* (Philadelphia: Williams Brothers, 1878), 201.

193. Previous note 167; Vogel, "Locations of Joseph Smith's Early Treasure Quests," 214n68 noted this transaction, apparently without recognizing that this was yet another evidence of the pre-1824 chronology his article repeatedly rejected. See previous note 112.

194. Mather, "Early Days of Mormonism," 202-203; also previous note 10 for Richard L. Anderson's evaluation of Mather as an accurate reporter of the statements by those interviewed. In the federal censuses from 1820 to 1840, the only New York state head-of-household with that surname was his father John Collington, a resident of Colesville, Broome County. See Jackson, *New York 1820 Census Index*, 101; Jackson and Teeple, *New York 1830 Census Index*, 146; Ronald Vern Jackson and Gary Ronald Teeple, eds., *New York 1840 Census Index* (Salt Lake City: Accelerated Indexing Systems, 1978), 191; Ronald Vern Jackson, *New York 1850 Census*, 2 vols. (North Salt Lake, UT: Accelerated Indexing Systems, 1977), 1:397, for George Collington of Colesville as the only New Yorker with that surname.

195. *Oxford Gazette* (Oxford, NY), 28 Apr. 1824, transcribed fully in Marquardt and Walters, *Inventing Mormonism*, 84n44.

196. Vogel, "Locations of Joseph Smith's Early Treasure Quests," 202n11.

197. Martin Harris interview (1859), in Tiffany, "MORMONISM—No. II," 164; Kirkham, *New Witness*, 2:377; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming). Harris also simplified the 1822 treasure-digging along the Susquehanna River's border to "Harmony, Pa.," but his previous sentence had stated "in Pennsylvania, and other places."

198. Vogel, "Locations of Joseph Smith's Early Treasure Quests," 202.

199. "Newel Knight's Journal," in *Scraps of Biography: Tenth Book of the Faith-Promoting Series* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1883), 47; William G. Hartley, *They Are My Friends: A History of the Joseph Knight Family, 1825-1850* (Provo, UT: Grandin Book, 1986), 12.

200. Larry C. Porter, "A Study of the Origins of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the States of New York and Pennsylvania, 1816-1831," Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1971, 201; *History of the Church*, 1:87; Hartley, *They Are My Friends*, 52.

201. Emily M. Austin, *Mormonism; or, Life Among the Mormons* (Madison, WI: M. J. Cantwell, 1882), 31-33, which book is cited by Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:311n1, for Smith's account of her 1830 conversion. Writing in 1882, Emily claimed that she and her sister ridiculed Smith's treasure-digging (ca. June 1825). However, she was imposing her

1880s disbelief on her experience of the 1820s, when she believed so earnestly in Joseph Smith as a seer that Emily defied her parents and a court decree, in order to follow Smith.

202. Rev. John Sherer at Colesville, New York, to American Home Missionary Society, "Rev. & Dear Sir," 18 Nov. 1830, in Amistad Research Center, Tilton Library, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana, with photocopy in fd 11, box 20, David J. Buerger papers, Marriott Library; also Marquardt and Walters, *Inventing Mormonism*, 180-87.

203. Jesse, "Joseph Knight's Recollection," 30. Due to the missing first page(s), Hartley, *They Are My Friends*, 18, stated: "When Joseph Smith first met the Knight family is not known." Rather than being destroyed, it is more likely that Knight's first page(s) ended up in the private safe of Joseph Fielding Smith. During his service as official LDS Church Historian from 1920 to 1970, Apostle Smith put in this safe any historical documents he regarded as extremely sensitive. When he became LDS president in January 1970, Joseph Fielding Smith had this safe removed to the vault of the First Presidency, where its contents remain today.

204. Mather, "Early Days of Mormonism," 202-203; Hamilton Child, *Gazetteer and Business Directory of Chenango County, N.Y., for 1869-70* (Syracuse: Journal Office, 1869), 82.

205. Richard Lyman Bushman, "The Recovery of the Book of Mormon," in Noel B. Reynolds, ed., *Book of Mormon Authorship Revisited: The Evidence for Ancient Origins* (Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1997), 27.

206. Mather, "Early Days of Mormonism," 199 (for first quote), 200 (for Isaac Hale's boarding these pre-1824 "diggers"), and 200n (for Joseph McKune's widow Sally as his source); Susquehanna County (PA) deed record book 1:290 (28 June 1833), microfilm, LDS Family History Library; summarized in "Historic Documents Donated to Church," *Deseret News* "Church News," 13 Dec. 1975, 17; also previous note 10 for Richard L. Anderson's evaluation of Mather as an accurate reporter of the statements by those he interviewed.

207. Blackman, *History of Susquehanna County*, 581.

208. Lapham, "Interview with the Father of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet," 307; Kirkham, *New Witness for Christ in America*, 2:386; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:460.

209. Joel Tiffany, "Mormonism. (Continued from May No., p. 51)," *Tiffany's Monthly. Devoted to the Investigation of the Science of Mind*... 5 (June 1859): 110.

210. Bruce A. Van Orden, "Joseph Smith's Developmental Years, 1823-29," in Robert L. Millet and Kent P. Jackson, eds., *Studies in Scripture, Volume Two: The Pearl of Great Price* (Salt Lake City: Randall Book, 1985), 372, also 373.

211. "ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT" (1 Nov. 1825), reprinted in Kirkham, *New Witness for Christ in America*, 1:493-94; Porter, "Study of the Origins of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the States of New York and Pennsylvania, 1816-1831," 124-25; Walker, *Dale Morgan on Early Mormonism*, 325; Black, "Isaac Hale," 98.

212. Isaac Hale affidavit (20 Mar. 1834), in *Susquehanna Register* (Montrose, PA), 1 May 1834, in Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 262-63; Martin Harris interview (1859), in Tiffany, "MORMONISM—No. II," 164; Blackman, *History of Susquehanna County*, 578; Lewis and Lewis, "MORMON HISTORY"; Mather, "Early Days of Mormonism," 200, 200n; Kirkham, *New Witness*, 2:137-38; Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined*, 126-27; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming). Despite those corroborating statements concerning Hale's statement about "the enchantment," Black, "Isaac Hale," 99, claimed: "This allegation lacks support from other possible witnesses and may have its roots in later animosity between Isaac Hale and Joseph."

213. Vogel, "Locations of Joseph Smith's Early Treasure Quests," 219.

214. Account of Lyman Stowell, "oldest son of Aaron and Elizabeth (Pratt) Stowell," in biographical sketch of Lyman's son Wilbur F. Stowell, in *The Biographical Record of Henry County, Illinois, Illustrated* (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing, 1901), 713 (for Lyman's birthdate and genealogy), 714 (for quotes); Jackson, *New York 1820 Census Index*, 451, for

Aaron "Stowell" as resident of Windsor, Broome County, and for Josiah "Stowel" as resident of Bainbridge, Chenango County.

215. John S. Fullmer (at Cambria, Pennsylvania) to Josiah Stowell, Jr., 10 Feb. 1843, photocopy of holograph, LDS archives (for first quote); Josiah Stowell, Jr., (at Chemeny, New York) to Fullmer, 17 Feb. 1843 (for second quote); these letters were reprinted with some variations in "Fullmer Seeks To Know Character of Joseph Smith" and "Josiah Stowell Replies To Letter," *Deseret News* "Church News," 12 May 1985, 10.

216. Account of Lyman Stowell, in *The Biographical Record of Henry County, Illinois*, 713.

217. Madsen, "South Bainbridge (Afton), New York," in Ludlow, *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 3:1400. For this encyclopedia as an official product of LDS headquarters, see page 338, note 60.

218. Widtsoe, *Joseph Smith*, 78; Kirkham, *New Witness*, 1:378, 2:142; Nibley, *Myth Makers*, 154-57.

219. [Benton], "Mormonites"; Walker, *Dale Morgan on Early Mormonism*, 337.

220. *Laws of the State of New-York* ..., 2 vols. (Albany: H. C. Southwick, 1813), 1:114.

221. Cowdery to Phelps, "LETTER VIII," 201; Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:95, and 95n1. Jessee's note observed that Cowdery's "reference is made to an 1826 hearing in South Bainbridge, New York, in which Joseph Smith had been charged with being a 'glass looker.'"

222. Joseph K. Noble to Jonathan B. Turner, 8 Mar. 1842, Illinois State Historical Society, Springfield, photocopy in Wesley P. Walters, "From Occult to Cult with Joseph Smith Jr.," *Journal of Pastoral Practice* 1 (Summer 1977): 132; also quoted in Marquardt and Walters, *Inventing Mormonism*, 70.

223. Twice in late June 1830, Smith was tried and acquitted on charges of being a "disorderly person." See *History of the Church*, 1:88-101; Joseph I. Bentley, "Smith, Joseph: Legal Trials of Joseph Smith," in Ludlow, *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 3:1346; D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books/Smith Research Associates, 1994), 23-25, 286n113.

224. Wesley P. Walters, "Joseph Smith's Bainbridge, N.Y., Court Trials," *Westminster Theological Journal* 36 (Winter 1974): 129; Marquardt and Walters, *Inventing Mormonism*, 70-75, with transcription (75) of the 1826 constable's docket and unnumbered pages after 198, for photograph and transcription of the 1826 justice docket; also Hill, "Joseph Smith and the 1826 Trial." Porter, "Reinventing Mormonism: To Remake or Redo," 138-142, gave the most detailed account of how Reverend Walters and an associate temporarily removed these 1826 documents from the court house without authorization. As a BYU professor of religion and specialist in the New York origins of Mormonism, Porter concluded (142): "Some felt they had tampered with the evidence during their disappearance. I personally believe that those documents that were returned are valid and intact. But, of course—and this is the problem—that cannot be proven."

225. Kirkham, *New Witness*, 1:487 (for first quote), 488 (for second quote), 2:359 (for last quote).

226. Nibley, *Myth Makers*, 142. However, Nibley to John Walker, 24 Sept. 1979, explained that this book "was not meant to be a 'scholarly' study but only a rather offhand but thoroughly justified spoofing of Joseph Smith's critics," photocopy in fd 29, box 154, Marquardt papers.

227. For example, see the matter-of-fact presentation of the 1826 trial by devoted Mormon authors Edwin Brown Firmage and R. Collin Mangrum, *Zion in the Courts: A Legal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 48-50; Black, "Isaac Hale," 100; Gordon A. Madsen, "Joseph Smith's 1826 Trial: The Legal Setting," *BYU Studies* 30 (Spring 1990): 91-108; Allen and Leonard, *Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 41-42; Bentley, "Joseph Smith: Legal Trials," and Madsen, "South Bainbridge (Afton), New York," in Ludlow, *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 3:1346, 1400. However,

reflecting the approach of Kirkham and Nibley, the 1977 biography by Gibbons, *Joseph Smith*, 45, referred to the "falsity" of "this spurious record" of the 1826 testimony. For the *Encyclopedia* as an official product of LDS headquarters, see page 338, note 60.

228. Hedengren, *In Defense of Faith*, 195-234; Madsen, "Joseph Smith's 1826 Trial," 92-97.

This provides an excellent example of how intelligent readers can make opposite claims about what a scholar has written. Marquardt and Wesley P. Walters, *Inventing Mormonism: Tradition and the Historical Record*, 86n86, wrote: "Madsen shows no knowledge that the proceedings were a pre-trial examination." By contrast, three authors claimed that Madsen proved that "the [1826] case was a preliminary hearing, not a trial," in William J. Hamblin, Daniel C. Peterson, and George L. Mitton, "Mormon in the Fiery Furnace: Or, Loftes Tryk Goes to Cambridge," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 6 (1994), no. 2:33, 33n67.

Hamblin, Peterson, and Mitton were not only wrong, but they claimed Madsen had proved something that he specifically denied twice. First, "None of the reports hints that the proceeding against Joseph Smith was a preliminary examination for a felony or other offense beyond Justice Neely's jurisdiction" (Madsen, 98). Then, in response to Reverend Walters's claim for "a preliminary hearing and a trial having taken place in two successive days," Madsen wrote: "We have already identified at least five reasons to reject that possibility" (99, emphasis in original). Those were the only instances where Madsen's article used the terms "preliminary examination" or "preliminary hearing." On the other hand, including the article's title, there were twenty occurrences of "1826 trial," "Joseph Smith's trial," or "the trial" with reference to Smith's court proceeding, plus six references to his being "tried." In attacking a book by John L. Brooke, the FARMS polemicists made an obviously false statement about the contents of Madsen's article. On the other hand, the statement of Marquardt and Walters was not false, but it was misleading. Madsen demonstrated that this 1826 case was a trial and not "a pre-trial examination," whereas Marquardt and Walters did not provide any further evidence of which "Madsen shows no knowledge."

Madsen's article is also the point of reference for demonstrating a deceptive statement by FARMS polemicist Louis Midgley. In his "F. M. Brodie—The Fasting Hermit and Very Saint of Ignorance: A Biographer and Her Legend," *FARMS Review of Books: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 8 (1996), no. 2:225n287, Midgley claimed: "There are no newspaper accounts, letters, or diaries that hint that Joseph Smith as 'farm boy' was a 'treasure' seeker prior to the publication of such charges by Obadiah [sic] Dogberry (aka Abner Cole) beginning in June and July 1830." As demonstration of the fundamental dishonesty of Midgley's 1996 claim, three years earlier he claimed to have read the articles by Madsen, Wesley Walters, and Marvin Hill about the manuscript documents of this 1826 court action against the treasure-seeking of Joseph Smith, the farm boy. See Midgley, "Playing with Half a Decker: The Countercult Religious Tradition Confronts the Book of Mormon," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 5 (1993): 144n56.

Fellow FARMS contributors David B. Honey and Daniel C. Peterson have described Midgley as "the most vociferous defender of the faith," in their "Advocacy and Inquiry in the Writing of Latter-day Saint History," *BYU Studies* 31 (Spring 1991): 172n1; also for Midgley as an author of "polemical" articles, see Peterson, "Editor's Introduction," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 4 (1992): ix, note 6. In my opinion, Midgley is an LDS polemicist without scruples, willing to say anything to attack whomever he regards as an opponent. For the meaning of polemics and the FARMS-BYU relationship, see my Preface.

229. Marshall, "Original Prophet," 229-30; Purple, "Joseph Smith, the Originator of Mormonism," [3]; Kirkham, *New Witness*, 1:480, 481, 482, 483, 2:360-62, 365-67; Walker, *Dale Morgan on Early Mormonism*, 241, 327-29; Bushman, *Joseph Smith*, 75; Madsen, "Joseph

Smith's 1826 Trial," 105; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming); also Cyrus Smalling letter, 10 Mar. 1841, in E. G. Lee, *The Mormons, or, Knavery Exposed* (Philadelphia: Webber and Fenimore, 1841), 13.

230. Postscript signed "Josiah Stowell By J Stowell Jr.," in Josiah Stowell, Jr., to John S. Fullmer, 17 Feb. 1843.

231. In his *Joseph Smith and the Origins of The Book of Mormon* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1985), 45n, non-Mormon David Persuitte interpreted defense testimony negatively but still observed: "If summaries of testimony by Joseph and the two other witnesses seem confused about assertions that Joseph was a 'seer,' it is because the notetaker took it upon himself to add 'pretended' to the descriptions of Joseph's use of the peepstone."

232. See previous notes 225, 227.

233. Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith*, 91-92; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:309-10.

234. Lucy Mack Smith manuscript history (1845), 74; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:338.

235. Anderson, "The Mature Joseph Smith and Treasure Searching," 547n7. I follow the custom of early Mormons (beginning with William W. Phelps in 1833) who referred to this hill as "Cumorah," but I am not asserting that this location in New York state was the Hill Cumorah described in the *Book of Mormon* narrative of ancient peoples. Nor am I asserting that Joseph Smith so regarded it. See "The Book of Mormon," *The Evening and The Morning Star* 1 (Jan. 1833): [1, in this issue]; Rex C. Reeve, Jr., and Richard O. Cowan, "The Hill Called Cumorah," in Porter, Backman, and Black, *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint History: New York*, 71-91 (esp. 73-74); David A. Palmer, "Cumorah," in Ludlow, *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 1:346-47; William J. Hamblin, "Basic Methodological Problems with the Anti-Mormon Approach to the Geography and Archaeology of the Book of Mormon," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies: Foundation for Ancient Research & Mormon Studies* 2 (Spring 1993): 172-73, with correction in Hamblin, "An Apologist for the Critics: Brent Lee Metcalfe's Assumptions and Methodologies," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 6 (1994), no. 1:476-79.

236. "The Birth of Mormonism," *Deseret Evening News*, 10 Nov. 1888, [2], also: "Mr. Hyde, though nearly ninety years old, is as yet of a bright intellect and displays a marvelous memory."

237. Samantha Payne affidavit (1881); also Kelley and Braden, *Public Discussion of the Issues* ("THE BRADEN AND KELLEY DEBATE"), 350, in revised form; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

238. Previous note 35 for start of Smith family's treasure-digging; also Peter Ingersoll affidavit (1833); Willard Chase affidavit (1833); Martin Harris interview (1859), in Tiffany, "MORMONISM—No. II," 169; Child, *Gazetteer and Business Directory of Wayne County*, 53; Kirkham, *New Witness*, 2:134-35, 380-81; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

239. Tucker, *Origin, Rise, and Progress of Mormonism*, 21; also Child, *Gazetteer and Business Directory of Wayne County*, 53; McIntosh, *History of Wayne County, New York*, 150.

240. N[athaniel]. W. Howell, W[alter]. Hubbell, A[nsel]. Eddy, Henry Chapin, Jared Willson, and Lewis Jenkins to Rev. Ancil Beach, Jan. 1832, copy in Hubbell's handwriting, fd 1, box 6, Walter Hubbell Collection, Princeton University Library, Princeton, New Jersey, with photocopy in fd 7, box 154, Marquardt papers; also Marquardt and Walters, *Inventing Mormonism*, 67.

241. Tucker, *Origin, Rise, and Progress of Mormonism*, 39.

242. "We have received the following letter from Palmyra, N.Y.," *Painesville Telegraph* (Painesville, OH), 22 Mar. 1831, [2].

243. Richard L. Bushman, "Treasure-seeking Then and Now," *Sunstone* 11 (Sept. 1987):

5; Marvin S. Hill, untitled review in *BYU Studies* 30 (Fall 1990): 72; also Bushman, "Recovery of the Book of Mormon," 26.

244. William W. Phelps to E. D. Howe, 15 Jan. 1831, in Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 273 (emphasis added); also Walker, *Dale Morgan on Early Mormonism*, 351.

245. Walter Dean Bowen, "The Versatile W. W. Phelps: Mormon Writer, Educator, and Pioneer," M.S. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1958, 7, 18-19, 23, 26. For nine miles as the distance, see previous note 37.

246. Martin Harris interview (1859), in Tiffany, "MORMONISM—No. II," 164; Kirkham, *New Witness*, 2:377; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming); also Tucker, *Origin, Rise, and Progress of Mormonism*, 38-39, listed George Proper among believers in Smith's "money-digging or gold bible-finding." The 1830 federal census verifies the spelling of Proper's name and the fact that he was a resident of Palmyra.

247. Isaac Hale affidavit (1834); Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 263; Kirkham, *New Witness*, 2:137-38; Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined*, 126-27; Cowdery to Phelps, "LETTER VIII," 198; Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:86.

248. Stephen E. Robinson untitled review, *BYU Studies* 27 (Fall 1987): 94. This was the only evidence that he might be a sincere apologist struggling for a perspective he could regard as faithful. If that had been his approach throughout the review, I could regard him with compassion. However, throughout the rest of his review, Robinson showed himself as a mean-spirited polemicist eager to use any insult, distortion, mislabeling, deletion, false analogy, semantic trick, and logical fallacy to defend officially approved LDS history. Within that context the quoted paragraph appears as simply a vulnerable-sounding weapon from the arsenal of an unrelenting polemicist. For acknowledgement that Robinson is a "polemical" reviewer, see Daniel C. Peterson, "Editor's Introduction," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 4 (1992): ix, note 6. See also pages 328 (note 2), 407 (note 3), 411 (note 22), 518 (note 303).

249. Joshua Stafford statement (1833).

250. "Money digging," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 16 Feb. 1825, [1].

251. Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith*, 37, 45, 49, 54, 56; Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New England Heritage*, 69, 101-102, 109; Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:18-19; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:234-38, 576-77, 589-90.

252. "MONEY DIGGING," *Lyons Advertiser* (Lyons, NY), 29 Aug. 1827, [1]; also *ATLAS OF WAYNE CO., NEW YORK*, 4, for the Palmyra-Lyons distance.

253. Harris, "Myths of Onanda," 14.

254. "Money digging," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 16 Feb. 1825, [1]; also Benjamin Franklin, "Busy-Body, No. 8," *American Weekly Mercury*, 27 Mar. 1729, in Leonard W. Larabee, William B. Willcox, and Barbara B. Oberg, eds., *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, 32+ vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959-96+), 1:137; "IMPOSITION AND BLASPHEMY!!—MONEY-DIGGERS, &c.," *The Gem: A Literary and Miscellaneous Journal* (Rochester, NY), 15 May 1830, 15, reprinted in Kirkham, *New Witness*, 2:47-49; "The Money Diggers," *The Casket: Flowers of Literature, Wit, and Sentiment* 5 (June 1830): 246; Caleb Butler, *History of the Town of Groton* (Boston: T. R. Marvin, 1848), 256; Joshua V. H. Clark, *Onondaga; or Reminiscences of Earlier and Later Times* ..., 2 vols. (Syracuse, NY: Stoddard and Babcock, 1849), 2:226; "History of the Divining Rod," 320-21; John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: By the author, 1854), 1:268; Josiah F. Goodhue, *History of the Town of Shoreham, Vermont* ... (Middlebury, VT: A. H. Copeland, 1861), 145; Hemenway, *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, 1:785; William Little, *The History of Weare, New Hampshire, 1735-1888* (Lowell, MA: S. W. Huse, 1888), 589; Florence O. Meade, "Folk Tales from the Virgin Islands," *Journal of American Folk Lore* 45 (July-Sept. 1932): 369; Thomas R. Brendle and William S. Troxell, *Pennsylvania German Folk Tales, Legends, Once-Upon-A-Time Stories, Maxims, and Sayings* (Norristown: Pennsylvania German Society, 1944), 46-50; Dengler, "Tales of Buried Treasure in Rochester," 180; Richard M. Dorson,

Jonathan Draws the Long Bow: New England Popular Tales and Legends (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1946), 173-87; Gerard T. Hurley, "Buried Treasure Tales in America," *Western Folklore Quarterly* 10 (July 1951): 205, 208; Horace P. Beck, *The Folklore of Maine* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1957), 156; Ernest W. Baughman, *Type and Motif-Index of the Folktales of England and North America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1966), 375; Byrd Howell Granger, *A Motif Index for Lost Mines and Treasures ...* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1977), 228; Alan Taylor, "The Early Republic's Supernatural Economy: Treasure Seeking in the American Northeast, 1780-1830," *American Quarterly* 38 (Spring 1986): 12-13; Ted Luymes, "Folk Magic Motifs in the Money Digging Lore of the American Northeast, 1750-1850," *The Thetean: A Student Journal of History* (Provo, UT: Beta Iota Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta, Brigham Young University, 1987), 22-23.

255. J. H. G. Grattan and Charles Singer, *Anglo-Saxon Magical Medicine: Illustrated Specially From the Semi-Pagan Text "Lacnunga"* (London: Wellcome Historical Medical Museum/Oxford University Press, 1952), 34-35.

256. John A. Clark, "GLEANINGS BY THE WAY. No. VI," *Episcopal Recorder* 18 (5 Sept. 1840): 94; also Clark, *Gleanings By the Way* (Philadelphia: W. J. & J. K. Simon, 1842), 225 (for date of conversation), 226 (for role of Joseph Sr.), 227 (for the moving chest); for Clark as the Episcopal minister in 1827, see "The laying of the cornerstone of Zion Church," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 5 Oct. 1827, [2].

257. Martin Harris interview (1859), in Tiffany, "MORMONISM—No. II," 165; Kirkham, *New Witness*, 2:377-78; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

258. William E. Berrett and Alma P. Burton, eds., *Readings in L.D.S. Church History from Original Manuscripts*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1953), 1:63; also Ole A. Jensen, "Testimony Given to Ole A. Jensen[, John Godfrey, and James Keep] by Martin Harris, a Witness of the Book of Mormon. given at Clarkston July 1875," LDS archives.

259. Carl Carmer, *Listen for a Lonesome Drum: A York State Chronicle* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1936), 177.

260. E. Cecil McGavin, *Cumrah's "Gold Bible"* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1940), 40, which cited (282) Carmer's book and the pages for his "Magic Hill" chapter-title.

261. Christopher M. Stafford statement (1885). He married Orrin Porter Rockwell's sister. Rockwell's birth appears as January or June 1813, 1814, 1815. William Clayton diary, 18 April 1844, gives his age as "29" (i.e., June 1814 or Jan. 1815). Nauvoo temple stated June 1814, while it is 1813 in Ancestral File. Easton-Black, *Membership*, 37:41 1-12, shows most sources give 1815 as his birth and she affirms January 1815.

262. Tucker, *Origin, Rise, and Progress of Mormonism*, 39.

263. *Journal of Discourses*, 19:37 (B. Young/1877).

264. Clark, "GLEANINGS BY THE WAY. No. VI," 94; also Clark, *Gleanings By the Way*, 227.

265. Brigham Young office journal, 21 Nov. 1861, LDS archives, with typescript in fd 10, box 11, Donald R. Moorman papers, Archives and Special Collections, Donnell and Elizabeth Stewart Library, Weber State University, Ogden, Utah.

These accounts are similar to the testimony of one of the workmen who appeared at Smith's 1826 trial. However, they represent two different occasions in which Smith and a group of treasure-seekers confronted a moving treasure-chest. Martin Harris, an eye-witness to the treasure-digging that broke a piece from the box, affirmed that this "happened [on the Hill Cumorah] after Joseph had found the plates." Harris was not involved in Smith's activities until 1827, and the workman's 1826 testimony described a different location, an earlier time, and made no reference to breaking off a piece of the treasure-chest. See Berrett and Burton, *Readings in L.D.S. Church History*, 1:63; Marshall, "Original Prophet," 230; Kirkham, *New Witness*, 2:361-62, 366-67; Ronald W. Walker, "Martin Harris: Mormonism's Early Convert," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 19 (Winter 1986): 36-39.

266. Norman R. Bowen, ed., *A Gentile Account of Life In Utah's Dixie, 1872-73: Elizabeth*

Kane's St. George Journal (Salt Lake City: Tanner Trust Fund/University of Utah Library, 1995), 74 (quotes arranged in different order for my narrative); previous note 261.

267. Lorenzo Saunders interview (12 Nov. 1884), 12.

268. Martin Harris interview (1859), in Tiffany, "MORMONISM—No. II," 165; Kirkham, *New Witness*, 2:378; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

269. Purple, "Joseph Smith, the Originator of Mormonism," [3]; Kirkham, *New Witness*, 1:476, 2:363; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

270. Jonathan Thompson statement in Purple, "Joseph Smith, the Originator of Mormonism," [3]; Marshall, "Original Prophet," 230; Kirkham, *New Witness*, 2:367 (for quote), 362 (for more detailed statement in court record); Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

271. [Orsamus Turner], "ORIGIN OF THE MORMON IMPOSTURE," *Littell's Living Age* 30 (July-Sept. 1851): 429 (for first quote and for Turner's "juvenile" association with Smith), 430 (for second quote); Turner, *History of the Pioneer Settlement of Phelps and Gorham's Purchase, and Morris's Reserve* (Rochester, NY: Erastus Darrow, 1851), 214, 216, as above. Turner was probably the unidentified author of a letter from Manchester, New York, on 8 Aug. 1856, printed as "Mormonism in Its Infancy," *Newark Daily Advertiser* (Newark, NJ), an undated clipping in Charles L. Woodward, "First Half Century of Mormonism," 1:125, microfilm, New York Public Library, New York City, New York, quoted in ch. 5.

272. Walker, "Joseph Smith: The Palmyra Seer"; Ronald W. Walker, "A Way Station," *Sunstone* 10 (Apr. 1985): 58; Alan Taylor, "Rediscovering the Context of Joseph Smith Jr.'s Treasure-Seeking," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 19 (Winter 1986): 23.

273. Joseph Smith, "In obedience to our promise, we give the following answers to questions . . .," *Elders' Journal of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints* 1 (July 1838): 43; compare *History of the Church*, 3:29.

274. Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith*, 92; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:310.

275. Bushman, *Joseph Smith*, 47; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:53n2.

276. Brigham Young untitled talk, 23 June 1850, in *Deseret News* [weekly], 29 June 1850, 20 (emphasis added).

277. Walker, *Dale Morgan on Early Mormonism*, 370n26. I reversed the order of these two sentences.

278. Anderson untitled review (1991): 66.

279. Wallace Miner statement (1932), reporting William Stafford's statements to him, M. Wilford Poulson notebook, fd 4, box 6, Poulson papers, Lee Library.

280. Taylor, "Rediscovering the Context of Joseph Smith Jr.'s Treasure-Seeking," 21.

281. Hill, "Money Digging Folklore and the Beginnings of Mormonism," 483.

282. Walters, "Joseph Smith's Bainbridge, N.Y., Court Trials"; Walters, "From Occult to Cult"; Persuitte, *Joseph Smith*. Four years after the death of Reverend Wesley P. Walters, his longtime research associate H. Michael Marquardt published their findings as the co-authored *Inventing Mormonism*, which concluded (197) that "we have long since abandoned the simple prophet-fraud dichotomy that others still find so compelling." However, during a conversation at his home in 1975 Walters emphatically told me that Joseph Smith was a "fraud and charlatan." This Protestant minister expressed amazement that I regarded Smith's treasure-digging experiences as compatible with his claims to be a divinely chosen prophet. Reverend Walters may have changed his views about this in the decade after our conversation, but personally I doubt that he did.

283. Anderson, "The Mature Joseph Smith and Treasure Searching," 533, 543, 497, 544; Bushman, *Joseph Smith*, 75.

284. Van Orden, "Joseph Smith's Developmental Years," 372, 373, 374.

285. Even as he tried to present a positive view of Smith's treasure-seeking experience,

Bushman, "Treasure-seeking Then and Now," 5, stated his rationalist bias: "It seemed so entirely incongruous with everything I knew of Joseph, like asking me to believe that my grandmother was a lifelong member of the Mafia." Even after stating that treasure-seeking was part of early America's mix of folk magic and popular religion, Bushman acknowledged (6) his ambivalent bias: "Joseph had no reason to believe that it was all superstitious hogwash, as we are inclined to think today. ... Perhaps we are the ones who are narrow and blind, not the treasure-seekers. ... Should we not be stripped of worldly culture just as we wish the Lord had repudiated the magic in his [Joseph Smith's]? ... Far from condemning him for his failure to cast off his culture more decisively, we should look to ourselves, and ask if we are as effectively redirecting our lives and our culture to godly purposes."

286. Taylor, "The Early Republic's Supernatural Economy," 22; also Taylor, "Rediscovering the Context of Joseph Smith Jr.'s Treasure-Seeking," 19, 21, 23-24.

287. Shipp, "Prophet Puzzle," 14.

288. Taylor, "The Early Republic's Supernatural Economy," 26-27; Luymes, "Folk Magic Motifs in the Money Digging Lore," 24-25.

289. Walker, "Persisting Idea of American Treasure Hunting," 433-34; Taylor, "The Early Republic's Supernatural Economy," 22; Taylor, "Rediscovering the Context of Joseph Smith Jr.'s Treasure-Seeking," 23-24.

290. Robert Fitz-Roy, *Narrative of the Surveying Voyages of His Majesty's Ships Adventure and Beagle, Between the Years 1826 and 1836* ..., 3 vols. (London: Henry Colburn, 1839), 2:389; Harris, "Myths of Onanda," 7-8; Dengler, "Tales of Buried Treasure in Rochester."

291. Joseph Lewis, "Review of Mormonism: Rejoinder to Elder Cadwell," *Amboy Journal* (Amboy, IL), 11 June 1879, [1], photocopy in fd 8, box 149, Marquardt papers, Marriott Library.

292. Joseph Capron statement (1833); David Stafford affidavit (5 Dec. 1833), in Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 249, also 12; James H. Hunt, *Mormonism* (St. Louis, MO: Ustick and Davies, 1844), 6; Blackman, *History of Susquehanna County*, 580-81; Lewis and Lewis, "MORMON HISTORY"; William Riley Hine statement (1884-5); Henry A. Sayer affidavit (1885); Christopher M. Stafford statement (1885); Joseph Rogers affidavit (16 May 1887), in *Naked Truths About Mormonism* 1 (Apr. 1888): 1; Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined*, 119, 141, 157, 164, 166, 161; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

293. Cowdery to Phelps, "LETTER VIII," 200; Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:91; Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith*, 81; William B. Smith, "The Old Soldier's Testimony," *Saints' Herald* 31 (4 Oct. 1884): 643; Hyrum L. Andrus and Helen Mae Andrus, comps., *They Knew The Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1974), 1, 2; Hartley, *They Are My Friends*, 213-14; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:289, 291, 505, 512.

294. Smith, "Answers to Questions," 43; *History of the Church*, 3:29.

295. Taylor, "The Early Republic's Supernatural Economy," 24.

296. Cowdery to Phelps, "LETTER VIII," 197; also Lucy Mack Smith manuscript history (1845), 50; Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith*, 85; Smith, "Old Soldier's Testimony," 643; Faulring, *American Prophet's Record*, 7; Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:8-9, 85-86; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:297, 504-505.

297. Marvin S. Hill, *Quest for Refuge: The Mormon Flight from American Pluralism* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989), 21; Walker, "Joseph Smith: The Palmyra Seer," 470; also Walker, *Dale Morgan on Early Mormonism*, 231: "Had Joseph Smith not taken up with peepstones, there would be no Mormon church today."

Notes to Chapter Three

1. Pearson H. Corbett, *Hyrum Smith, Patriarch* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1963), 453.

2. Reed C. Durham, "Is There No Help For the Widow's Son?" [presidential address, Mormon History Association, 20 Apr. 1974], with unofficial transcript in Mervin B. Hogan, *An Underground Presidential Address* (Salt Lake City: Research Lodge of Utah, F. & A. M., Masonic Temple, 1974), 10-12, in *Mormon Miscellaneous* 1 (Oct. 1975): 11-16, in Jack Adamson and Reed C. Durham Jr., *Joseph Smith and Masonry: No Help For the Widow's Son: Two Papers on the Influence of the Masonic Movement on Joseph Smith and His Mormon Church* (Nauvoo, IL: Martin Publishing, 1980); Arturo ("Art") deHoyos, *The Masonic Emblem & Parchments Of Joseph & Hyrum Smith* (N.p., 1982), copies in fds 15-17, box 19, David J. Buerger papers, Manuscripts Division, Department of Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City; also following discussion and sources for meaning of talisman.

3. Stephen E. Robinson untitled review, *BYU Studies* 27 (Fall 1987): 91, stated: "I happen to have among my cherished possessions a St. Christopher medallion, but that does not make me a practicing Roman Catholic any more than my menorah makes me Jewish or my Egyptian religious papyri make me a closet pagan. Moreover, my possession of these objects certainly does not prove that my brother, Reid, is a Catholic, Jew, or pagan."

Typical of Robinson's approach, he excluded from his polemical analogy every factor that would make it parallel to my book's discussion of Joseph Smith's Jupiter talisman and of the magic parchments preserved patrilineally by descendants of Joseph's brother Hyrum Smith. As a polemical reviewer for the Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, Stephen E. Robinson should be subject to the same standards proclaimed in an official publication by FARMS: "Weak parallels, obviously, should be identified and set aside wherever possible." FARMS has not claimed that false analogy is an appropriate way to defend the faith. See Todd Compton, "The Spirituality of the Outcast in the Book of Mormon," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies: Foundation for Ancient Research & Mormon Studies* 2 (Spring 1993): 145; also for acknowledgement that Robinson is a "polemical" reviewer, see Daniel C. Peterson, "Editor's Introduction," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 4 (1992): ix, note 6. For meaning of polemics, see Preface.

Major reconstruction is necessary to transform Robinson's argument into an honest analogy. Of the examples he provided, I select the "St. Christopher medallion" and Roman Catholicism. Readers will find that the length of such an analogy is not the reason why this BYU polemicist avoided honest parallels to evaluate my book's presentation of evidence and interpretation. Here is that analogy, when actually parallel to the evidence in my book:

1. When Stephen E. Robinson was a twenty-four-year-old Protestant evangelist, his hometown newspaper in rural New York state claimed that a renegade priest had until recently given the young man secret instructions concerning Roman Catholicism. The newspaper identified this Catholic priest by name, listed his nearby town of residence, and claimed that this priest's instructions to young "Steve," included a rosary, an old book of Roman Catholic beliefs and objects, and other unnamed "implements of popery."

2. Stephen issued no public denial of this story in his hometown newspaper. However, the newspaper's report alienated some converts to the new evangelical church that Steve had organized three months before the newspaper's attack on his reputation and sincerity as a born-again Protestant. Six months later Robinson and his followers left their hostile neighborhood.

3. When Stephen E. Robinson was twenty-eight years old and living in Ohio with a thousand of his followers, several of his New York neighbors published affidavits about him in an anti-Catholic publication. These neighbors and even his own father-in-law claimed that the erstwhile Protestant evangelist and "Father Robinson" had frequently attended Mass when Steve was a teenager. Some of these

neighbors also claimed they saw Steve saying the rosary. These affidavits were published in a book printed a few miles away from the Ohio headquarters of Robinson's Protestant organization.

4. Stephen E. Robinson did not write a letter of protest to the book's author (publisher of a nearby newspaper), nor did Robinson publish a denial of the published claims that he had once performed Roman Catholic rites. The official magazine of Steve's church in Ohio made no reference to these affidavits. Nor did it publish anyone else's denials of the New York affidavits.

5. During the last five years of Steve's life, he lived in Illinois, where he and two of his brothers served as editors for his church's newspapers. Their former neighbors' affidavits about the secret Catholicism of father-and-son Robinson were reprinted in books hostile to Robinson and in a newspaper nearby in Illinois, yet his church's three official newspapers at the new headquarters published no denials or response. However, these newspapers published sexually explicit attacks on the credibility of Steve's former associate who claimed that the evangelist was allegedly engaged in illicit relationships with female followers.

6. Three years after the senior Robinson's death, one of Steve's disaffected followers published a pamphlet which claimed that in Ohio he had seen Steve's father and other New York converts secretly saying the rosary in the most sacred building of Robinson's Protestant church. However, when this disaffected follower tried to instruct others how to say the rosary, Robinson's evangelical church excommunicated him. The newspapers of Steve's church in Illinois condemned this excommunicated follower, without actually mentioning his claims. None of Father Robinson's children defended their deceased father against the published accusation that he had secretly followed Catholic practices even as a high leader of this Protestant organization.

7. One year after Stephen E. Robinson and his brother Reid became martyrs for this church, their mother prepared a history and defense of her most prominent son's religious claims. In this first-ever response to affidavits by the family's New York neighbors that the Robinsons neglected their farm and other necessary work in order to say the rosary, Mother Robinson seemed to confirm that her family practiced Roman Catholic rituals. In the first draft of her dictated history, Mother Robinson stated, "let not my reader suppose that because I shall pursue another topic for a season that we stopt our labor and went on pilgrimages to shrines of the Holy Church's saints or said the rosary to the neglect of all kinds of business. We never during our lives suffered one important interest to swallow up every other obligation but whilst we worked with our hands we endeavored to remember the welfare of our souls." Stephen's mother did not deny her family's participation in Roman Catholic activities but simply affirmed that these did not prevent family members from accomplishing other, equally important work. However, when her son's evangelical church published Mother Robinson's history, the editors deleted this quotation. In an effort to deny any involvement of the Robinson family in Roman Catholicism at any time, a later polemicist ridiculed a historian's conclusion that Mother Robinson's censored statement was acknowledging family participation in Catholicism. The polemicist wrote: "If I suggest the reader need not suppose I spend my entire summer vacation lying on a beach in Tahiti eating bon-bons, that hardly constitutes testimony that I spend any part of my vacation so doing" (91).

8. Fifty-eight years after the death of Stephen E. Robinson, his widow's stepson showed a "silver medal" to one of the top leaders of Robinson's still-growing church. The stepson wasn't religious and didn't know what the inscriptions on this item meant. However, the stepson said that Robinson's widow frequently told others that her beloved husband Stephen highly valued this silver medal. Thirty-six years

later, a devout believer in Steve's life and teachings managed to persuade the stepson to sell this "silver piece" for \$50. The official magazine of Steve's now-large religious organization quickly announced the acquisition of this item, with others sacred to Steve's followers. The collector-disciple often lectured and displayed this "silver medal" at "education week" programs sponsored by the large university run by this church.

9. Nearly 120 years after Steve Robinson and his brother Reid were murdered by opponents of their church, descendants published an official biography of Reid Robinson. The biography listed some "sacred relics" that Reid's descendants had preserved and passed down patrilineally, and the biography implied that these relics had originally belonged to Reid's father. At the father's death, Reid was his oldest living son, and the father had formally conferred his most sacred blessings upon Reid. His descendants did not understand the meaning of these "sacred relics." The biography described one artifact as a set of black beads, individually attached to loops of string. Other artifacts included parchments with unusual symbols and inscriptions in a language the current Robinson family did not understand.

10. Almost exactly 130 years after the death of the Robinson brothers, a prominent instructor in their church's modern educational system announced the real identity of Steve's "silver medal." It was a St. Christopher medallion, inscribed exactly according to the instructions in an old book about Roman Catholic beliefs and objects. In response, one of the religion professors at the church's university wrote: "If the coin were, that fact alone would tell us nothing about what it meant to him. But in fact there is insufficient evidence to prove that the artifact ever belonged to him. The [St. Christopher] medal was completely unknown until ... an aging [stepson] sold it to [the collector]. The only evidence that it was [Stephen's] is an affidavit of [the stepson], who stood to gain financially by so representing it" (91).

11. Eight years after the announcement concerning the St. Christopher medal, a researcher published photographs and analysis of the "sacred relics" passed from eldest son to eldest son among Reid Robinson's descendants. The beaded "relic" was actually a rosary. The Robinson family's parchments were actually inscribed in Latin and contained instructions for saying the rosary, quotations from the Latin Vulgate Bible, and references to St. Christopher.

12. At this point, readers can decide the merits of Stephen E. Robinson's now-honest analogy:

a. Is it (91) "willful distortion" to call those artifacts "the [Stephen Robinson] family parchments"?

b. Is it logical to claim that the above history of those artifacts among Reid Robinson's descendants (91) "prove[s] only that [Reid] once owned them, nothing more. It does not tell us why he had them, how he got them, what he thought of them, whether or how he may have used them, or what his brother [Stephen E. Robinson] may have thought about them?"

c. Do readers agree that (92) "the real empirical evidence here is just too weak to *prove* that the [St. Christopher] coin was really [Stephen's], let alone to extrapolate a conclusion from mere possession of the artifact that [Stephen] must have believed in and practiced [Roman Catholicism]"?

d. Concerning the numbered paragraphs 1-11, does the reader agree that (91) "such 'proof' violates logic, wouldn't stand up in court, and shouldn't stand up in historical research"?

As I state in this book's introduction, parallels have a significant role in historical

discourse and understanding. False analogy should have no role in any discourse, particularly by a professor of the New Testament.

4. Richard Lloyd Anderson, "The Mature Joseph Smith and Treasure Searching," *BYU Studies* 24 (Fall 1984): 540-41; *The Book of Mormon*, published at Salt Lake City in various editions, with verse citations (similar to the Bible) according to the names of its constituent books.

5. [Peter Buchan], *Witchcraft Detected & Prevented; or, the School of Black Art Newly Opened ... particularly from Scott's [sic] DISCOVERY OF WITCHCRAFT ... It will also contain a variety of the most approved CHARMS in MAGIC; RECEIPTS in MEDICINE, NATURAL PHILOSOPHY, and CHEMISTRY, &c. BY A MEMBER OF THE SCHOOL OF BLACK ART, ITALY* (Peterhead, [Eng.]: P. Buchan, 1823), with original paper covers at back of the subsequently leather-bound copy at Watkinson Library, Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut (leather covers verified as a later binding by associate curator Alesandra Schmidt); also its entry in Charles Welsh and William H. Tillinghast, comps., *Catalogue of English and American Chapbooks in Harvard College Library* (1905; Detroit: Singing Tree Press/Book Tower, 1968), 120, no. 2129; *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 754 vols. (London: Mansell, 1968-81), 669:638.

6. Joseph Sr. first moved to Palmyra, where the *Book of Mormon* was later published. In between those two events, the Smiths moved to adjacent Manchester. For convenience, I often use Palmyra generically to refer to residents and events there and in Manchester, New York.

7. Lucy Mack Smith manuscript history (1845), 46 (as typed-in pagination), transcribed by Martha Jane Coray, photocopy in Marriott Library; quoted in Anderson, "The Mature Joseph Smith and Treasure Searching," 543, in Marvin S. Hill, "Money Digging Folklore and the Beginnings of Mormonism: An Interpretive Suggestion," *BYU Studies* 24 (Fall 1984): 482; Dan Vogel, comp. and ed., *Early Mormon Documents*, 1+ vols. (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996-), 1:285. For Lucy Mack Smith's manuscript history, my page citations follow the pagination in the photocopy at the Marriott Library, while Vogel gives different page numbers as his internal citations.

8. Marvin S. Hill, *Quest for Refuge: The Mormon Flight from American Pluralism* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989), 4; compare Anderson, "The Mature Joseph Smith and Treasure Searching," 543.

9. Rawlinson MS D252, folio 94b, Manuscript Department, Bodleian Library, Oxford University, Oxford, England; Northcote W. Thomas, *Crystal Gazing: Its History and Practice* (London: Alexander Moring, 1905), 86.

10. Peter de Abano, "Heptameron: or, Magical Elements," in Henry Cornelius Agrippa [alleged], *Henry Cornelius Agrippa: His Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy*, trans. Robert Turner (London: J. Harrison, 1655), 86, also 1665 edition (84, 86), 1783 edition (145, 147); Francis Barrett, *The Magus, or Celestial Intelligencer; Being A Complete System of Occult Philosophy*, 2 vols. in 1 (London: Lackington, Allen, 1801), II:115.

11. "John Lawrence" [Johann Lorenz von] Mosheim, *An Ecclesiastical History ...*, trans. Archibald Maclaine, 6 vols. (Charlestown, MA: Samuel Etheridge, 1810-11), 1:218-19; also Abraham Rees, *The Cyclopaedia ...*, 1st Am. ed., 41 vols. (Philadelphia: Samuel F. Bradford, et al., 1805-24), s.v. "Abraxas"; Aaron C. Willey, "Observations on Magical Practices," *Medical Repository* 15 (1812): 380n.

12. "BOOKS IN DIVINITY, For Sale at the Canandaigua Bookstore," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 20 June 1820, [1]; "NEW BOOKS, Just Received at the Canandaigua Bookstore," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 25 Sept. 1821, [4]; "BOOKS," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 7 Oct. 1823, [4]; Kenneth W. Godfrey, "A Note on the Nauvoo Library and Literary Institute," *BYU Studies* 14 (Spring 1974): 387, 388.

13. John Aubrey, *Miscellanies* [p. 1: "A Collection of Hermetick Philosophy"] (London: Edward Castle, 1696), 106 [also in editions of 1721, 1784]; Daniel Defoe, *A System of Magick*;

or, *A History of the Black Art* (London: J. Roberts, 1727), 154 [also four more editions from 1728 to 1840]; Ephraim Chambers, *Cyclopaedia* ..., 2 vols. (London: Knapton, 1728), 1:7; William Smellie, ed., *Encyclopaedia* ..., 1st Am. ed., 18 vols. (Philadelphia: Thomas Dobson, 1798), 1:22; Rees, *Cyclopaedia*, s.v. "Abracadabra"; Francis Lieber, ed., *Encyclopaedia Americana*, 13 vols. (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea, and Cary, 1829-33), 1:13. To avoid possible confusion with recent editions of *Encyclopaedia Americana*, this chapter's subsequent citations list the years of the edition being cited.

14. William Preston, *Illustrations of Masonry*, 1st Am. ed. (1775; Portsmouth, NH: Treadwell, 1804), 110; *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 470:464.

15. Kenneth R. H. Mackenzie, *The Royal Masonic Cyclopaedia* ... (New York: J. W. Boulton, 1877), 11, 448; Albert G. Mackey, *An Encyclopaedia of Freemasonry* ..., rev. ed. (Philadelphia: Louis H. Evarts, 1906), 462-64.

16. Wellins Calcott, *A Candid Disquisition of the Principles and Practices of the Most Ancient and Honorable Society of Free and Accepted Masons* ... (London: James Dixwell, 1769), 91, which was absent from the 1817 American version of Calcott; John Fellows, *An Exposition of the Mysteries* ... Also: *An Inquiry into the Origins, History, and Purport of Freemasonry* (New York: Gould, Banks, 1835), 226-67; John E. Thompson, "The Facultie of Abrac: Masonic Claims and Mormon Beginnings," *Philaethes* 35 (Dec. 1982): 9, 15, also reprinted in *The Masons, the Mormons and the Morgan Incident* (Ames, IA: Iowa Research Lodge No. 2, F. & A. M., 1984).

17. Preston, *Illustrations of Masonry*, 125.

18. Thaddeus Mason Harris, ed., *Constitutions of the Ancient and Honorable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons* ..., 2d ed., rev. (Worcester, MA: Isaiah Thomas, 1798), 19; James Hardie, *The New Freemason's Monitor* ..., 2d ed. (New York: George Long, 1819), 206.

19. [Henry Dana Ward], *Free Masonry: Its Pretensions Exposed in Faithful Extracts of Its Standard Authors* ... (New York: N.p., 1828), 47, 115; compare Harris, *Constitutions of the Ancient and Honorable Fraternity*, 19; *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 648:226.

20. [Ward], *Free Masonry*, 115, 152.

21. "ABRACADABRA," *Ontario Phoenix* (Canandaigua, NY), 25 Aug. 1830, [2]; also reprinted in H. Michael Marquardt and Wesley P. Walters, *Inventing Mormonism: Tradition and the Historical Record* ([San Francisco]: Smith Research Associates, 1994), 140n17.

For nine miles as the distance, see Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith*, 96; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:318. Horatio G. Spafford, *A Gazetteer of the State of New-York* (Albany: E. D. Packard, 1824), 302, gave the distance as ten miles between Canandaigua and the town of Manchester itself, rather than to the Smith's farm on the outskirts of Manchester. In preparing the first edition I forgot about Lucy Mack Smith's statement and conservatively estimated the distance as twelve miles, so as not to overstate their closeness.

22. Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 73. Robinson untitled review (1987), 90-91, did not acknowledge my summary in the 1987 edition (page 56): "Mormon historian Richard Bushman observes that Joseph Smith's mother seemed to know the terminology of magic even if her neighbors did not." Instead, Robinson isolated my discussion as an example of an "overly generous sense of what constitutes evidence and proof," without acknowledging that three years earlier Bushman published an identical conclusion about Lucy's reference to "Faculty of Abrac." As an LDS polemicist, Robinson withheld that information from his readers in order to dismiss me as "desperate for evidence—any evidence."

23. Mrs. Horace Eaton, "The Origin of Mormonism" (1881), in E. Cecil McGavin and Willard Bean, "Leaves From An Old Scrapbook," *Deseret News* "Church Section," 25 May 1940, 5.

24. Hill, *Quest for Refuge*, 4.

25. Reginald Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584; Carbondale: Southern Illinois

University Press, 1964), 336-37, 342, 345, 349; Reginald Scot, *The Discovery of Witchcraft* ... (London: Andrew Clark, 1665) [This edition greatly expanded the details of magic rituals], 215-16, 221, 252; Agrippa [alleged], *Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy*, 1655 edition (62, 67), 1665 edition (59, 64), 1783 edition (110-11); Ebenezer Sibly, *A New and Complete Illustration of the Occult Sciences* (London: Champante and Whitrow, 1784), plate opposite 1103; Barrett, *Magus*, II:110; S. Liddle MacGregor Mathers, *The Key of Solomon the King (Clavicula Salomonis) Now First Translated and Edited from Ancient Mss in the British Museum* (London: George Redway, 1888), 17; R. Campbell Thompson, *Semitic Magic: Its Origin and Development* (London: Luzac, 1908), lx; Richard Cavendish, *The Black Arts* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1967), 258-59; for necromancy, see ch. 5, Erika Bourguignon, "Necromancy," in Mircea Eliade, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, 16 vols. (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1987), 10:344-47, and J. Gordon Melton, ed., *Encyclopedia of Occultism & Parapsychology*, 4th ed., 2 vols. (Detroit, MI: Gale Research/International Thompson Publishing, 1996), 2:914-16.

26. *Christian Register* (Boston, MA), 24 Sept. 1831, typescript, fd 4, Dale Morgan Collection, Library, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City; Joseph Capron statement (8 Nov. 1833) and William Stafford affidavit (8 Dec. 1833), both in Eber D. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled* ... (Painesville, OH: By the author, 1834), 259, 238; Leonard J. Arrington, "James Gordon Bennett's 1831 Report on 'The Mormonites,'" *BYU Studies* 10 (Spring 1970): 358; reprints in Rodger I. Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1990), 118, 144; also Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

27. Related by his brother Ketchel A. E. Bell's affidavit (6 May 1885, at Painesville, OH), in *Naked Truths About Mormonism* 1 (Jan. 1888): 3, who was born in Harpersfield, Delaware County, New York, moved to Broome County, New York, in the early 1820s, and then both brothers moved to Painesville, Ohio; also "A LIST OF LETTERS," *Painesville Telegraph*, 4 July 1828, [3], for spelling of his name. Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined*, 65, acknowledged Bell's affidavit but did not include it in his reprints of the other affidavits published in 1888. However, Bell's affidavit will be in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

28. Obediah Dogberry, pseud. [Abner Cole], "Book of Pukei," *The Reflector* (Palmyra, NY), 12 June 1830, 36, reprinted with wrong date in Francis W. Kirkham, *A New Witness for Christ in America: The Book of Mormon*, 2 vols. (Independence, MO: Zion's Printing and Publishing, 1951), 2:52; also "GOLD BIBLE, NO. 5," *The Reflector* (Palmyra, NY), 28 Feb. 1831, 108, reprinted as "JOSEYISM," *The Telegraph* (Painesville, OH), 8 Mar. 1831, [3]; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

29. Corbett, *Hyrum Smith*, 453; also photograph of this dagger, labeled "Eldred G. Smith" (as custodian), in fd 14, box 19, Buerger papers.

30. Jerald Tanner and Sandra Tanner, "Mormonism & Magic," *Salt Lake City Messenger* 49 (Dec. 1982): 3; Jerald Tanner and Sandra Tanner, *Mormonism, Magic, and Masonry* (Salt Lake City: Utah Lighthouse Ministry, 1983), 11, 15; Robert C. Fillenup comments and color slides of the Smith family's dagger and magic parchments, 11 a.m. session, Sunstone Theological Symposium, 24 Aug. 1985, Salt Lake City, Utah; also see ch. 4 for published summary of his 1985 comments.

31. Kenneth W. Godfrey, "Joseph Smith and the Masons," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 64 (Spring 1971): 79-90; Michael W. Homer, "Similarity of Priesthood in Masonry: The Relationship between Freemasonry and Mormonism," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 27 (Fall 1994): 1-113.

32. Tanner and Tanner, *Mormonism, Magic, and Masonry*, 11; dagger and parchments in Hyrum Smith's possession in 1844, original photographs of Robert C. Fillenup, Provo, Utah, and my photocopies of the originals; Henry Cornelius Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (London: Gregory Moule, 1651), 245; Barrett, *Magus*, I:illustration opposite 143.

For sigil, see Melton, *Encyclopedia of Occultism & Parapsychology*, 2:1179; Fred Gettings, *Dictionary of Occult, Hermetic and Alchemical Sigils* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981).

33. Add. MS 36,674, folio 16, Manuscript Department, British Museum-Library, London, England; Rawlinson MS D253, folio 50; Sloane MS 3851, folio 99b, British Museum-Library; Abano, "Heptameron: or, Magical Elements," in Agrippa [alleged], *Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy*, 1655 edition (81), 1665 edition (77), 1783 edition (133); Iroë-Grego, *La Veritable Magie Noire ...* (Rome: Garcia Libraire, 1750), title page; Sibly, *New and Complete Illustration of the Occult Sciences*, illustration opposite 1103; Barrett, *Magus*, II:110; Arthur E. Waite, *The Book of Ceremonial Magic* (1911; New Hyde Park, NY: University Books, 1961), 225.

34. Charles R. Beard, *The Romance of Treasure Trove* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, 1933), 35.

35. Barrett, *Magus*, I:143-44, 146; Christopher McIntosh, *The Astrologers and Their Creed: an Historical Outline* (London: Hutchinson, 1969), 88-89, "Barrett does not deal at all with conventional astrology and gives no instructions for the casting of horoscopes. Instead he describes the nature of the various planetary forces and tells how they can be harnessed by the use of talismans and charms."

36. Barrett, *Magus*, I:161; Sibly, *New and Complete Illustration of the Occult Sciences*, 114; Mary Ellen Snodgrass, *Signs of the Zodiac: A Reference to Historical, Mythological, and Cultural Associations* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997), 165; Cyrus Adler and I. M. Casanowicz, "The Collection of Jewish Ceremonial Objects in the United States National Museum," *Proceedings of the United States National Museum* 34 (1908): 740, no. 181, plate ciii, plate civ. For the astrological view of the Zodiac's ruling planets from ancient times to the nineteenth century, see James R. Lewis, *The Astrology Encyclopedia* (Detroit: Gale Research, 1994), 463.

37. William A. Wilson untitled review, *BYU Studies* 27 (Fall 1987): 96, claimed that he read the book twice, yet he dismissed the above evidence in this way: "The Smith family had in its possession a silver dagger with which magic circles could be drawn; from this we are to infer that the family drew such circles" (98). Thus, Wilson claimed that my argument was that dagger possession (C) equalled drawing magic circles (D). However, eleven years ago I presented this same evidence that statements by Palmyra neighbors about drawing magic circles (A), PLUS censored statement from Lucy Mack Smith's history (B), PLUS dagger possession (C) equalled drawing magic circles (D). Thus, Wilson misrepresented my argument (A+B+C=D) as (C=D). For the polemics of Wilson's approach, consult page 334, note 31, of this study.

38. Calculated according to instructions in Paul Christian, *pseud.* [Christian Pitois], *The History and Practice of Magic*, trans. James Kirkup and Julian Shaw, 2 vols. (1870; New York: Citadel Press, 1963), 2:463-64, also 482 for "ruler of the year"; compare astrological signs with "Table of the Planets," in M. C. Poinso, *The Encyclopedia of Occult Sciences* (New York: Robert M. McBride, 1939), 554; Vermont general index to vital records (early to 1870), entries for birth of Alvin Smith (11 Feb. 1798) and birth of "Hiram Smith" (9 Feb. 1800), microfilm, Family History Library, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah; Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2+ vols., with a different subtitle for each volume (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989-92+), 1:xiv; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:578-79, 635, 638. See page 460, note 46, for discussion of the Smith family's inaccuracies about Alvin's age at death.

39. Barrett, *Magus*, I:88.

40. James H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 2 vols. (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983-85), 2:703; also page 516 (note 274) and page 518 (note 303), for occult dimensions of the Pseudepigrapha.

41. I have added this paragraph because Robinson untitled review (1987), 88, had

difficulty understanding this astrological distinction as defined in the next paragraphs. He wrote: "However, Joseph was a Capricorn, whose ruling planet is Saturn (as Quinn admits on page 62). But since Quinn's theory needs Jupiter rather than Saturn, Quinn shows merely that 'Jupiter had enormous significance for Joseph Smith' (63), and thereafter refers to Jupiter, not Saturn, as Joseph's ruling planet. To transform Saturn into Jupiter truly is magical, but it is also a distortion of the facts. If Joseph was indeed controlled by astrological considerations, why was he so totally unconcerned with his *actual* ruling planet?" Perhaps now Robinson will comprehend that Smith's emphasis on his birth-Decan's ruler Jupiter was not indifference to his birth sign of Capricorn and its planet Saturn, just as a native Utahn's emphasis on Utah is not indifference to the nation of his birth.

42. *Vermont Register and Almanac ... 1805* (Middlebury, CT: Huntington and Fitch, [1804]); *New Hampshire and Vermont Almanac ... 1805* (Windsor, VT: Nahum Mower, [1804]); Christopher Heydon, *Astrology* (London: A. Hamilton, 1792), 15; *The Complete Fortune Teller, or, An Infallible Guide to the Decrees of Fate; Being a New and Regular System for Foretelling Future Events, By Astrology, Physiognomy, Palmistry, Moles, Cards, and Dreams* (Brookfield, MA: N.p., 1816), 19; Barrett, *Magus*, I:160; Snodgrass, *Signs of the Zodiac*, 185.

43. Calculated according to instructions in Christian, pseud. [Pitois], *History and Practice of Magic*, 2:463-64, 478; also Karl Anderson, *The Astrology of the Old Testament* (Boston: By the author, 1892), 225; Poinso, *The Encyclopedia of Occult Sciences*, 54, 79.

44. Julius Firmicus Maternus, *Ancient Astrology, Theory and Practice: Matheosos Libri VIII* [4th c. A.D.], trans. Jean Rhys Bram (Park Ridge, NJ: Noyes Classical Studies/Noyes Press, 1975), 34.

45. Wayne Shumaker, *The Occult Sciences in the Renaissance: A Study in Intellectual Patterns* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 221; also Nicholas de Vore, *Encyclopedia of Astrology* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1947), 88; Tamsyn Barton, *Ancient Astrology* (London: Routledge, 1994), 28.

46. William Lilly, *Christian Astrology* (London: Thomas Brudenell, 1647), 62; William Ramesey, *Astrologia Restaurata; or, Astrologie Restored ...* (London: Robert White, 1653), 74-75; John Gadbury, *Genethliologi'a. or, The Doctrine of Nativities*, 2 vols. in 1 (London: James Cottrel, 1658), I:92. Lilly's book was reprinted in 1839.

47. James B. Allen, *Trials of Discipleship: The Story of William Clayton, A Mormon* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 324, citing *Introduction to Astrology*, which was actually a secularized retitling of Lilly's book in a 1910 reprint.

48. Sibly, *New and Complete Illustration of the Occult Sciences*, 140; *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 545:135-37; Barrett, *Magus*, I:88 (which did not use the word "Decan" in describing "that star which doth principally govern it") and 159 ("the decanate of Jupiter").

49. Sampson Arnold Mackey, *The Mythological Astronomy of the Ancients Demonstrated ...*, 2 vols. (Norwich, Eng.: R. Walker, 1822-23), 2:142, 143.

50. Joseph Fielding diary, 9 Dec. 1840, Archives, Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter LDS archives); Corbett, *Hyrum Smith*, 240; D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books/Smith Research Associates, 1994), 52; Irene M. Bates and E. Gary Smith, *Lost Legacy: The Mormon Office of Presiding Patriarch* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996), [59], 69n2.

51. Corbett, *Hyrum Smith*, 39n3, 426n6, 452-53.

52. William Clayton diary, 15 Aug. 1844, in George D. Smith, ed., *An Intimate Chronicle: The Journals of William Clayton* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books/Smith Research Associates, 1991), 143; Joseph L. Heywood to Heber C. Kimball, 17 Mar. 1846, typed copy in fd 42, box 8, Linda King Newell papers, Marriott Library; Brigham Young manuscript sermon, 7 Oct. 1866, LDS archives, which is publicly available in Elden J. Watson, comp., *Brigham Young Addresses: A Chronological Compilation of Known Addresses of the Prophet Brigham Young*, 6

vols. (N.p.: By the author, 1979-84), 5 (7 Oct. 1866):10, and in *The Essential Brigham Young* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), 190-91; also Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery, *Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith*, 2d ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 204, 209.

53. Brigham Young manuscript sermon, 7 Oct. 1866, LDS archives; Wason, *Brigham Young Addresses*, 5 (7 Oct. 1866):10; *Essential Brigham Young*, 190-91; Leonard J. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), 118.

54. Brigham Young office journal, 30 Dec. 1861, LDS archives, with typescript in fd 10, box 11, Donald R. Moorman papers, Archives and Special Collections, Donnell and Elizabeth Stewart Library, Weber State University, Ogden, Utah. Robinson untitled review (1987), 90, referred to the quoted phrase as "this carefully sanitized and trimmed little snippet." He claimed: "In an unguarded moment, Quinn reveals a little more (but still not all) of this sentence," which Robinson then quoted from my 1987 text: "it would not do to favor astrology—an effort was made in the days of Joseph to establish astrology." Robinson asserted that Young's statement "was actually hostile to astrology, and therefore to Quinn's thesis." As stated in chapter 7 then and now, Young opposed efforts to formally establish astrology in Utah, even though he privately expressed his own belief in astrology. Then and now, I quoted the portion of Young's statement which referred to the early years of Mormonism, while Smith was president. As a polemicist, Robinson misled his readers in many ways, including his references to Young's current refusal to "establish astrology" and Young's description of an earlier approach that differed from his own.

55. W. Wyl, pseud. [Wilhelm Ritter von Wymetal], *Mormon Portraits, or the Truth About Mormon Leaders From 1830 to 1886* (Salt Lake City: Tribune Printing and Publishing, 1886), 19.

56. *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 545:135-37; ch. 1.

57. *Catalogue of Books, for Sale at the Bookstore in Hanover, (A few rods from Dartmouth College on the road leading to Lebanon)* (Hanover, NH: N.p., 1799), 7, 8; Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet and His Progenitors for Many Generations* (Liverpool: S. W. Richards, 1853), 60, reprinted in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:256, 259-60.

58. *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 161:565-66.

59. "Canandaigua BOOK-STORE," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 23 May 1815, [4], insert; "PALMYRA Book Store," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 12 May 1824, [3].

60. "New Books," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 15 Aug. 1815, [3]; "NEW BOOKS," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 28 July 1818, [3]; "NEW BOOKS," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 12 Dec. 1820, [3].

61. David J. Whittaker, "Almanacs in the New England Heritage of Mormonism," *BYU Studies* 29 (Fall 1989): 94.

62. Andrew Beers, *The Farmer's Diary, or Beer's Ontario Almanack, For the Year of Our Lord, 1820 ...* (Canandaigua, NY: J. D. Bemis & Co., [1819]); Loud and Wilmarth, *The Farmer's Diary, or Ontario Almanack, For the Year of Our Lord, 1823 ...* (Canandaigua, NY: J. D. Bemis & Co., [1822]); Oliver Loud, *The Farmer's Diary, or Ontario Almanac, For the Year of Our Lord, 1830 ...* (Canandaigua, NY: Bemis & Ward, [1829]); all are in the same collection of Canandaigua's almanacs at Department of Archives and Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

63. John A. Tvedtnes untitled review, *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 6 (1994): 12. For the FARMS-BYU relationship, see my Preface.

64. K. M. Briggs, *Pale Hecate's Team: An Examination of the Beliefs on Witchcraft and Magic among Shakespeare's Contemporaries and His Immediate Successors* (New York: The Humanities Press, 1962), 57; also C. Grant Loomis, *White Magic: An Introduction to the Folklore of Christian Legend* (Cambridge, MA: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1948).

5; Daniel Lawrence O'Keefe, *Stolen Lightning: The Social Theory of Magic* (1982; New York: Vintage Books, 1983), 525-26.

65. Wilson untitled review (1987), 101-102.

66. Wilson untitled review (1987), 99; William A. Wilson untitled review, *Western Historical Quarterly* 20 (Aug. 1989): 343. For the polemics of Wilson's approach, see page 334, note 31.

67. Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (1651), 279; Barrett, *Magus*, I:148.

68. William Stafford affidavit (1833); Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined*, 144; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

69. J. G. Owens, "Folk-Lore from Buffalo Valley, Central Pennsylvania," *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 4 (Apr.-June 1891): 119.

70. Robinson untitled review (1987), 89.

71. Leon Festinger, Henry W. Riecken, and Stanley Schlachter, *When Prophecy Fails: A Social and Psychological Study of a Modern Group that Predicted the Destruction of the World* (Milwaukee: University of Minnesota Press, 1956), 9; Sergio Joseph Sierra, "Messianic Movements," in Cecil Roth, ed., *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 16 vols. (Jerusalem: Macmillan/Keter Publishing, 1971-72), 11:1420-26; R. J. Zwi Werblowsky and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Jewish Religion* (New York: Adama Books, 1986), 260; Richard Popkin, "Seventeenth-Century Millenarianism," in Malcolm Bull, ed., *Apocalypse Theory and the Ends of the World* (Oxford, Eng.: Blackwell, 1995), 115-16, 122, 126; also Robert P. Carroll, *When Prophecy Failed: Reaction and Responses to Failure in Old Testament Prophetic Tradition* (London: SCM Press, 1979).

72. Ronald A. Knox, *Enthusiasm: A Chapter in the History of Religion* (1950; South Bend, IN: Notre Dame University Press, 1994), 110, 137, 379, 545, 568; Festinger, Riecken, and Schlachter, *When Prophecy Fails*, 9; Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages*, rev. and enl. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 25-36, 108-113, 261-77; B. S. Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men: A Study in Seventeenth-century English Millenarianism* (London: Faber and Faber, 1972), 26-27, 30; James A. Beckford, *The Trumpet of Prophecy: A Sociological Study of Jehovah's Witnesses* (Oxford, Eng.: Basil Blackwell, 1975), 19; Hillel Schwartz, *The French Prophets: The History of a Millenarian Group in Eighteenth-Century England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 118-25; Ruth H. Bloch, *Visionary Republic: Millennial Themes in American Thought, 1756-1800* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 139, 145, 145n94; M. James Penton, *Apocalypse Delayed: The Story of Jehovah's Witnesses* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 4, 18-22, 199-200; David L. Rowe, *Thunder and Trumpets: Millerites and Dissenting Religion in Upstate New York, 1800-1850* (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1985), ix, 52, 64, 67, 119-60; Richard Landes, "Lest the Millennium Be Fulfilled: Apocalyptic Expectations and the Pattern of Western Chronography, 100-800 CE," in Werner Verbeke, Daniel Verhelst, and Andries Welkenhuysen, eds., *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages* (Leuven, Bel.: Leuven University Press, 1988), 145, 147, 164, 189, 191, 201; Joscelyn Godwin, *The Theosophical Enlightenment* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994), 38; Bernard McGinn, "The End of the World and the Beginning of Christendom," Popkin, "Seventeenth-Century Millenarianism," and Elinor Shaffer, "Secular Apocalypse: Prophets and Apocalypics at the End of the Eighteenth Century," in Bull, *Apocalypse Theory and the Ends of the World*, 58, 119-20, 146-47, 200-201; Brian E. Daley, "Chiliasm," in Everett Ferguson, ed., *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, 2d ed., 2 vols. (New York: Garland Publishing, 1997), 1:239; also discussion in Robert P. Carroll, *When Prophecy Failed: Cognitive Dissonance in the Prophetic Traditions of the Old Testament* (New York: Crossroad Book/Seabury Press, 1979), 86-128; Paul Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More: Prophecy Belief in Modern American Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press/Harvard University Press, 1992).

73. Joseph Smith et al., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, Period

I: *History of Joseph Smith the Prophet, and ... Period II: From the Manuscript History of Brigham Young and Other Original Documents*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1902-32; 2d ed. rev. [Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1978]), 2:182, 5:336 (hereafter *History of the Church*); Dan Erickson, "Joseph Smith's 1891 Millennial Prophecy: The Quest for Apocalyptic Deliverance," *Journal of Mormon History* 22 (Fall 1996): 1-34; Erickson, *As a Thief in the Night: The Mormon Quest for Millennial Deliverance* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1998). In 1794 Samuel Osgood had published his biblical exegesis that the Second Coming would occur in 1890. See Bloch, *Visionary Republic*, 145, citing Osgood's *Remarks on the Book of Daniel, and on the Revelations* (New York, 1794).

74. Abraham H. Cannon diary, 24 Apr., 29 Apr., 1-2 May 1888, Lee Library, with photocopies in Marriott Library, in Utah State Historical Society, in Stewart Library, in Milton R. Merrill Library at Utah State University, Logan, Utah; James E. Talmage diary, 22 Feb. 1893, 9 Sept. 1899, 30 May 1928, Lee Library; Heber J. Grant journal sheets (23-27 Feb. 1896), LDS archives; LeGrand Richards, *Just to Illustrate* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1961), 214-15; Spencer W. Kimball, *Faith Precedes the Miracle* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1972), [95]-97; Kimball, *President Kimball Speaks Out* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1981), 80; Gregory A. Prince, *Power From On High: The Development of Mormon Priesthood* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1995), 177-78. While diary is the standard term I use in source-notes for a personal record with daily entries, Heber J. Grant kept several different kinds of such records, which have to be specifically identified in order to locate the entry.

75. Anthony Standen, *Science Is a Sacred Cow* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1950), 65-75; Karl R. Popper, *The Logic of Scientific Discovery*, trans. Popper, Julius Freed, and Ian Freed (London: Hutchinson, 1959), 40-45, 242-46, 270-76; John W. N. Watkins, "Confirmation, the Paradoxes, and Positivism," David Bohm, "On the Problem of Truth and Understanding in Science," and O. R. Frisch, "Observation and the Quantum," in Mario Bunge, ed., *The Critical Approach to Science and Philosophy* (London: Free Press of Glencoe/Collier-Macmillan, 1964), 92-115, 212-23 (esp. 217-18), 309-15; Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 2d ed., enl. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), esp. 52-65; "Wormholes and Time Machines," *Science News* 134 (5 Nov. 1988): 302; "Gaseous River Supports Theory That Black Hole Is at Heart of Milky Way," *Deseret News*, 11 Jan. 1989, A-4; Fred Alan Wolf, *Taking the Quantum Leap: The New Physics for Nonscientists* (New York: Harper & Row, 1989); "A Gyroscope's Gravity-Defying Feat," *Science News* 137 (6 Jan. 1990): 15; "Chemists' New Tools: Molecular See-Saws," *New York Times*, 28 Apr. 1992, C-1; Steven Weinberg, *Dreams of a Final Theory* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1992); "A Matter of Gravity," *Science News* 146 (29 Oct. 1994): 284; "Professor Springs Into Action To Solve An Old Cat Mystery," *Deseret News*, 31 Oct. 1994, B-6; Popper, *The Myth of the Framework: In Defence of Science and Rationality*, ed. M. D. Notturmo (London: Routledge, 1994), 14-22; Ilya Prigogine, *The End of Certainty: Time, Chaos, and the New Laws of Nature* (New York: Free Press/Simon & Schuster, 1997); also Judah Goldin, "The Magic of Magic and Superstition," in Elisabeth Schuessler Fiorenza, ed., *Aspects of Religious Propaganda in Judaism and Early Christianity* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1976), 115: "That it [magic] succeeds does not mean that every time a spell is whispered the wished-for result is obtained, despite the promise by the magus. But then, neither is the outcome of every surgical operation successful."

76. John Graham Dalyell, *The Darker Superstitions of Scotland* (Glasgow: Richard Griffin, 1835), 285.

77. Mary Audentia Smith Anderson, *Ancestry and Posterity of Joseph Smith and Emma Hale* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1929), 565; Daniel Bachman, "A Study of the Mormon Practice of Plural Marriage Before the Death of Joseph Smith," M.A. thesis, Purdue University, 1975, 333-35; Todd Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness: The Plural Wives of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997), 4-6; my unpublished research; compared with Nathan Hutchins, *Hutchins Improv'd: Being An Almanac ... 1796* (New York:

Hugh Gaine, [1795]); *The Farmer's Diary or Ontario Almanack. For the Year of Our Lord, 1827* (Canandaigua, NY: Bemis, Morse and Ward, [1826]); *American Almanac ...* (Boston: Gray and Bowen, 1829-43).

78. Barrett, *Magus*, I:117, 118; also on the sacredness of seven in many cultures, see Sabine Baring-Gould, *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, 2d ed. rev. (London: Rivingtons, 1867), 276; E. A. Wallis Budge, *Amulets and Talismans* (1930; New Hyde Park, NY: University Books, 1961), 433.

79. Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, 196; John Heydon, *The Rosie Crucian Infallible Axiomata ...* (London: N.p., 1660), 44; also see page 373 (note 156) and page 445, note 135, for polemicist historian William J. Hamblin's misuse of sources in order to deny existence of Rosicrucian ideas in early-nineteenth-century America.

80. Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, 243; *A Short Enquiry Concerning the Hermetick Art ... Chymical-Cabbalistic ... A Collection from Kabbala Denudata ...* (1714), in Wynn Westcott, ed., *Collectanea Hermetica* (London: Theosophical Publishing Society, 1894), 50n22; Barrett, *Magus*, I:144, 147.

81. See page 336, note 52, to explain my choice of Cahala and cabalistic from the various English transliterations of the Hebrew; also discussion in ch. 7.

82. For example, Thomas White, *The Beauties of Occult Science Investigated; or, the Celestial Intelligencer* (London: Anne Davis, 1811), 87-89; compare Agrippa's and Barrett's citations in previous note 80.

83. For this paragraph, see Andrew F. Ehat, "Joseph Smith's Introduction of Temple Ordinances and the 1844 Mormon Succession Question," M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1982, 61-63; Bachman, "Study of the Mormon Practice of Plural Marriage Before the Death of Joseph Smith," 333-35; Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness*, 4-6; *American Almanac* (1841-43).

84. Georg Conrad Horst, *Zauber-Bibliothek ...*, 6 vols. (Mainz: Florian Kupferberg, 1821-26), 1:128, reviewed in "Daemonology and Witchcraft," *Foreign Quarterly Review* 6 (June 1830): 1-47.

85. Erra Pater, *The Book of Knowledge ...*, trans. William Lilly (London: Bettesworth and Hitch, 1735), 7. For repetition in nineteenth-century chapbooks of this and other recommendations (next cited in my narrative) for marriage according to "the Age of the Moon," see *The True Fortune Teller; or Universal Book of Fate* (18-20), *The Circle of Fate* (15), and *The Norwood Gipsy Fortune Teller* [indexed by its alternate title *Universal Fortune-Teller*] (5), in Robert White Collection of Chapbooks, microfilm reel 15 (vol. 39, number 12) and reel 16 (vol. 43, numbers 10 and 11), Marriott Library (also at other university libraries throughout the United States). Although undated, the print-type and spelling of these three chapbooks indicate that their publication was after White's chapbooks that have pre-1820 dates.

86. From "JUDGMENTS DRAWN FROM THE MOON'S AGE," in *The BOOK OF FATE: A New and Complete System of Fortune Telling ... Carefully Rendered Into English, and Arranged From the Manuscripts of AN ADEPT*, [3d ed.] (1817; New York: Nafis & Cornish; St. Louis: Nafis, Cornish & Co.; Philadelphia: John B. Perry, nd), 151; "PALMYRA Book Store," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 12 May 1824, [3]; also Erra Pater, *Book of Knowledge*, 10. For the 1817 and 1823 editions of *BOOK OF FATE*, see WorldCat, a computer-catalog of 38 million different titles.

87. Ramesey, *Astrologia Restaurata; or, Astrologie Restored*, 130; Harley MS 6482, folios 103-107, British Museum-Library.

88. Ramesey, *Astrologia Restaurata; or, Astrologie Restored*, 130.

89. John Heydon, *Theomagia, or the Temple of Wisdome*, 3 vols. in 1 (London: T.M., 1664), 1:173, with correction in spelling. My first edition quoted "gives love" from an astrological source closer to Joseph Smith's time, but its citation was accidentally dropped

during the editing process in 1987. I have been unable to locate my original notes for the "gives love" citation.

90. Malissa Lott [Smith] Willes affidavit (20 May 1869), Polygamy Affidavit Book 1, Joseph F. Smith papers, LDS archives, with copy in fds. 17-18, box 21, Newell papers. The date of the Lott-Smith marriage was changed from 1842 to 1843 in Joseph Fielding Smith, *Blood Atonement and the Origin of Plural Marriage* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1905), 87, and in Bachman, "Study of the Mormon Practice of Plural Marriage Before the Death of Joseph Smith," 348.

91. Ramesey, *Astrologia Restaurata; or, Astrologie Restored*, 130; R. Goudy, Jr., *The Illinois Farmer's Almanac ... 1842* (Springfield: R. Goudy, [1841]).

92. Ramesey, *Astrologia Restaurata; or, Astrologie Restored*, 130; Harley MS 6482, folio 104b; Bachman, "Study of the Mormon Practice of Plural Marriage Before the Death of Joseph Smith," 333-35, 350, 352; Goudy, *Illinois Farmer's Almanac ... 1842*; Thomas Spofford, *The United States Farmer's Almanac ... 1843* (New York: David Felt, [1842]).

93. Jeffery Ogden Johnson, "Determining and Defining 'Wife': The Brigham Young Households," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 20 (Fall 1987): 60-61.

94. Albertus Magnus [alleged], *The Book of Secrets of Albertus Magnus*, ed. Michael R. Best and Frank H. Brightman (1648; Oxford, Eng.: Clarendon Press, 1973), 63; Joseph Blagrave, *Blagrave's Introduction to Astrology* (London: Tyler and Holt, 1682), 180; Sibly, *New and Complete Illustration of the Occult Sciences*, 112; [Buchan], *Witchcraft Detected & Prevented* (1823-26), 48, 54, 97.

95. Abano, "Heptameron: or, Magical Elements," in Agrippa [alleged], *Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy*, 1655 edition (99), 1665 edition (101-102), 1783 edition (164); Barrett, *Magus*, II:123; "Members of the Mercurii: Raphael, the Metropolitan Astrologer" [Robert C. Smith], *The Astrologer of the Nineteenth Century: Or, The Master Key of Futurity, and Guide to Ancient Mysteries, Being a Complete System of Occult Philosophy*, 7th ed. (London: Knight and Lacey, 1825), 208; also "Ars Magic" (1781), manuscript, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

96. Bachman, "A Study of the Mormon Practice of Plural Marriage Before the Death of Joseph Smith," 159, 348, 349; Donna Hill, *Joseph Smith: The First Mormon* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1977), 352-54; David John Buerger, "The Fullness of the Priesthood: The Second Anointing in Latter-day Saint Theology and Practice," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 16 (Spring 1983): 21-22; Newell and Avery, *Mormon Enigma*, 138-39, 142-43; Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness*, 4-6, 408-409; compare with *Farmer's Diary or Ontario Almanack. For the Year of Our Lord, 1827; American Almanac* (1843).

However, there is a problem with the traditional date of 11 May 1843 for the Partridge sisters, because they said that James Adams performed this repeated ceremony. In 1982 Ehat, "Joseph Smith's Introduction of Temple Ordinances," 60, noted that "Adams did not arrive in Nauvoo from his Springfield home until 21 May 1843," and Ehat cited evidence for 23 May as the ceremony's date. In 1984 Newell and Avery, *Mormon Enigma*, 143, also rejected the traditional dating of 11 May in favor of 23 May 1843, and they noted (333n54) that "under cross-examination in the Temple Lot Suit she [Emily D. Partridge Smith Young] realized that she had not remembered the date correctly ..." This revision of the traditional dating of the re-performed ceremony for the Partridge sisters has also appeared in Richard S. Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy: A History* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1986), 50; D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books/Smith Research Associates, 1994), 494, 638; Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness*, 732, IX, s.v. "Adams," with a quote (409) of Emily's claim of 11 May 1843.

Nevertheless, there is a commonsense presumption of accuracy when women state a specific date for their marriage. Van Wagoner observed (50) that if this ceremony occurred on 11 May 1843, it was before Emma Smith left the city at 10 a.m. The traditional date would also mean that Adams slipped in and out of Nauvoo in the early morning without being

mentioned in the diaries of Joseph Smith or others. However, such silence in the sources is understandable because his visit was to perform an illegal ceremony of polygamy. In this regard, William Clayton diary, 23 May 1843, in Smith, *Intimate Chronicle*, 105-106, stated that Emma "called Eliza [Partridge] 4 times and tried to force open the door" to the young woman's room, while Joseph Smith was talking alone with Eliza. Emma's jealousy was obvious, but was this a likely reaction on the same day that she had willingly witnessed the marriage ceremony which united her husband and the Partridge sisters? Wouldn't a jealous outburst be more likely after twelve days had passed (according to the traditional date) since she witnessed the ceremony? Rather than engage in mind-reading, the above historians have accepted external evidences that call into question the memory of the Partridge sisters concerning one of the most important dates of their young lives. Although I have joined in this reassessment, I'm still willing to give the Partridge sisters the benefit of the doubt.

97. [Buchan], *Witchcraft Detected & Prevented* (1823-26), 100-101; Bachman, "Study of the Mormon Practice of Plural Marriage Before the Death of Joseph Smith," 333, 334, 350, 353; William Clayton diary, 1 May 1843, in Smith, *Intimate Chronicle*, 100; Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness*, 4, 6, 153, 313, 465; Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, ed., *The Personal Writings of Eliza Roxcy Snow* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1995), 49-50.

98. Sibly, *New and Complete Illustration of the Occult Sciences*, 111; also Heydon, *Astrology*, 21.

99. Mary E. Rollins Lightner, "Remarks" at Brigham Young University, 14 Apr. 1905, typescript, 5, Lightner papers, Lee Library; Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness*, 12.

100. Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness*, 5, 7, 9, 44, 51, 71-72, 79-82, 114, 122-24, 171-72, 179, 182-83, 205, 211-13, 228-29, 235-39, 243, 254, 259-60, 271, 277-78, 343, 351-52, 381, 383-84, 543, 548.

101. Josephine Rosetta Lyon Fisher statement, 24 Feb. 1915, witnessed by Joseph H. Grant, Andrew Jensen, and I. F. Fisher, LDS archives; also Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness*, 183.

102. Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness*, 180-81.

103. Alvin was Joseph's brother, while Alva was Emma's brother. Anderson, *Ancestry and Posterity of Joseph Smith and Emma Hale*, 565-66, which gave "Alva" as their first-born's name and "Thaddeus" as the spelling of their second son; Newell and Avery, *Mormon Enigma*, 39 (for quote); also Buddy Younggreen, "From the Prophet's Life: A Photo Essay," *Ensign* 14 (Jan. 1984): [33], for photograph (lower right corner) of the Smith family Bible which listed the names of Joseph Jr.'s short-lived children "Alvin," "Thadeus," and Louisa. Younggreen's caption (33) noted that Dean C. Jessee verified the handwriting of this entry in the Smith family's Bible, and Jessee also listed Anderson's family history in his bibliography of *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:526. Despite having read the names of these short-lived children in two sources, Jessee later referred (1:xlv, 2:xix, 441n2) to these same short-lived children as "unnamed."

104. Newell and Avery, *Mormon Enigma*, 103, 324n29; Joseph Smith diary, February 1842, in Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2:358; Younggreen, "From the Prophet's Life: A Photo Essay," [33], for photograph of Smith's "Family Record" in lower right of page; printed in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:583; "Son Smith" (b. 1842 "stillborn"), Ancestral File Number 91 T1-S7, LDS Family History Library. In addition, among the notes in my research-files there is a reference that one of Smith's children was born "deformed" and died the same day. However, after skimming through eleven boxes of alphabetically-arranged research-notes in 1998 I could not find this entry, and therefore deleted it from my narrative. I mention it here only to alert readers that there is such a source-entry which another researcher may one day find, either in my research-files or in the originals from which I typed my notes.

Robinson untitled review (1987), 89, quite rightly criticized my first edition for not including this 1842 birth, which he regarded as my intentionally "omitting the child whose birth didn't fit the theory." Had I remembered this stillborn child (who wasn't even named),

I would certainly have described its significance as I do in this revised edition. However, what I clearly remembered when writing the book-manuscript in 1986-87 was a famous document-misreading of an 1842 entry in Smith's official history. I had heard LDS historian Dean C. Jessee repeatedly describe this document-misreading, ever since I began working with him at the LDS archives in 1972. A pioneer clerk looked at the handwritten phrase of 26 December 1842 ("Emma sick [—] had another chill") and misread it as "child," which resulted in this erroneous entry in *History of the Church*, 5:209, under that date: "Emma sick. She was delivered of a son, which did not survive its birth." When I used the Smith family's official genealogy (Anderson, *Ancestry and Posterity of Joseph Smith and Emma Hale*) for the birthdates of his children in my book's first edition, I had a vague memory of having read about a stillbirth in the 1840s. Anderson's family genealogy made no mention of it, and I had a clear memory of the above misreading in LDS documents. Therefore, in 1986-87 I dismissed my memory of an 1840s stillbirth as a reference to the document-misreading. I didn't bother to re-check this matter in Newell and Avery, who had referred both to the stillbirth and to the misreading of child for "chill." Contrary to Robinson, my forgetting the 1984 discussion by Newell and Avery about this 1842 birth was no more intentional than my forgetting that I had read a reference to an LDS apostle viewing Joseph Smith's Jupiter talisman in 1902 (see following note 126). If I had remembered every detail of my previous readings, I would have strengthened the first edition's discussion of the Jupiter talisman and modified its discussion of the births.

105. Rosalie Wax and Murray Wax, "The Magical World View," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 1 (Apr. 1962): 184; Joscelyn Godwin, *The Theosophical Enlightenment* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994), 167.

106. Concerning this section, Robinson untitled review (1987), 93, wrote: "Quinn apparently didn't notice that this correlation is significant only if one accepts the validity of astrology!" In fact, that was exactly my point eleven years ago and today. In the first printing and revised edition, I never implied that readers should regard these correlations as reasons for the readers to believe in astrology. To adopt Robinson's phrase (91), he gave a "willful distortion" of my explanation for the purpose of this section.

107. F. H. Brigham, "Hagiography," in Paul Kevin Meagher, Thomas C. O'Brien, and Consuelo Maria Ahern, eds., *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Religion*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: Sisters of St. Joseph; Washington, D.C.: Corpus Publications, 1979), 2: 1599-1600.

108. Edward Harrison, *Masks of the Universe* (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1985), 276-78.

109. Gadbury, *Genethliologi'a. or, The Doctrine of Nativities*, 1:67; also Lilly, *Christian Astrology*, 63; Ramesey, *Astrologia Restaurata; or, Astrologie Restored*, 52; Nicholas Culpeper, *Opus Astrologium, &c. Or, An Astrological Work Left to Posterity* (London: J. Cottrel, 1654), B-4; Richard Ball, *Astrology Improv'd ...*, 2d ed. (London: G. Parker, 1723), 50; Heydon, *Astrology*, 21; Sibly, *New and Complete Illustration of the Occult Sciences*, 111; James Wilson, *A Complete Dictionary of Astrology* (London: William Hughes, 1819), 315; Members of the Mercurii [Robert C. Smith], *Astrologer of the Nineteenth Century ... a Complete System of Occult Philosophy*, 282-83; [Buchan], *Witchcraft Detected & Prevented* (1823-26), 97.

110. Shannon M. Tracy, *In Search of Joseph* (Orem, UT: KenningHouse, 1995), 21 (for "corpulancy"); Hill, *Joseph Smith*, 62 (for following quotes).

111. Stephen S. Harding to Thomas Gregg, Feb. 1882, in Gregg, *The Prophet of Palmyra ...* (New York: John B. Alden, 1890), 39; reprinted in Kirkham, *New Witness*, 1:123.

112. Ball, *Astrology Improv'd*, 44; Blagrove, *Introduction to Astrology*, 80; Lilly, *Christian Astrology*, 64; Wilson, *Complete Dictionary of Astrology*, 372; also Ramesey, *Astrologia Restaurata; or, Astrologie Restored*, 90; Henry Coley, *Clavis Astrologiae Elimata, or a Key to the Whole Art of Astrology ...* (London: Tooke and Sawbridge, 1676), 26-27; Sibly, *New and Complete Illustration of the Occult Sciences*, 97.

113. Blagrove, *Introduction to Astrology*, 33.

114. Lucy Mack Smith manuscript history (1845), 36-37; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:262-69; LeRoy S. Wirthlin, "Joseph Smith's Boyhood Operation: An 1813 Surgical Success," *BYU Studies* 21 (Spring 1981): 148-53.

115. Hill, *Joseph Smith*, 36.

116. Sibly, *New and Complete Illustration of the Occult Sciences*, 97.

117. Hill, *Joseph Smith*, 145.

118. Lilly, *Christian Astrology*, 64; Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, 57; Ramesey, *Astrologia Restaurata; or, Astrologie Restored*, 53.

119. Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, 57 (emphasis in original).

120. Richard Ball, *Astro-Physical Compendium, or a Brief Introduction to Astrology* (London: Scratcher and Whitaker, 1794), 21; Barrett, *Magus*, 1:143. First published in 1697, Ball's handbook had a third edition in 1796.

121. Ramesey, *Astrologia Restaurata; or, Astrologie Restored*, 52; Paracelsus, pseud. [Theophrastus von Hohenheim], *Of the Nature of Things* (London: Richard Cotes, 1650), 143; also Lilly, *Christian Astrology*, 63; Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, 51; Gadbury, *Genethliologia; or, The Doctrine of Nativities*, 1:67; Ball, *Astrology Improv'd*, 50; Wilson, *Complete Dictionary of Astrology*, 315; Members of the Mercurii [Robert C. Smith], *Astrologer of the Nineteenth Century ... a Complete System of Occult Philosophy*, 283; [Buchan], *Witchcraft Detected & Prevented* (1823-26), 97.

122. Poinso, *Encyclopedia of Occult Sciences*, 73.

123. Hill, *Joseph Smith*, 35, 37, 62, 68-69, 73, 89, 115, 117, 118, 124-25, 131, 138, 147, 150, [221], 251, 263, 266, 373, for his various residences in Vermont, New Hampshire, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois. The fullest account of Emma Smith's reactions to the rumors and realities of the Mormon prophet's polygamous marriages is Newell and Avery, *Mormon Enigma*, 66, [95]-102, 108-10, 111-15, 118-20, 134-47, 151-67, 169-72, 292, 303.

124. *Complete Fortune Teller*, 19; *BOOK OF FATE: A New and Complete System of Fortune Telling*, 145; "PALMYRA Book Store," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 12 May 1824, [3]; compare with descriptions of Joseph Smith in Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 248-68, and in Newell and Avery, *Mormon Enigma*; also see ch. 4 for discussion of these two occult handbooks and their advertisement in the same issue of Palmyra's 1824 newspaper.

125. Quinn, *Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power*, 117-20, 124, 134-38; *BOOK OF FATE: A New and Complete System of Fortune Telling*, 147.

126. John Henry Smith manuscript diary, 6 Sept. 1902, George A. Smith Family papers, Marriott Library, quoted with transcription errors in Jean Bickmore White, ed., *Church State, and Politics: The Diaries of John Henry Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books/Smith Research Associates, 1990), 510. "Confirmus" was in the original Smith diary, but that misstated the word inscribed on the artifact (figs. 27b, 28b, 29). As a research oversight in the early 1970s, I overlooked this entry in typing my notes from Smith's diary. Therefore, the first edition of *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View* made no reference to the fact that in 1902 Bidamon showed the Jupiter talisman to an LDS apostle. I was not reminded of this evidence until 1989, when an editor at Signature Books brought it to my attention as they were preparing the edited diary for publication. Contrary to Robinson's untitled review (1987), 89, my evidence-oversights in sources I previously examined were simply unintentional lapses in a book this polemicist acknowledged (88) had a sixty-seven-page list of cited sources. Despite intensive research, my publications have overlooked evidence that could support my conclusions, as well as evidence that could require reassessment.

127. Henry D. Moyle diary, 4 Sept. 1902, which ends with the word "many," as quoted in Richard D. Poll, "Henry D. Moyle: Man of Action," unpublished 1983 biography, chapter, "Son and Brother," 6, also 5 (for Poll's assessment of young Moyle as an observer), fd 4, box 70, Richard Douglas Poll papers, Marriott Library. The date discrepancy with the diary of John Henry Smith may have resulted from Poll's misreading of an eleven-year-old's hand-

writing or it may have been the boy's original error in dating. Although I once examined and took notes from the adult diaries of Henry D. Moyle, I have not seen his original 1902 diary.

128. LaMar C. Berrett, *The Wilford C. Wood Collection* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Printing Service, 1972), i.

129. Jay M. Todd, *The Saga of the Book of Abraham* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1969), 326-31; Hugh W. Nibley, "The Meaning of the Kirtland Egyptian Papers," *BYU Studies* 10 (Summer 1971): 351, 382; also Clyde J. Williams, "Standard Works," in Daniel H. Ludlow, ed., *Encyclopedia of Mormonism: The History, Scripture, Doctrine, and Procedure of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 5 vols. (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1992), 3:1415-16.

130. Richard L. Evans, "Illinois Yields Church Documents: Part of Pearl of Great Price Manuscript, and Other Papers in Joseph Smith's Own Handwriting Included in Purchase of Wilford C. Wood from Charles E. Bidamon," *Improvement Era* 40 (Sept. 1937): 565; Charles E. Bidamon to Wilford C. Wood, 28 June 1937, reel 16, Film 413, Wood Collection, LDS archives.

131. Charles E. Bidamon receipt, dated 3 Sept. 1937, reel 16, Film 413, Wood Collection.

132. Wilford C. Wood to Heber J. Grant and David O. McKay, 13 Sept. 1937, reel 6, and Charles E. Bidamon affidavit (5 Jan. 1938), reel 16, Film 413, Wood Collection.

133. Charles E. Bidamon to Warren L. Van Dine, 9 Sept. 1940, in S. A. Burgess, "The True Emma Smith," *Saints' Herald* 88 (12 July 1941): 874.

134. Wilford C. Wood, "Exhibits of Mormonism," *Special Lecture Series J, Friday, June 19, 1953, Leadership Week* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1953), 9, copy in Lee Library; Berrett, *Wilford C. Wood Collection*, 177, no. 7-J-k-7; Wood, "Artifacts, Portraits, and Mementos of Joseph Smith," in *Seminar on the Prophet Joseph Smith, February 18, 1961* (Provo, UT: College of Religious Instruction/BYU-Provo Campus, Adult Education Center, 1961), with note in Table of Contents: "This presentation is not included in this publication."

135. Douce MS 116, folio 99, Bodleian Library; Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, 243; Barrett, *Magus*, I:143, 146, and illustration opposite 174; [Buchan], *Witchcraft Detected & Prevented*, 15; deHoyos, *The Masonic Emblem & Parchments Of Joseph & Hyrum Smith* (N.p., 1982), 6, 62; Tanner and Tanner, *Mormonism, Magic, and Masonry*, 4; also photocopy of this medallion, labeled "Robert C. Fillerup, Photos from Wilford Wood Museum," fd 14, box 19, Buerger papers.

136. Patrick Curry, *Prophecy and Power: Astrology In Early Modern England* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), 104, concerning William Gilbert in the 1790s; also Godwin, *Theosophical Enlightenment*, 116.

137. Barrett, *Magus*, I:146, illustration opposite 174; A. C. Lambert, "Magic Squares, Talismans, and the Jupiter Talisman Owned and Worn by Joseph Smith, Jr., A Private Notebook, April 1975," I:80-112, 4 vols., Marriott Library.

138. William Gilbert, "Talismans," *Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society*, 5th ser., 18 (1938): 273.

139. Gilbert, "Talismans," 273-74.

140. Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, 240; Barrett, *Magus*, I:143 and illustration opposite 174; Israel Hibner [Hiebner], *Mysterium Sigillorum, Herbarum & Lapidum, Containing a Compleat Cure of all Sicknesses and Diseases of Mind and Body, by means of the Influences of the Seven Planets*, trans. B. Clayton (London: W. Downing, 1698), 165; Octavius Morgan, "A Silver Disc of the Seventeenth Century, inscribed with amuletic characters," *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London* 4 (1857): 88; Wilhelm Ahrens, "Planetenamulette," *Das Weltall: Bildgeschmuckte Zeitschrift fuer Astronomie und verwandte Gebiete* 13/14 (1920): 114.

141. Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, 240, 244.

142. Compare Barrett, *Magus*, I:illustration opposite 174, with "Le vrais Clavicule du

Roi Salomon," 291, Manuscript 24252.89.6*, Houghton Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, with modern reprint in Mathers, *Key of Solomon*, 69; Tycho Brahe, *Calendarium Naturale Magicum Perpetuum ...* ([Frankfort?]: Io[hann] Theodor de Bry, 1582), with modern reprints in Manly P. Hall, *Codex Rosae Crucis* (Los Angeles: Philosopher's Press, 1938), 48-49 (insert), and in Adam McLean, *The Magical Calendar*, 2d ed. (Edinburgh: Magnum Opus Hermetical Sourceworks, 1980); Hübner [Hiebner], *Mysterium Sigillorum*, 165.

143. Barrett, *Magus*, I:illustrations opposite 143, 174; Henry Cornelius Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia Libri III* (Lugduni: Godesfridus & Marcellus, Beringos, fratres, 1550), 249; Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, 244; also Harley MS 1482, folio 92b.

144. Previous note 142; also Arsenal MS 2346, folios 159, 166; Arsenal MS 2348, folio 140; Arsenal MS 2790, folio 311; Arsenal MS 2795, folio 63; all in Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, France; Christian, pseud. [Pitois], *History and Practice of Magic*, 1:308; Ahrens, "Planetenamulette," 114; Franz Carl Endres and Annemarie Schimmel, *Das Mysterium der Zahl: Zahlensymbolik im Kulturvergleich* (Munich: Eugen Diederichs Verlag, 1988), 46.

145. Francis King, *Magic: The Western Tradition* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1975), 17; also E. M. Butler, *Ritual Magic* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1949), 254; Cavendish, *Man, Myth & Magic*, 2:221; Nevill Drury, *Dictionary of Mysticism and the Occult* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1985), 25; *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 36:563.

146. W. D. Bellhouse, "A Complete System of Magic," 38-39, manuscript (ca. 1852), Magic Collection, Manuscript Division, New York Public Library, New York City, New York.

147. David L. Walter, "Medallic Amulets and Talismans," *Proceedings of the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society* (1886): 41.

148. My narrative gives the correct pre-1830 English words from occult texts, but these LDS interpretations have been too widely circulated to bury in a source-note. See Wilford C. Wood remarks, commemorative meeting at gravesite of Joseph, Emma, and Hyrum Smith, 27 June 1944, transcript, reel 6, Wood Collection; Wood, "Exhibits of Mormonism"; Durham, "Is There No Help For the Widow's Son?"; also Anderson, "The Mature Joseph Smith and Treasure Searching," 541; Robert F. Smith, "Oracles & Talismans, Forgery & Pansophia: Joseph Smith, Jr. As a Renaissance Magus," bound typescript ("August 1987-Draft"), 9n25, copy in Lee Library and in fd 7, box 97, H. Michael Marquardt papers, Marriott Library.

149. Francisco Luca, *Sacrorum Bibliorum Vulgatae Editionis Concordantiae* (Venice: Nicolao Pezzana, 1741), 163, 725.

150. Ashmole MS 187, folio 6b, Bodleian Library; Sloane MS 3851, folios 1, 31.

151. Abano, "Heptameron: or, Magical Elements," in Agrippa *De Occulta Philosophia* (1550), 562-64; in Henry Cornelius Agrippa, *Opera Omnia*, 2 vols. (Lugduni: Beringos fratres, 1600), 1:445-47, also in 1620 edition (1:460-62); also in Agrippa [alleged], *Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy*, 1655 edition (81-84), 1665 edition (77-80), 1783 edition (135, 137, 138); also Barrett, *Magus*, I:illustration opposite 174, II:156n.

152. "Abano, Pietro di. Conjurations for each day of the week ... 17th Century," Magic Collection, New York Public Library. The library's introduction states that this manuscript was "Englished in the main from Abano's 'Elementa Magica,' which is printed in the *Opera*, or encyclopedia of magic, of Henricus Cornelius Agrippa of Nettesheim (Lugduni, n.d.), V-1, pp. 465, ff.) Manuscript on vellum and paper ..." However, the Latin form of this incantation prayer is not in Abano's work as published in Agrippa's *Opera* (1600, 1:442, and in 1620, 1:456). Nor is this incantation prayer in Abano's English translation "Heptameron: or, Magical Elements," included in pseudo-Agrippa's *Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy*, 1655 edition (75), 1665 edition (71), 1783 edition (129).

Whoever wrote this manuscript had access to the same source(s) from which Francis

Barrett copied without acknowledgement. First, the manuscript has the incantation prayer in the same location as Barrett (but not in the above editions of Abano). Second, the manuscript has a drawing of the Angel Cassiel on a dragon almost identical to Barrett, *Magus*, II:104. The manuscript illustrations certainly predate Barrett because other illustrations in the manuscript show persons in dress typical of the sixteenth or seventeenth century.

153. Barrett, *Magus*, II:107.

154. Lieber, *Encyclopaedia Americana* (1829-33), I:223. Some authors make a technical distinction between amulet and talisman, with "amulet" designating a natural object that has supernatural powers. According to this distinction, "talisman" designates a manufactured object, which is inscribed and consecrated through ritual to certain purposes of occult power. For example, see Thomas Wilson, "The Amulet Collection of Professor Belucci," *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 4 (Apr.-June 1891): 144; Tom Ogden, *Wizards and Sorcerers: From Abracadabra to Zoroaster* (New York: Facts On File, 1997), 7, 202.

However, many cultures perform ritual consecrations for amulets of bone, wood, stone, or other natural substances. It is also common to see markings or inscriptions on a "natural" amulet. Therefore, most authors use amulet and talisman interchangeably.

This study limits "talisman" to manufactured medallions that have been inscribed according to occult handbooks or magic folklore. I prefer using "amulet" for natural objects that are revered for their metaphysical powers, but I also use "amulet" to describe the protective function of manufactured talismans.

155. Abano, "Heptameron: or, Magical Elements," in Agrippa [alleged], *Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy*, 1655 edition (98-99), 1665 edition (100-101), 1783 edition (162-63).

156. Barrett, *Magus*, II:123.

157. Agrippa [alleged], *Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy*, 1783 edition (89). The previous two editions used the word "work" rather than "strength," which indicates that Barrett used the 1783 edition of Agrippa and Abano for *The Magus*. See Agrippa [alleged], *Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy*, 1655 edition (49), 1665 edition (46).

158. Mathers, *Key of Solomon*, 69.

159. Anderson, "The Mature Joseph Smith and Treasure Searching," 541; also Robinson untitled review (1987), 91, that Bidamon "stood to gain financially by so representing it."

160. Max J. Evans, "Register of the Book of Abraham Manuscripts, ca. 1837-1841," 4, Ms 1294, Feb. 1972, LDS archives.

161. Charles E. Bidamon to Wilford C. Wood, 28 June 1937, reel 16, Film 413, Wood Collection, published in Todd, *Saga of the Book of Abraham*, 330-31.

162. Mary Audencia Smith Anderson to Charles E. Bidamon, 17 Oct. 1937, Bidamon Collection, Huntington Library.

163. Newell and Avery, *Mormon Enigma*, 275-76, 303, concerning the fact that Emma's husband Lewis Bidamon fathered Charles Bidamon as an illegitimate child by Nancy Abercrombie (b. 1828) who gave him to Emma (b. 1804) to raise.

164. Anderson, "The Mature Joseph Smith and Treasure Searching," 541; compare Evans, "Illinois Yields Church Documents: Part of Pearl of Great Price Manuscript, and Other Papers in Joseph Smith's Own Handwriting Included in Purchase of Wilford C. Wood from Charles E. Bidamon," 565, 573; Todd, *Saga of the Book of Abraham*, 329.

165. Emma Smith, "Received, Nauvoo, Illinois, July 2, 1844," and fully quoted in Anderson, "The Mature Joseph Smith and Treasure Searching," 541 (for the quote in my text), 558n183 (for quote of the lawyer's inventory).

166. *History of the Church*, 6:607, 617.

167. Frederick Kesler diary, 17 July 1891, Marriott Library; also Younggreen, "From the Prophet's Life: A Photo Essay," 39, for photo of "Joseph Smith's pistol ... courtesy of the Church Historical Department"; "Joseph Smith's and Hyrum Smith's Pistols," in Richard Neitzel Holzapfel and T. Jeffery Cottle, *A Window To the Past: A Photographic Panorama of Early Church History and the Doctrine and Covenants* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1993), 56.

168. *History of the Church*, 6:607, 617.
169. Corbett, *Hyrum Smith*, 452-53; Tracy, *In Search of Joseph*, 75-77 (for photographs of Hyrum Smith's bullet-riddled clothes); "Inventory of Goods, Chattels, and Furniture of Joseph Smith deceased, as appraised by Reynolds Cahoon, Alpheus Cutler and Wm Clayton August 10th 1844," with annexed statement by Emma Smith of "a true and perfect inventory of all the personal property belonging to the estate of Joseph Smith deceased so far as has come to my hands or knowledge," photocopy, fd 14, box 132, Marquardt papers; Holzapfel and Cottle, *Window to the Past*, 57, for "Hyrum Smith's Blood-Stained Shirt."
170. *History of the Church*, 6:595.
171. Frederick Kesler diary, 24 June 1884; Scott Kenney, ed., *Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833-1898 Typescript*, 9 vols. (Midvale, UT: Signature Books, 1983-85), 2 (23 Aug. 1844): 450; Matthias F. Cowley, *Wilford Woodruff: Fourth President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1909), 227-28.
172. Emma Smith, "a true and perfect inventory of all the personal property belonging to the estate of Joseph Smith deceased."
173. Youngreen, "From the Prophet's Life: A Photo Essay," 37, caption for color photograph of this gold ring.
174. Preston Nibley, *Joseph Smith, the Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1944), photograph opposite page 156; Marba C. Josephson, "What Did the Prophet Joseph Smith Look Like?" *Improvement Era* 56 (May 1953): 311; Davis Bitton, *Images of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Aspen Books, 1996), 115.
175. Emma Smith, "Received, Nauvoo, Illinois, July 2, 1844."
176. Emma Smith, "Received, Nauvoo, Illinois, July 2, 1844"; Emma Smith, "a true and perfect inventory of all the personal property belonging to the estate of Joseph Smith deceased"; Cahoon, Cutler, and Clayton "Inventory of Goods."
177. Daniel Spencer, Orson Spencer, and Stephen Markham, "Inventory & Appraisement of the personal property of Hiram [sic] Smith (deceased) August 14th & 15th 1844," signed 26 Aug. 1844, LDS archives. For "Hiram" as original spelling of Hyrum Smith's name, see page 382, note 15.
178. *History of the Church*, 6:620; Claire Noall, *Intimate Disciple: A Portrait of Willard Richards, Apostle to Joseph Smith—Cousin of Brigham Young* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1957), 437; Francis M. Gibbons, *John Taylor: Mormon Philosopher, Prophet of God* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1985), 66; Corbett, *Hyrum Smith*, 419, and photo opposite page 137; Tracy, *In Search of Joseph*, 77, upper right quadrant (for photograph of Hyrum Smith's bullet-smashed watch).
179. Ronald E. Romig (Church Archivist for the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints) to D. Michael Quinn, 29 Oct. 1997: "Joseph's watch is a gold case. The dial face is silver color. The only provenance that I am able to find about this watch is that it came to the collection via W. W. Smith." RLDS president W. Wallace Smith was a son of Joseph Smith III and grandson of Joseph Smith, the martyr.
180. Hibner [Hiebner], *Mysterium Sigillorum*, 186; Morgan, "A Silver Disc of the Seventeenth Century," 88.
181. Members of the Mercurii [Robert C. Smith], *Astrologer of the Nineteenth Century ... a Complete System of Occult Philosophy*, 498.
182. "From Priest's American Antiquities," *Times and Seasons* 3 (1 June 1842): 814.
183. "THE JEWS," *Times and Seasons* 3 (2 May 1842): 780-81, with editorial comments by Joseph Smith; Alexander Neibaur, "THE JEWS," *Times and Seasons* 4 (1 June 1843): 220-23, 4 (15 June 1843): 233-34, while Apostle John Taylor was editor.
184. John Allen, *Modern Judaism: or, A Brief Account of the Opinions, Traditions, Rites, and Ceremonies of the Jews in Modern Times*, 2d ed., rev. (1816; London: R. B. Seeley and W. Burnside, 1830), 73 (for first quote), 70 (for second quote, emphasis in original); also

Werblowsky and Wigoder, *Encyclopedia of the Jewish Religion*, 221, on the "practical [Cabala] ... the magical use of kabalistic teaching for spiritual or temporal purposes"; ch. 7.

185. Artifact 1076, "BLOODSTONE: Pres. Brigham Young" in a permanent display case, and Artifact Donation Book I in staff office, Daughters of Utah Pioneers Museum, Salt Lake City, Utah.

186. Theodore H. Gaster, "Amulets and Talismans," in Eliade, *Encyclopedia of Religion*, 1:243.

187. Benson Whittle untitled review, *BYU Studies* 27 (Fall 1987): 111, referred to "coming forth" as a "now quaint phrase," yet I suspect it also sounded archaic in the nineteenth century. Still, non-LDS scholars also frequently use it for the events (claimed and counter-claimed) leading to the book's publication. I believe this phrase "coming forth of the Book of Mormon" resonates for both Mormons and non-Mormons because it suggests there was a long and complex background to this 1830 publication. That is certainly why I use the phrase (see ch. 5).

188. Martin Rist, "The God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: A Liturgical and Magical Formula," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 57 (1938): 289.

189. Add. MS 32,502, folio 90.

190. Ellen Ettlinger, "Documents of British Superstition in Oxford," *Folk-Lore* 54 (Mar. 1943): 243. For discussion of AGLA, see ch. 4.

191. Todd, *Saga of the Book of Abraham*, 328, 330. In view of the pages I devote to examining the chain-of-ownership for the Jupiter talisman and evaluating Bidamon's statements of its connections to Joseph Smith, readers can evaluate the accuracy of an LDS polemicist's claim that "Quinn takes for granted, for example, that Joseph Smith owned a Jupiter talisman and so forth, which is iffy at best." See Louis Midgley, "Playing with Half a Decker: The Countercult Religious Tradition Confronts the Book of Mormon," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 5 (1993): 117n1. The first edition he criticized had the same careful discussion and documentation, except for my overlooking Bidamon's 1902 display of the Jupiter talisman to an LDS apostle. Fellow FARMS contributors David B. Honey and Daniel C. Peterson have described Midgley as "the most vociferous defender of the faith," in their "Advocacy and Inquiry in the Writing of Latter-day Saint History," *BYU Studies* 31 (Spring 1991): 172n1.

192. Durham, "Is There No Help For the Widow's Son?"

193. "Mormonism and Masonry—New Findings," *Mormon Miscellaneous* 1 (Oct. 1975): 1-2 (photographs of Smith's Jupiter talisman), 14-15 (Durham's 1974 public discussion of the talisman and citation of Francis Barrett's *The Magus*); DeHoyos, *Masonic Emblem & Parchments of Joseph & Hyrum Smith*; Tanner and Tanner, "Mormonism & Magic" (1982); Tanner and Tanner, *Mormonism, Magic, and Masonry* (1983).

194. "Symposium Examines Smith's Involvement in Magic," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 24 Aug. 1985, B-1.

195. The fall 1984 issue of *BYU Studies* contained Anderson's attack on the provenance of the talisman and his assertion of irrelevance for the magic parchments (which had indisputable chain-of-ownership within the Smith family). However, as a publishing curiosity in Mormon studies, this issue was copyrighted in 1986, the year of its printing.

196. William J. Hamblin, "Everything Is Everything: Was Joseph Smith Influenced by Kabbalah?" in *FARMS Review of Books: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 8 (1996), no. 2:282n90.

197. Richard L. Evans, "Illinois Yields Church Documents: Part of Pearl of Great Price Manuscript, and Other Papers in Joseph Smith's Own Handwriting Included in Purchase of Wilford C. Wood from Charles E. Bidamon," *Improvement Era* 40 (Sept. 1937): 565, 573 (for list of the written documents included in Bidamon's sale); Todd, *Saga of the Book of Abraham*, 329 (for Joseph Fielding Smith's authentication and a partial list of the items), 331 (for list of items Bidamon sold).

198. Barrett, *Magus*, I:143; compare Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, 240.
199. Hibner [Hiebner], *Mysterium Sigillorum*, 186.
200. Sloane MS 3846, folio 46.
201. Siegfried Seligmann, *Die magischen Heil- und Schutzmittel aus der Natur ... eine Geschichte des Amulettwesens* (Stuttgart: Strecker and Schroeder, 1927), 160-61.
202. Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, 240.
203. Steven L. Olsen and Dale F. Beecher, *Presidents of the Church: An Exhibition at the Museum of Church History and Art* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1985), 21.
204. Lilly, *Christian Astrology* (1647), 60, 64; Ramesey, *Astrologia Restaurata; or, Astrologie Restored*, 53; Allen, *Trials of Discipleship*, 324; Lilly, *Christian Astrology ...* (London: William Charlton Wright, 1839), 45.
205. Maternus, *Ancient Astrology*, 279.
206. For St. Andrew's cross, see J. E. Cirlot, *A Dictionary of Symbols*, trans. Jack Sage (New York: Philosophical Library, 1962), 66; also any standard dictionary, s.v. "cross." Robinson untitled review (1987), 90, wrongly claimed this was "merely an x standing on a quarter circle." To any observer not blinded by polemical bias, the carving (regardless its meaning) is of an x inside a full circle. He also claimed that this circled-x symbol "does not stand above the crown but rather within it" (his emphasis). The illustration (fig. 38) clearly shows (as it did then) that 3/4 of the circled-x is above the outermost extensions of the crown. Concerning Stephen E. Robinson's polemical techniques in his review, see previous pages 328 (note 2), 407 (note 3), 411 (note 22), 518 (note 303).
207. Label for Artifact 583 (emphasis in original), permanent display case, Daughters of Utah Pioneers Museum.
208. Artifact 583.
209. Mervin B. Hogan, *Founding Minutes of Nauvoo Lodge, U.D.* (Des Moines, IA: Research Lodge Number 2, [1973]), 8-11; "Complete Membership Roster of Nauvoo Lodge from December 29, 1841 to April 8, 1846," in Hogan, *Official Minutes of Nauvoo Lodge, U.D.* (Des Moines, IA: Research Lodge No. 2, 1974), 48-103; Hogan, *Vital Statistics of Nauvoo Lodge* (Des Moines, IA: Research Lodge Nov. 2, 1976); compare Kent Walgren to D. Michael Quinn, 26 July 1997, citing John Lane, *Masonic Records, 1717-1894*, 2d ed. (London: United Grand Lodge of England/E. Letchworth, 1895), 471.
210. Albert G. Mackey, *A Lexicon of Freemasonry*, rev. ed. (Philadelphia: Moss, 1867), 45; Mackey, *Encyclopaedia of Freemasonry*, 229; Henry C. Atwood, *The Master Workman; or True Masonic Guide ...*, 2d ed. (New York: Clark, Austin, 1851), illustration page after 356; Jeremy L. Cross, *The Templar's Chart, or Hieroglyphic Monitor ...*, 4th ed. (New York: A. S. Barnes, 1857), illustration page 30 at back; "Notes and Queries," *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* 82 (1969): 329, 332; William A. Carpenter, *The Exemplar: A Guide to a Mason's Actions* (Philadelphia: Grand Lodge, F. & A.M. of Pennsylvania, 1985), 69; J. M. Hamill (librarian and curator of the United Grand Lodge of England) to D. Michael Quinn, 16 Sept. 1986.
211. *Sandusky Masonic Bulletin*, Feb. 1945, clipping provided by Library of the Grand Lodge of Iowa, A.F. & A.M.
212. John H. Platt [associate librarian and curator of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, F. & A.M.] to D. Michael Quinn, 4 Nov. 1986 and 18 Feb. 1987, in which Platt reported the results of his written inquiries to all grand lodges in the United States about the Dove and Olive Branch jewel or emblem.
213. Mackey, *Encyclopaedia of Freemasonry*, 229; Carpenter, *Exemplar*, 69.
214. Of this statement, Robinson untitled review (1987), 89, commented: "Quinn seems constitutionally unable to view the evidence apart from a prior commitment to his hypothesis." After presenting my discussion of the limited Masonic use of this symbol, he added (90): "This appears to be willful obfuscation, and the objective reader is put off by the forced imposition of Quinn's theory on evidence which clearly contradicts it." Polemicists

always regard it as a sign of weakness to acknowledge the existence of evidence (no matter how exceptional) that counters the bulk of evidence an author emphasizes, which is why polemicists refuse to do so. I regard it as an author's obligation to refer to even minor evidence (of which the author is aware) that seems to conflict with the bulk of evidence. I can only contrast my own honesty in this regard with BYU professor Stephen E. Robinson, who withheld from his readers the significant fact that neither Joseph Smith nor any other early Mormon had any connection with the lodge which issued this pendant. I stated and supported that fact in the first edition, page 73, even though this revised edition now provides the added information that this lodge was located in New Brunswick, Canada.

215. Arnold Whittick, *Symbols, Signs, and Their Meaning* (London: Leonard Hill, 1960), 176; compare with *History of the Church*, 5:261; Joseph Fielding Smith, comp., *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* ... (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1938), 276; Richard C. Galbraith, ed., *Scriptural Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* ... (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1993), 311.

216. Joachim Camerarius, *Wahl-Sprueche und Sinnen-Bilder* (Mainz: L. Bourgeat, 1671), 3:118-19; Nicholas Verriën, *Recueil d'Emblemes* ... (Paris: Claude Jombert, 1724), 17; Louisa Twining, *Symbols and Emblems of Early and Mediaeval Christian Art* (London: John Murray, 1885), 55-60; Arthur Henkel and Albrecht Schoene, *Emblemata: Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche, 1967), 211, 855-62.

217. Elizabeth Villiers, *The Mascot Book* (London: T. Werner Laurie, 1923), 71.

218. E. Hoffmann-Krayer, *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, 10 vols. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1927-42), 8:698; Stith Thompson, *Motif Index of Folk Literature*, rev. ed., 6 vols. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1955-58), 3:320. Wilson untitled review (1987), 102, criticized this book for citing "badly outdated publications" and faulted it for not "giving any serious heed to contemporary folklore and to contemporary folklore scholarship." This requires me to make the obvious statement that collections of "contemporary folklore" gathered in the 1980s and 1990s will reveal nothing about people living more than 100 years earlier. I say "obvious," because Wilson's 1987 review also denied that there is an "unchanging group of people called the 'folk'" (102-103). Therefore, when interested in people living 150-200 years ago, historians must examine folklore sources as far distant in the past as possible—in dusty academic journals, local histories, newspapers, diaries, correspondence—none of which are "contemporary" to a current folklorist. For the polemics of Wilson's approach, see page 334, note 31.

219. Gertrude Jobes, *Dictionary of Mythology, Folklore and Symbols*, 3 vols. (New York: Scarecrow Press, 1961-62), 1:466.

220. Mackenzie, *Royal Masonic Cyclopaedia*, 163.

221. Lilly, *Christian Astrology* (1647), 75; Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, 205; Ramesey, *Astrologia Restaurata; or, Astrologie Restored*, 60; Agrippa [alleged], *Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy*, 1655 edition (45-46, emphasis in original); Hibner [Hiebner], *Mysterium Sigillorum*, 6; *Short Enquiry Concerning the Hermetick Art*, 50; Barrett, *Magus*, 1:127.

222. Joan Evans, *Magical Jewels of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, particularly in England* (Oxford, Eng.: Clarendon Press, 1922), 103, 235-36.

223. Horst, *Zauber-Bibliothek*, 3:86. This volume was printed in 1822 and reviewed in *Foreign Quarterly Review* 6 (June 1830): 1-47.

224. Barrett, *Magus*, 1:illustration opposite 174, with quote on 144; compare quote with Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, 241.

225. Harley MS 6482, folio 95b; Barrett, *Magus*, 1:144.

226. Ramesey, *Astrologia Restaurata; or, Astrologie Restored*, 53; Ball, *Astrology Improv'd*, 62; Ball, *Astro-Physical Compendium*, 21; Barrett, *Magus*, 1:112; White, *Beauties of Occult Science*, 45, 64.

227. Heydon, *Astrology*, 190.

228. Gilbert, "Talismans," 272-75.
229. Llewellyn Jewitt, "Note on a Curious Love Charm," *Reliquary* 10 (Jan. 1870): 139; Barrett, *Magus*, illustrations opposite 143-44.
230. Jobes, *Dictionary of Mythology, Folklore and Symbols*, 1:466; Raphael, *pseud.* [Robert C. Smith], *A Manual of Astrology ...* (London: C. S. Arnold; Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd; Dublin: Westley and Tyrrell, 1828), 76, 85; Lilly, *Christian Astrology* (1839), 45, 53.
231. Jacob Behmen [Boehme], *Signatura Rerum: or, The Signature of All Things ...*, trans. J. Ellistone (London: John Macock, 1651), 68 (emphasis in original). Also in collected works of 1764-81.
232. Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, 57 (emphasis in original); also Lilly, *Christian Astrology* (1647), 65; Ramesey, *Astrologia Restaurata; or, Astrologie Restored*, 53; Sibly, *New and Complete Illustration of the Occult Sciences*, 112, in editions from 1784 to 1826; Lilly, *Christian Astrology* (1839), 44-45.
233. D. A. Massey, ed. and comp., *History of Freemasonry in Danvers, Mass.* (Peabody, MA: C. H. Shepard, 1896), 26.
234. Smith, *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, 195, 361; Galbraith, *Scriptural Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, 221, 406; also Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook, comps. and eds., *The Words of Joseph Smith: The Contemporary Accounts of the Nauvoo Discourses of the Prophet Joseph* (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1980), 355.
235. Polygamy Affidavit Book 1, Joseph F. Smith papers, LDS archives, with copy in fds. 17-18, box 21, Newell papers; [Andrew Jenson, assistant church historian], "Plural Marriage," *Historical Record* 6 (May 1887): 233-34; Bachman, "Study of the Mormon Practice of Plural Marriage Before the Death of Joseph Smith"; Hill, *Joseph Smith*; Newell and Avery, *Mormon Enigma*; Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness*.
236. Martha Sonntag Bradley and Mary Brown Firmage Woodward, "Plurality, Patriarchy, and the Priestess: Zina D. H. Young's Nauvoo Marriages," *Journal of Mormon History* 20 (Spring 1994): 84-118; Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness*, 71-72, 79-92, 98-101.
237. LaMar C. Berrett notations on color slides of Eliza R. Snow pendant, 1969, private possession, Provo, Utah; Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness*, 306, 312-16; Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, ed., *The Personal Writings of Eliza Roxcy Snow* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1995), 2, 16-17, 49.
238. Berrett's slides, which he loaned to me; Buddy Youngreen statement to D. Michael Quinn, 10 Nov. 1986, which also referred to Nibley's views.
239. Robinson untitled review (1987), 90.
240. Mrs. Henry Draper statement: "This Medal accompanies the volume entitled D. Johannis Faustens Miracul Kunst, und Wunder-Buch, Passau, 1612. Presented by—Mrs. Henry Draper—the Courtlandt Palmer Memorial, 30 Mar. 1909," Magic Collection, New York Public Library.
241. Julius Friedrich Sachse, *The German Pietists of Provincial Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: P. C. Stockhausen, 1895), 120, 121.
242. James Hastings, ed., *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, 13 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926), 3:393.
243. Louis Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, trans. Henrietta Szold, 7 vols. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1909-38), 1:66, 2:17, 312, 5:123, 337; Werblowsky and Wigoder, *Encyclopedia of the Jewish Religion*, 247; Gaster, "Amulets and Talismans," in Eliade, *Encyclopedia of Religion*, 1:243-46.
244. Wilson untitled review (1987), 101; also repeated in Wilson untitled review (1989): 343. Without citing Wilson or me, Eugene England, "Orson Scott Card: How a Great Science Fictionist Uses the Book of Mormon," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 2 (1990), 58-59, rephrased this view of his colleague in BYU's English department: "Some commentators on the evidence for Joseph

Smith's involvement in 'the' magic worldview—the money-digging, amulets, etc.— ... tend to make the fundamental mistake of assuming that all who practiced these hidden arts had the same worldview and that the same practices meant the same to everyone." See pp. 334n31 and 340n7 for Wilson's polemics and England's privileging-language.

245. Peter Benes and Jane Montague Benes, "Forward," in Peter Benes, ed., *Wonders of the Invisible World, 1600-1900: The Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife Annual Proceedings, 1992* (Boston: Boston University Press, 1995), 6, for the quoted phrase and perspective on this transition.

246. Wilson untitled review (1987), 98; repeated in Wilson untitled review (1989), 343; also ch. 6 for book advertisements in the Palmyra area, for the Manchester Library, and for the reading habits of Joseph Smith, Jr.

247. Wilson attacked the first edition of this book in three different publications aimed at Utah Mormon readers, which constitutes a polemical crusade, in my view. For the polemics of Wilson's approach, see page 334, note 31.

248. See D. Michael Quinn, "On Being a Mormon Historian (And Its Aftermath)," in George D. Smith, ed., *Faithful History: Essays on Writing Mormon History* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), 69-111 (esp. 86-87), for these views that I expressed in a 1981 talk at Brigham Young University where I was a professor of American history.

249. "A Mystical Medal," *American Journal of Numismatics* 11 (Jan. 1877): 71.

250. Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith*, 103; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:333-34.

251. *History of the Church*, 1:12; Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:400, 423.

252. Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith*, 106; also Lucy Mack Smith manuscript history (1845), 71; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:338-39.

253. Caleb Atwater, "Description of the Antiquities Discovered in the State of Ohio and Other Western States," *Archaeologia Americana: Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society* 1 (1820): 232, with reference to these Kentucky "mummies" on 231; "New Books," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 4 Sept. 1821, [3], for "The first volume of the Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society."

254. "Journal of Priddy Meeks, Harrisburg, Washington County, Utah Territory, October 22, 1879," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 10 (Jan.-Oct. 1940): 180.

255. Franklin D. Richards diary, 9 Mar. 1882, LDS archives.

256. Fig. 109 in Seligmann, *Die magischen Heil-und Schutzmittel*, 272.

257. *A Book of Commandments for the Government of the Church of Christ ...* (Zion [Independence, MO]: W. W. Phelps, 1833), 19; Robert J. Woodford, "The Historical Development of the Doctrine and Covenants," 3 vols., Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1974, 1:185-91; Lyndon W. Cook, *The Revelations of the Prophet Joseph Smith: A Historical and Biographical Commentary of the Doctrine and Covenants* (Provo, UT: Seventy's Mission Bookstore, 1981), 16; Richard P. Howard, *Restoration Scriptures: A Study of Their Textual Development*, 2d ed., rev. and enl. (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1995), 156-58.

258. Edward Augustus Kendall, *Travels Through the Northern Parts of the United States in the Years 1807 and 1808*, 3 vols. (New York: I. Riley, 1809), 3:101; Robert Paul, "Joseph Smith and the Manchester (New York) Library," *BYU Studies* 22 (Summer 1982): 354; also Rossiter W. Raymond, "The Divining Rod," *Transactions of the American Institute of Mining Engineers* 11 (Feb. 1883): 419.

259. Robinson untitled review (1987), 92.

260. Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:473, 510; Quinn, *Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power*, 102, 113, 140, 143-44, 527; Harold Schindler, *Orrin Porter Rockwell: Man of God, Son of Thunder* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1966), 18-65; Pearl Wilcox, *The Latter Day Saints On the Missouri Frontier* (Independence, MO: By the author, 1972), 34, 303; Donald Q. Cannon and Lyndon W. Cook, eds., *Far West Record: Minutes of The Church of*

Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830-1844 (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1983), 54-55 (27 Sept. 1832), 200 (6 July 1838), 285; Cook and Milton V. Backman, Jr., eds., *Kirtland Elders' Quorum Record, 1831-1841* (Provo, UT: Grandin Book, 1985), 1 (15 Jan. 1836), 71.

Notes to Chapter Four

1. Joseph Sr. first moved to Palmyra, where the *Book of Mormon* was later published. In between those two events, the Smiths moved to adjacent Manchester. For convenience, I often use Palmyra generically to refer to residents and events there and in Manchester, New York.

2. Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971), 229.

3. At the Manuscripts Department of the British Museum-Library, I examined several of these twelfth-century Christian manuscripts of ceremonial magic. See also Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, 8 vols. (New York: Macmillan/Columbia University Press, 1923-58), 2:214-89; Arthur E. Waite, *The Book of Ceremonial Magic* (1911; New Hyde Park, NY: University Books, 1961), 17-23; Daniel J. Driscoll, ed., *The Sworn Book of Honourius the Magician ... Prepared from two British Museum Manuscripts* (Gillette, NJ: Heptangle Books, 1977), x, xviii.

4. Bert Hansen, "Magic, Bookish (Western European)," in Joseph R. Strayer, ed., *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, 13 vols. (New York: American Council of Learned Societies/Charles Scribner's Sons, 1982-89), 8:37 (for *Picatrix*), 31 (for second quote); also Ioan Petru Culianu, "Magic in Medieval and Renaissance Europe," in Mircea Eliade, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, 16 vols. (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1987), 9:98 (for popularity of the *Picatrix*); Jan R. Veenstra, *Magic and Divination at the Courts of Burgundy and France: Text and Context of Laurens Pignon's Contre les devineurs (1411)* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 69-72.

5. Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 2-3 (for summary); Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites: A Necromancer's Manual of the Fifteenth Century* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 17 (for quote).

6. K. M. Briggs, *Pale Hecate's Team: An Examination of the Beliefs on Witchcraft and Magic among Shakespeare's Contemporaries and His Immediate Successors* (New York: The Humanities Press, 1962), 57.

7. *Claviculae Salomonis & Theosophia Pneumatica ...* (Wesel: Andreas Luppius, 1686); [Johann Christoph Adelung], *Geschichte der menschlichen Narrheit ...*, 7 vols. (Leipzig: Wengandschen Buchhandlung, 1785-89), 6:332-456. However, as I discuss below, the black-magic purposes of this grimoire were very different from the purposes of the Smith family's parchments for ceremonial magic.

8. Emile Angelo Grillo de Givry, *The Illustrated Anthology of Sorcery, Magic and Alchemy*, trans. J. Courtenay Locke (1931; New York: Causeway Books, 1973), 95.

9. Johann Georg Binz, *Catalogus Manuscriptorum Chemico-Alchemico-Magico-Cabalistico-Medico-Physico-Curiosorum* (Vienna: N.p., 1788), "Codices Magici."

10. W. R. Jones, "Bibliothecae Arcanae: The Private Libraries of Some European Sorcerers," *Journal of Library History* 8 (Apr. 1973): 93 (for quotes); Jones, "'Hill-Diggers' and 'Hell-Raisers': Treasure Hunting and the Supernatural in Old and New England," in Peter Benes, ed., *Wonders of the Invisible World, 1600-1900: The Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife Annual Proceedings, 1992* (Boston: Boston University Press, 1995), 99-100.

11. John Worsdale, *Celestial Philosophy, or Genethliacal Astronomy ...* (London: Longman & Co., 1828), viii-ix. For sigil, see ch. 3; Fred Gettings, *Dictionary of Occult, Hermetic and Alchemical Sigils* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981); and J. Gordon Melton, ed.,

Encyclopedia of Occultism & Parapsychology, 4th ed., 2 vols. (Detroit: Gale Research/International Thompson Publishing, 1996), 2:1179.

12. "History of Free Masonry," *Anti-Masonic Review* 1 (1828): 340-41; for necromancy, see ch. 5, also Erika Bourguignon, "Necromancy," in Eliade, *Encyclopedia of Religion*, 10:344-47, and Melton, *Encyclopedia of Occultism & Parapsychology*, 2:914-16. Like the sources quoted in this chapter, I use Cabala and cabalistic from among the various English transliterations of the Hebrew; see page 336, note 52.

13. Johann Georg Theodor Graesse, *Bibliotheca Magica ...* (Leipzig: W. Englemann, 1843).

14. Lance S. Owens, "Joseph Smith and Kabbalah: The Occult Connection," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 27 (Fall 1994): 159-60.

15. "PALMYRA Book Store," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 12 May 1824, [3].

16. Harry B. Weiss, "American Chapbooks, 1722-1842," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 49 (July 1945): 590; Roger Pattrell Bristol, *The American Bibliography of Charles Evans, Volume 14—Index* [for all American publications to 1800] (Worcester, MA: American Antiquarian Society, 1959), 142, and WorldCat (a computer-catalog of thirty-eight million different titles). The previous books with that main title were also occult handbooks for common people: *The Fortune Teller* (Philadelphia: Francis Bailey, 1793); "Ezra Pater" [Erra Pater], *The Fortune Teller, and Experienced Farrier* (Exeter: Herald Publishing Office, 1794), and "Doctor Hurlothrumbo," *pseud.*, *The Fortune-Teller ...* (1793; Boston: John W. Folsom, 1798). Bristol (142), as well as Ralph R. Shaw and Richard H. Shoemaker, comps., *American Bibliography: A Preliminary Checklist, 1801 to 1819: Title Index* (New York: Scarecrow Press, 1965), 190, also indexed "Fortune Teller" as the main title for Hannah More's *Tawney Rachel, or the Fortune Teller*, but their full entry-numbers showed that it was actually the subtitle. That short-title is also true of some (but not all) of the indexed entries for More's book in WorldCat, whose main entries also show that "Fortune Teller" was actually More's subtitle. Especially for a title beginning with a person's name, the local bookstore listed main titles, not subtitles. Thus, for Walter's Scott's 1815 *Guy Mannering, or the Astrologer*, these advertisements listed it as "Guy Mannering," but never as simply "The Astrologer." See "New Books," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 15 Aug. 1815, [3]; "NEW BOOKS," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 12 Dec. 1820, [3]. Also, prior to 1824 More's book was last printed in 1807, another reason against its being one of the recently acquired books being advertised by Palmyra's bookstore. WorldCat and M. Frances Cooper, comp., *A Checklist of American Imprints, 1820-1829: Title Index* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1972), 193, also show that *Fortune Teller* was three-page sheet music published in 1822 and 1823 by two different composers. Palmyra's bookstores did not advertise individual publications that were so small (and inexpensive), and "Fortune Teller" was in the book list.

17. *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 754 vols. (London: Mansell, 1968-81), 118:239-40, 120:165; also 263:214 and WorldCat, for Ibrahim Ali Mahomed Hafez, *pseud.*, *The New and Complete Fortune Teller: Being a Treatise on the Art of Foretelling Future Events By Dreams, Moles, and Cards* (Buffalo, NY: H. A. Salisbury, 1822), with previous editions in 1816 and 1818, as another possibility with similar content.

18. Few copies of this cheaply bound book have survived. WorldCat lists the 1817 and 1823 editions (published in New York City by George Long) and shows that the American Antiquarian Society has the only copies of each. I examined *THE BOOK OF FATE: A New and Complete System of Fortune Telling ... Carefully Rendered Into English, and Arranged From the Manuscripts of AN ADEPT* [3d ed.] (New York: Nafis & Cornish; St. Louis: Nafis, Cornish & Co.; Philadelphia: John B. Perry, n.d.), which is the only edition in *National Union Catalog of Pre-1946 Imprints*, 66:325. The Library of Congress has the surviving copy of this undated edition.

19. Louis C. Midgley, "Who Really Wrote the Book of Mormon?: The Critics and Their Theories," in Noel B. Reynolds, ed., *Book of Mormon Authorship Revisited: The Evidence for*

Ancient Origins (Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1997), 134n43. *The Book of Mormon*, published at Salt Lake City in various editions, with verse citations (similar to the Bible) according to the names of its constituent books.

20. [Orsamus Turner], "ORIGIN OF THE MORMON IMPOSTURE," *Littell's Living Age* 30 (July-Sept. 1851): 429; Turner, *History of the Pioneer Settlement of Phelps and Gorham's Purchase, and Morris's Reserve* (Rochester, NY: Erastus Darrow, 1851), 214; Milton V. Backman, Jr., "Awakenings in the Burned-over District: New Light on the Historical Setting of the First Vision," *BYU Studies* 9 (Spring 1969): 316, for this use of Turner's statement (which Backman cited); also Backman, *Joseph Smith's First Vision: Confirming Evidences and Contemporary Accounts*, 2d ed., rev. and enl. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980), 88-89, which made the same conclusion without citing Turner. See page 380, note 3, for the historical controversy about revivals and the dating of Smith's first vision.

21. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet and His Progenitors for Many Generations* (Liverpool: S. W. Richards, 1853), 96, reprinted in Dan Vogel, comp. and ed., *Early Mormon Documents*, 1+ vols. (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996-), 1:318. Horatio G. Spafford, *A Gazetteer of the State of New-York* (Albany: E. D. Packard, 1824), 302, gave the distance as ten miles between Canandaigua and the town of Manchester itself, rather than to the Smith's farm on the outskirts of Manchester. In preparing the first edition, I forgot about Lucy's statement and conservatively estimated the distance as twelve miles, so as not to overstate their closeness.

22. *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 5:304, 36:563, 533:522, 545:135-37.

23. "(No. XVIII, FOR JUNE) MUSEUM OF FOREIGN LITERATURE AND SCIENCE ... Henry Cornelius Agrippa," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 15 June 1827, [3]; "Henry Cornelius Agrippa," *Museum of Foreign Literature and Science* 10 (June 1827): 521-23 (his biography), 527 (on his views concerning the Cabala); "The Magician's Visitor [sic]," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 7 Mar. 1828, [4]. For the availability and sale of the *Museum of Foreign Literature* in Palmyra, see page 478, note 297.

24. [Peter Buchan], *Witchcraft Detected & Prevented; or, the School of Black Art Newly Opened ... particularly from Scott's [sic] DISCOVERY OF WITCHCRAFT ... It will also contain a variety of the most approved CHARMS in MAGIC; RECEIPTS in MEDICINE, NATURAL PHILOSOPHY, and CHEMISTRY, &c. BY A MEMBER OF THE SCHOOL OF BLACK ART, ITALY* (Peterhead, [Eng.]: P. Buchan, 1823); Charles Welsh and William H. Tillinghast, comps., *Catalogue of English and American Chapbooks in Harvard College Library* (1905; Detroit: Singing Tree Press/Book Tower, 1968), 120, no. 2129; *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 669:638.

25. Victor E. Neuburg, *The Penny Histories: A Study of Chapbooks for Young Readers over Two Centuries* (New York: Harcourt Brace & World, 1969); John Tebbel, *A History of Book Publishing in the United States*, 4 vols. (New York: R. R. Bowker, 1972-81), 1:160; compared to the 44-cent price for a book in "Just received at the Rochester Book-Store," *Palmyra Herald & Canal Advertiser* (Palmyra, NY), 31 July 1822, [3]; also ch. 6.

26. James R. Newhall, *A Lecture on the Occult Sciences ...* (Salem, MA: G. W. & E. Crafts, 1845), 31n.

27. Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 73; also discussion in ch. 3.

28. Martin Harris interview (Jan. 1859), in Joel Tiffany, "MORMONISM—No. II," *Tiffany's Monthly. Devoted to the Investigation of the Science of Mind ...* 5 (July 1859): 164, reprinted in Francis W. Kirkham, *A New Witness for Christ in America: The Book of Mormon*, 2 vols. (Independence, MO: Zion's Printing and Publishing, 1951), 2:377. Even careful researchers have misstated the subtitle of this periodical and given the wrong date for this installment, which was the *third* article of a series on Mormonism that began in May 1859. Tiffany wrote (163): "The following narration we took down from the lips of Martin Harris, and read the same to him after it was written, that we might be certain of giving his statement

to the world." The entire interview was in quotes, preceded by the words: "Mr. Harris says:," also Emily C. Blackman, *History of Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen and Haffelfinger, 1873), 580-81; Henry A. Sayer affidavit (24 Feb. 1885), Ketchel A. E. Bell affidavit (6 May 1885), and Mrs. S. F. Anderick affidavit (24 June 1887), all in *Naked Truths About Mormonism* 1 (Jan. 1888): 3, 2, reprinted (with the exception of Bell) in Rodger I. Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1990), 164, 153-54; Larry C. Porter, "A Study of the Origins of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the States of New York and Pennsylvania, 1816-1831," Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1971, 111, 122; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming). For Bell, see page 396, note 168.

29. John Beaumont, *An Historical, Physiological, and Theological Treatise of Spirits ...* (London: D. Browne, 1705), 369; John Beaumont, *Gleanings of Antiquities* (London: J. Roberts, 1724), 69; Ephraim Chambers, *Cyclopaedia ...*, 2 vols. (London: Knapton, 1728), 1:282; William Smellie, ed., *Encyclopaedia ...*, 1st Am. ed., 18 vols. (Philadelphia: Thomas Dobson, 1798), 12:785. The latter was the U.S. edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

30. Alan Taylor, "The Early Republic's Supernatural Economy: Treasure Seeking in the American Northeast, 1780-1830," *American Quarterly* 38 (Spring 1986): 14-15.

31. Henry W. Shoemaker, *The Origins and Language of Central Pennsylvania Witchcraft* (Reading, PA: Reading Eagle Press, 1927), 14; also John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania*, 2 vols. (1830; Philadelphia: King & Baird, 1850), 1:266; Herben Leventhal, *In the Shadow of the Enlightenment: Occultism and Renaissance Science in Eighteenth-Century America* (New York: New York University Press, 1976), 107-11; J. Gordon Melton, *Magic, Witchcraft, and Paganism in America: A Bibliography* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1982), 9; Jon Butler, "The Dark Ages of American Occultism, 1760-1848," in Howard Kerr and Charles L. Crow, eds., *The Occult in America: New Historical Perspectives* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983), 68-69; Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), 77; also Simon J. Bronner, "Pennsylvania Germans ('Dutch')," in Jan Harold Brunvand, ed., *American Folklore: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1996), 549-54.

32. AM 8115 ("Der Freund in der Noth," manuscript of 1752), AM 8895 ("German [magic] Recipes, ca. 1750"), both in Manuscript Division, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

33. Don Yoder, "Hohman and Romanus: Origins and Diffusion of the Pennsylvania German Powwow Manual," in Wayland D. Hand, ed., *American Folk Medicine: A Symposium* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 240.

34. For example, W. D. Bellhouse, "A Complete System of Magic," manuscript (ca. 1852), Magic Collection, Manuscript Division, New York Public Library, New York City, New York.

35. Yoder, "Hohman and Romanus," 243; Robert E. Cazden, *A Social History of the German Book Trade in America to the Civil War* (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1984), 42; Karl John Richard Arndt and Reimer C. Eck, eds., *The First Century of German Language Printing in the United States of America*, 2 vols. (Goettingen: Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek/Pennsylvania German Society, 1989), 2:735, (no. 1996), 2:904, (no. 2462), 2:906, (no. 2470), 2:1007, (no. 2779), 2:1055, (no. 2919), 2:1082, (no. 3000); AM 8115 ("Der Freund in der Noth," manuscript of 1752), Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

36. Scott T. Swank, *Arts of the Pennsylvania Germans* (New York: Wintenhur Book/Henry Francis DuPont Wintetur Museum/W. W. Norton, 1983), 272.

37. Johann Jahn, *Jahn's Biblical Archaeology*, trans. Thomas C. Upham (Andover, MA: Flagg and Gould, 1823), 144, sec. 131; *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 276:156; "BOOKS," *Times and Seasons* 3 (1 Sept. 1842): 908, with Smith as sole editor on 910; "From Jahn's Biblical Archaeology," *Times and Seasons* 3 (15 Sept. 1842): 918, with Smith as sole editor on 926.

38. "NEW BOOKS," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 15 June 1819, [1]; "New Bookstore," *Palmyra Herald, and Canal Advertiser* (Palmyra, NY), 9 Oct. 1822, [3]; "Stationary [sic]," *Palmyra Herald & Canal Advertiser* (Palmyra, NY), 22 Jan. 1823, [4]; "STATIONARY [sic]," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 30 Aug. 1826, [3]; "STATIONARY [sic]," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 29 Jan. 1830, [3].

39. Pearson H. Corbett, *Hyrum Smith, Patriarch* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1963), 453; Arturo ("Art") deHoyos, *The Masonic Emblem & Parchments Of Joseph & Hyrum Smith* (N.p., 1982), 4-22, copy in fd 14, box 19, David J. Buerger papers, Manuscripts Division, Department of Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City; Jerald Tanner and Sandra Tanner, "Mormonism & Magic," *Salt Lake City Messenger* 49 (Dec. 1982): 1-3; Jerald Tanner and Sandra Tanner, *Mormonism, Magic, and Masonry* (Salt Lake City: Utah Lighthouse Ministry, 1983), 6-9; "Symposium Examines Smith's Involvement in Magic," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 24 Aug. 1985, B-1.

40. "Mormon Origins Discussed at Sunstone Meet," *Mormon History Association Newsletter* 59 (Oct. 1985): 5 (for quote); previous report based on Robert C. Fillerup comments and color slides of the Smith family's magic parchments and dagger, 11 a.m. session, 24 Aug. 1985, in *1985 Sunstone Symposium: August 21-24 at the Westin Hotel Utah, Salt Lake City* (Salt Lake City: Sunstone, 1985), 21, copy in Vertical File for Sunstone, Special Collections, Marriott Library; also tape-recording of Fillerup presentation in Marquardt papers, Marriott Library; Robert C. Fillerup statements to Quinn, 24 Aug. 1985, 12 Sept. 1986. As stated in this edition's Introduction, Patriarch Smith showed me the parchments in his home several years before the public release of these photographs and slides.

41. E. Gary Smith to D. Michael Quinn, 11 Sept. 1986.

42. Evaline Smith Haws to Robert Haws, 11 Nov. 1969, Archives, Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter LDS archives).

43. My visit with E. Gary Smith to his father's home in Salt Lake City, 21 Oct. 1977.

44. Corbett, *Hyrum Smith*, 39, 39n3, 452-53; "Thoughts and Feelings of Eldred G. Smith on the Occasion of the General Conference of the Church in Fayette, New York, April 6, 1980," signed by Eldred G. Smith, 26 May 1980, 2, LDS archives, which summarized this chain-of-ownership for one artifact, the "box [that] was originally Alvin Smith's"; also summarized in "Hyrum Smith's Box," *Ensign* 13 (Dec. 1983): 33; photo caption, *Ensign* 15 (May 1985): 18.

45. Daniel Spencer, Orson Spencer, and Stephen Markham, "Inventory & Appraisal of the personal property of Hiram [sic] Smith (deceased) August 14th & 15th 1844," signed 26 Aug. 1844, LDS archives; compare previous notes 37-40; also page 382, note 15 for "Hiram" as original spelling of Hyrum Smith.

46. Part of list underneath heading, "Hiram [sic] Smith's Leather Trunk," unnumbered page in middle of long inventory of unnumbered pages, prepared by LDS Historical Department (with note on this page that these artifacts were "Put in Earl Olson's Office," who was the official Church Archivist at Joseph Fielding Smith's death in 1972), copy in Joseph Fielding Smith estate file #59189, Third District Court of Utah, in storage at Utah State Archives but retrievable in 1998 only through probate clerk's office, Scott M. Matheson Courthouse, Salt Lake City, Utah. For "Hiram" as the original spelling of Hyrum Smith, see previous note 45 and page 382 (note 15).

47. Corbett, *Hyrum Smith*, 269, 269n9; Kenneth W. Godfrey, "Joseph Smith and the Masons," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 64 (Spring 1971): 81; D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books/Smith Research Associates, 1994), 54, 114, 146, 171, 206, 399-402, 491-502, 584; Michael W. Homer, "'Similarity of Priesthood in Masonry': The Relationship between Freemasonry and Mormonism," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 27 (Fall 1994): 16; also Evelyn T. Marshall, "Garments," in Daniel H. Ludlow, ed., *Encyclopedia of Mormonism: The History*,

Scripture, Doctrine, and Procedure of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 5 vols. (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1992), 1:534-35. For the green-leaf apron of the LDS temple ceremony, see LeRoi C. Snow, "Spiritual Gifts Through Signs and Tokens," *Deseret News* "Church Section," 8 Aug. 1942, 5, 8.

48. Francis M. Gibbons, *Joseph Fielding Smith: Gospel Scholar, Prophet of God* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 427: "And in an upstairs attic were stored some of the priceless artifacts that had belonged to his ancestors, including some personal effects of his grandfather, the Patriarch Hyrum Smith." As a cover-sheet for the estate-inventory cited in previous note 46, there was a page with only the typed word "ARTIFACTS."

49. Compare with Johannes Faust, *Doktor Johannes Faust's Magia naturalis et innaturalis* ... (1505; Stuttgart: J. Scheible, 1849), also volume 5 of Johann Scheible, *Das Kloster*, 12 vols. (Stuttgart: J. Scheible, 1845-49); *Claviculae Salomonis* (1686); *Grimoire, ou La magie naturelle* (La Haye: Compagnie, [ca. 1750]); *L'Art de commander les esprits celestes, aeriens, terrestres & infernaux. Suivi du Grand grimoire, de la magie noire* ... [Paris, 1750?]; Iroë-Grego, *La Veritable Magie Noire* ... (Rome: Garcia Libraire, 1750); Georg Conrad Horst, *Zauber-Bibliothek* ..., 6 vols. (Mainz: Florian Kupferberg, 1821-26), reviewed in "Daemonology and Witchcraft," *Foreign Quarterly Review* 6 (June 1830): 1-47, and cited as source for article on magic in Francis Lieber, ed., *Encyclopaedia Americana*, 13 vols. (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea, and Cary, 1829-33), 8:195; *Le Dragon Rouge* ... (Nîmes: Chez Gaude, 1823); S. Liddle MacGregor Mathers, *The Key of Solomon the King (Clavicula Salomonis) Now First Translated and Edited from Ancient Mss in the British Museum* (London: George Redway, 1888); Waite, *Book of Ceremonial Magic*; L. W. de Laurence, ed., *The Lesser Key of Solomon: Goetia, The Book of Evil Spirits ... Translated from Ancient Manuscripts in the British Museum, London* (Hackensack, NJ: Wehman Brothers, 1916); Sayed Idries Shah, *The Secret Lure of Magic: Books of the Sorcerers* (New York: Citadel Press, 1958); Francis King, *Magic: The Western Tradition* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1975), 11-13, 98-103; Tom Ogden, *Wizards and Sorcerers: From Abracadabra to Zoroaster* (New York: Facts On File, 1997), 95, 117-19, 121-22. To avoid possible confusion with recent editions of *Encyclopaedia Americana*, this chapter's subsequent citations list the years of the edition being cited.

50. Add. MS 36,674, folio 110, Manuscript Department, British Museum-Library, London, England.

51. Tanner and Tanner, *Mormonism, Magic, and Masonry*, 9.

52. DeHoyos, *Masonic Emblem & Parchments Of Joseph & Hyrum Smith*, 19; Tanner and Tanner, *Mormonism, Magic, and Masonry*, 8; *Salt Lake Tribune*, 24 Aug. 1985, B-1.

53. DeHoyos, *Masonic Emblem & Parchments Of Joseph & Hyrum Smith*, 4; Tanner and Tanner, "Mormonism & Magic," 1; Tanner and Tanner, *Mormonism, Magic, and Masonry*, 7.

54. Henry Cornelius Agrippa [alleged], *Henry Cornelius Agrippa: His Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy*, trans. Robert Turner (London: J. Harrison, 1655), 63 (emphasis in original), also in 1665 edition (60), in 1783 edition (112). Richard Lloyd Anderson, "The Mature Joseph Smith and Treasure Searching," *BYU Studies* 24 (Fall 1984): 558, described it as "irresponsible" to make "the implication that 'Holiness to the Lord' necessitates a magical connection, since it is written around the borders of another Smith family parchment. But that phrase also has biblical prominence," and Anderson then cited the verses I mention in the discussion here. Aside from his *reductio ad absurdum* argument of polemics, it was "irresponsible" of Anderson to isolate one element in a piece of evidence from all other aspects of that item. As with every evidence of the Smith family's magic that LDS apologists try to dismiss in isolation, "Holiness to the Lord" occurs in the context of the other clearly astrological and occult inscriptions on the parchment. It is this context of magic (including the use of "Holiness to the Lord" in pseudo-Agrippa's *Occult Philosophy*) that "necessitates a magical connection" for the Smith family's golden parchment, not a biblical phrase in and of itself.

55. Francis Barrett, *The Magus, or Celestial Intelligencer; Being A Complete System of Occult Philosophy*, 2 vols. in 1 (London: Lackington, Allen, 1801), II:94, 96; compare with previous note. For Tetragrammaton, see ch. 1.

56. Fillerup comments and color slides (1985).

57. "Stationary [sic]," *Palmyra Herald & Canal Advertiser* (Palmyra, NY), 22 Jan. 1823, [4]; Barrett, *Magus*, II:93.

58. DeHoyos, *Masonic Emblem & Parchments Of Joseph & Hyrum Smith*, 14; David Goldstein [curator of the Hebrew Section, Department of Oriental Manuscripts and Printed Books, British Library] to D. Michael Quinn, 27 June 1986.

59. The importance of the nine-character inscription below each of the three English "Holiness to the Lord" inscriptions can only be guessed at. Each character seems to stand for a letter in the alphabet, in which case this undeciphered inscription is expressing a word different from any other on this complex lamén. It is tantalizing to think that this may be a coded or occult inscription of a person's name.

However, the characters on this Smith family parchment do not correspond to linguistic, occult, or cipher alphabets published before Joseph Smith's lifetime. See Johannis Trithemius, *Polygraphiae Libri sex ...* (Cologne: Johannes Birckmann and Theodor Baum, 1571), appendix; John Baptista Porta, *De Furtivis Literarum Notis ...* (Naples: John Baptist, 1602), 69-70, 93, 101-102, 130-34; Henry Cornelius Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (London: Gregory Moule, 1651), 164; Gaspar Schott, *Schola Stenographica* (Nuremberg: Jobus Hertz, 1680); Gregorius Anglus [Georg von Welling] Sallwigt, *Opus-Mago-Cabalisticum et Theologicum ...* (Frankfurt: Anthon Heinscheidt, 1719), 28-44; Augustin Barruel, *Memoirs, Illustrating the History of Jacobinism*, trans. Robert Clifford, 1st. Am. ed., 4 vols. (1798; Hartford: Hudson and Goodwin; New York: Isaac Collins; Elizabethtown: Shepard Collock, 1799), 3:41; Edmund Fry, *Pantographia; Containing Accurate Copies of All the Known Alphabets in the World ...* (London: Cooper and Wilson, 1799); also Julian A. Bielewicz, *Secret Languages: Communicating in Codes and Ciphers* (New York: Elsevier/Nelson Books, 1976), 50; Gettings, *Dictionary of Occult, Hermetic and Alchemical Sigils*, 40, 44-45, 73, 112, 135, 145, 169, 182, 216-19, 231-34, 262-64; deHoyos, *Masonic Emblem & Parchments Of Joseph & Hyrum Smith*, 14-15.

Of these sources, most similarities exist between the inscription on the lamén and Fry's *Pantographia* (1799). According to Fry, the Sigma-like character at either end of the inscription stands for the English letter S in the Greek alphabet and in the Arabic alphabet (Fry, 8, 120). The capital I-like character could stand for the letters B, E, I, S, or Z (Fry, 42, 84, 110, 270). The snake-like letter could also stand for I (Fry, 28). The unusual third character from the right in the inscription on the lamén could stand for the letter F (Fry, 40). However, none of that adds up to any discernible meaning.

Nor does the inscription on the Smith lamén correspond to any of the magic ciphers in hundreds of individual magic manuscripts (bound in dozens of separately numbered volumes) I examined at the British Museum-Library and at the Bodleian Library of Oxford University. For example, Sloane MS 3822, folios 135-56, British Museum-Library.

Yale University's Robert S. Brumbaugh also did not recognize the magic cipher of the Smith parchment from his study of magic codes and ciphers of early modern Europe. He had previously deciphered the magic code attributed to Roger Bacon that had defied successful decipherment for three centuries. See Brumbaugh, *The Most Mysterious Manuscript: The Voynich "Roger Bacon" Cipher Manuscript* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1978); also Robert S. Brumbaugh to D. Michael Quinn, 21 Nov. 1986.

There remain two possible explanations for this inscription. First, it was a unique cipher of the lamén's creator. Second, the key for deciphering this nine-character inscription is in a presently unrecognized book or manuscript.

60. Compare with Robert Fludd, *Mosaical Philosophy ...* (London: Humphrey Moseley, 1659), 173; T. Schrire, *Hebrew Amulets* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), 93-94.

61. Paracelsus, *pseud.* [Theophrastus von Hohenheim], *Of the Supreme Mysteries of Nature*, trans. Robert Turner (London: J. C., 1656), 41.
62. Also deHoyos, *Masonic Emblem & Parchments Of Joseph & Hyrum Smith*, 12.
63. Ebenezer Sibly, *A New and Complete Illustration of the Occult Sciences* (London: Champante and Whitrow, 1784), illustration opposite 1103; Barrett, *Magus*, II:illustration opposite 106, with quote from I:147.
64. Agrippa [alleged], *Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy*, 1655 edition (49-50), 1665 edition (47), 1783 edition (90-91).
65. Of Sibly's thirteen editions to 1826, four imprints have the title, *A New and Complete Illustration of the Celestial Science of Astrology*, and one is titled *Complete Illustration*. See *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 545:135-37; ch. 1.
66. Sibly, *New and Complete Illustration of the Occult Sciences*, illustration opposite 1103; compare Reginald Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584; Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1964), 333-34, 344-45, 349; Reginald Scot, *The Discovery of Witchcraft ...* [this edition greatly expanded the details of magic rituals] (London: Andrew Clark, 1665), 243, 252, 254, 256; also Sydney Anglo, "Reginald Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft*: Scepticism and Sadduceeism," in Anglo, ed., *The Damned Art: Essays in the Literature of Witchcraft* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977), 135n3.
67. Scot, *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584), 334; Sibly, *New and Complete Illustration of the Occult Sciences*, illustration opposite 1103.
68. Inscriptions on the front of the "Saint Peter Bind Them" parchment are written in three different directions, requiring the reader to rotate it to read them all. According to the placement of this magic lamen in fig. 51, "Pah-li-Pah" is written upside down directly above the uppermost Maltese cross.
69. Also deHoyos, *Masonic Emblem & Parchments Of Joseph & Hyrum Smith*, 21; Tanner and Tanner, *Mormonism, Magic, and Masonry*, 6-8.
70. Reginald Scot, *A Discourse Concerning The Nature and Substance of Devils and Spirits* (London: N.p., 1665), 42. This was bound as a separately-paged addition to Scot's *Discovery* (1665).
71. Sibly, *New and Complete Illustration of the Occult Sciences*, 1092-93.
72. Joseph Smith et al., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Period I: History of Joseph Smith the Prophet, and ... Period II: From the Manuscript History of Brigham Young and Other Original Documents*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1902-32; 2d ed. rev. [Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1978]), 6:461 (hereafter *History of the Church*); Joseph Fielding Smith, ed., *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, 8th printing (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1954), 368; Richard C. Galbraith, ed., *Scriptural Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith ...* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1993), 415.
73. For evidence of Smith's intense acquaintance with the King James "Authorized Version" of the Bible, despite his mother's reminiscence to the contrary, see Philip L. Barlow, "Before Mormonism: Joseph Smith's Use of the Bible, 1820-29," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 57 (Winter 1989): 739-71 (esp. 746); Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible: The Place of the Latter-day Saints in American Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 13-15.
74. Sibly, *New and Complete Illustration of the Occult Sciences*, 1093 (for quote, emphasis in original), 1093-95 (for discussion of Pah-li-pah and Nal-gah).
75. John Allen, *Modern Judaism: or, A Brief Account of the Opinions, Traditions, Rites, and Ceremonies of the Jews in Modern Times*, 2d ed., rev. (1816; London: R. B. Seeley and W. Burnside, 1830), 157n2, as fulfillment of statement (88): "Some of the notions of the Cabbalists respecting angels and human souls, will be noticed, with other rabbinical traditions, in a subsequent part of this work."

76. Gustav Davidson, *A Dictionary of Angels, Including the Fallen Angels* (New York: The Free Press, 1967).
77. Compare W. Ellwood Post, *Saints, Signs, and Symbols*, 2d ed. (New York: Morehouse-Barlow, 1974), 65-66; Joel Arnstein, *The International Dictionary of Graphic Symbols* (London: Kogan Page, 1983), 115-16.
78. "Jas. J. Talmage" inscription, inside front cover of Ebenezer Sibly, *A Complete Illustration of the Celestial Science of Astrology* (London: Green, 1788), with label: "Private Library of James E. Talmage, Salt Lake City, Utah, Class B, No. 732," Department of Archives and Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter Lee Library); John R. Talmage, *The Talmage Story: Life of James E. Talmage—Educator, Scientist, Apostle* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1972), 2-3.
79. Sibly, *New and Complete Illustration of the Occult Sciences*, 1094.
80. William Botterell, "Cornish Conjurors' Charms Against Witchcraft," *Reliquary* 15 (July 1874): 43.
81. Peter Rushton, "A Note on the Survival of Popular Christian Magic," *Folklore* 91 (1980), no. 1:117, citing J. C. Atkinson's 1892 memoir *Forty Years in a Moorland Parish*.
82. Charles G. Nauert, Jr., *Agrippa and the Crisis of Renaissance Thought* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965), 276.
83. B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of The Church ...*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1930), 1:10; also Richard Lloyd Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New England Heritage* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1971), 126; Bushman, *Joseph Smith*, 24.
84. C. Jess Groesbeck, "The Smiths and Their Dreams and Visions," *Sunstone* 12 (Mar. 1988): 22 (for first quote), 23 (for second and third quotes), 29 (for last quote), also 24 ("her depressed husband"), 25 (Joseph Sr.'s "resultant depression and alcohol abuse" and his father Asael's "chronic depression"), 26 ("Joseph Sr., in the depths of his depression").
85. Joseph Smith, Sr., blessing to Hyrum Smith, 9 Dec. 1834, Hyrum Smith papers, LDS archives, quoted in Bushman, *Joseph Smith*, 208n55; in Groesbeck, "The Smiths and Their Dreams and Visions," 24; in Marvin S. Hill, *Quest for Refuge: The Mormon Flight from American Pluralism* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989), 190n5, also 1; in Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined*, 108; in Irene M. Bates and E. Gary Smith, *Lost Legacy: The Mormon Office of Presiding Patriarch* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996), 38.
86. Charles G. Herbermann et al., eds., *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 16 vols. (1907; New York: The Gilmary Society, 1934-41), 7:649; Walter T. Rogers, *Dictionary of Abbreviations* (London: George Allen, 1913), 97; Hyrum P. Jones, "Magic and the Old Testament," M.S. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1933, 57.
87. Faust, *Doktor Johannes Faust's Magia naturalis et innaturalis* (1849 ed.), illustrations 125, 127, 128; Julius Reichelt, *Exercitatio de Amuletis, aeneis Figuris illustrata* (Argentorati: Spoor & Wechtler, 1676), tab. vi; *L'Art de commander*, 59; *Le Dragon Rouge*, 90; *Der wahrhaftige feurige Drache, oder Herrschaft ueber die himmlischen und hoellischen Geister und ueber die Maechte der Erde und Luft* (Leipzig: Ph. Hueisemann, [1853?]), 45; Waite, *Book of Ceremonial Magic*, 49, 55, 244; Grillo de Givry, *Illustrated Anthology*, 106; Richard Cavendish, *The Black Arts* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1967), 238; King, *Magic*, 102, no. 10.
88. Corbett, *Hyrum Smith*, 452-53; Eldred G. Smith statement to D. Michael Quinn, 21 Oct. 1977; Robert C. Fillerup statements to Quinn, 12 Sept., 5 Oct. 1986.
89. *History of the Church*, 2:318-19, 345, 5:273; Milton V. Backman, Jr., *The Heavens Resound: A History of the Latter-day Saints in Ohio, 1830-1838* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1983), 270; Joseph Smith manuscript diary, 20-21 Nov., 26 Dec. 1835, 22 Dec. 1842 (for reciting German), 14 Feb. 1843 (for 1-1/2 hours studying German), in Scott H. Faulring, ed., *An American Prophet's Record: The Diaries and Journals of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books/Smith Research Associates, 1987), 66, 91, 257, 305, 307; Dean C. Jessee,

ed., *The Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2+ vols., with a different subtitle for each volume (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989-92+), 2:87, 120; Steven Epperson, *Mormons and Jews: Early Mormon Theologies of Israel* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), 76-77, 82-83.

90. Obediah Dogberry, pseud. [Abner Cole], "Book of Pukei.—Chap. 1," *The Reflector* (Palmyra, NY), 12 June 1830, 36, reprinted with wrong date in Kirkham, *New Witness*, 2:51-52; also "GOLD BIBLE, NO. 5," *The Reflector* (Palmyra, NY), 28 Feb., 1831, 108; untitled article, *The Telegraph* (Painesville, OH), 22 Mar. 1831, [2]; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

91. Scot, *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584), 212; Scot, *Discovery of Witchcraft* (1665, expanded rituals), 13[9].

92. Scot, *Discovery of Witchcraft* (1665, expanded rituals), 13[9]; [Buchan], *Witchcraft Detected & Prevented*, 43.

93. Sloane MS 160, folio 138b; Malcolm Macleod, *The Key of Knowledge; or Universal Conjuror: Unfolding the Mysteries of the Occult Sciences ...* (London: N.p., 1780), 11-12; [Buchan], *Witchcraft Detected & Prevented* (1823), 43.

94. Scot, *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584), 212, 334; Scot, *Discovery of Witchcraft* (1665, expanded rituals), 13[9], 243.

95. "Le vrais Clavicule du Roi Salomon," 395, Manuscript 24252.89.6*, Houghton Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts (hereafter Houghton Library); "Clavicules de Salomon," 83, Mellon Manuscript 85, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut; Cagliostro manuscript, 657, Manly P. Hall Collection, Philosophical Research Society, Los Angeles, California (hereafter Hall Collection); Arsenal MS 2348, folio 172, Arsenal MS 2791, folio 59a, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal of the Bibliothèque National in Paris, France; Bellhouse, "Complete System of Magic" (ca. 1852), 25.

96. Scot, *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584), 202; Scot, *Discovery of Witchcraft* (1665, expanded rituals), 131.

97. "Le Grand Livre des Pentacles," MS 29, Hall Collection; Arsenal MS 2350, folio 35.

98. Previously cited manuscripts show that there were frequent variations between parchment amulets or talismans that used the "Exurgat Deus" phrase. Differences between the Smith family's charm and this Utah family's charm are to be expected due to the difference in the time and place of construction.

99. C. Willford Griggs, "The New Testament of Faith," in Church Educational System, *NEW TESTAMENT SYMPOSIUM SPEECHES*, 1988: *Delivered at a Symposium on 10-12 August 1988, Brigham Young University* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1988), 3; Gary F. Novak untitled review, *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 5 (1993): 238, 238n14; Novak, "Examining the Environmental Explanation of the Book of Mormon," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 7 (1995), no. 1:149n21; William J. Hamblin, "Everything Is Everything: Was Joseph Smith Influenced by Kabbalah?" *FARMS Review of Books: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 8 (1996), no. 2:317. For the meaning of polemics and the FARMS-BYU relationship, see my Preface.

100. This narrative discussion emphasizes citations from Scot's 1584 and 1665 editions because those are available to readers directly or through interlibrary loan of microforms at any college or university library. Scot's works are in two microfilm collections: Early English Books, 1475-1640 (Pollard and Redgrave's Short-Title Catalog) and in Early English Books, 1641-1700 (Donald Wing's Short-Title II Catalog). By contrast, Buchan's less detailed 1823 chapbook is currently available only in the Watkinson Library, Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut. The only other American copies of Buchan's paperbound editions for 1823-26 have been stolen from Harvard University's Widener Library and are missing (as of 1997) at the Library of Congress. Beyond the one U.S. copy available at Trinity College, the only other

surviving copies of Buchan's *Witchcraft Detected & Prevented* (all editions) are in the Wellcome Institute, London, England.

101. Scot, *Discourse*, 43.

102. Sibly, *New and Complete Illustration of the Occult Sciences*, 1093.

103. Benson Whittle untitled review, *BYU Studies* 27 (Fall 1987): 111, referred to this as a "now quaint phrase," yet I suspect it also sounded archaic in the nineteenth century. Still, non-LDS scholars also frequently use it for the events (claimed and counter-claimed) leading to the book's publication. I believe this phrase "coming forth of the *Book of Mormon*" resonates for both Mormons and non-Mormons because it suggests there was a long and complex background to this 1830 publication. That is certainly why I use the phrase.

104. Scot, *Discourse*, 43; Sibly, *New and Complete Illustration of the Occult Sciences*, 1093-94.

105. Corbett, *Hyrum Smith*, 453; Fillerup statements (Sept. and Oct. 1986); Tanner and Tanner, *Mormonism, Magic, and Masonry*, 10; compare Siegfried Seligmann, *Die magischen Heil- und Schutzmittel aus der Natur ... eine Geschichte des Amulettwesens* (Stuttgart: Strecker and Schroeder, 1927), illustration opposite 272. Corbett's biography described the pouch as cotton, but Robert C. Fillerup determined that the pouch was leather after his close personal examination of the artifact's texture and graining.

106. Waite, *Book of Ceremonial Magic*; Shah, *Secret Lore of Magic*.

107. E. M. Butler, *Ritual Magic* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1949), 200-201; Cavendish, *Black Arts*, 262.

108. Jacob Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, trans. James Steven Stallybrass, 4 vols. (1875; London: George Bell and Sons, 1883-88), 4:1865, no. xlvii.

109. D[oktor]. *Iohannis Faustens Miracul Kunst- und Wunder-Buch ... Passau Ao 1612*, Magic Collection, New York Public Library; *Der enthueelte Zauber-Garten ...*, 2 vols. (Reutlingen: Franz Schilling, n.d. [18—]), 1:13, 25-6; Don Yoder, "The Saint's Legend in the Pennsylvania German Folk-Culture," in Wayland D. Hand, ed., *American Folk Legend* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 160-61; Yoder, "Hohman and Romanus," 238.

110. Johann Georg Hohman, *Der lange verborgene Freund ...* (Reading, PA: By the author, 1820), 39, 66-67; Carleton F. Brown, "The Long Hidden Friend," *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 17 (Apr.-June 1904): 92-93, 118 (no. 78), 129-30 (no. 137); also A. Monroe Aurand, Jr., *The "Pow Wow" Book* (Harrisburg, PA: The Aurand Press, 1929), 7-8; Felix Reichman, "Folklore in the Landis Valley Museum," *American-German Review* 7 (Oct. 1940): 11. William A. Wilson untitled review, *BYU Studies* 27 (Fall 1987): 102, criticized this book for citing "badly outdated publications" and faulted it for not "giving any serious heed to contemporary folklore and to contemporary folklore scholarship." This requires me to make the obvious statement that collections of "contemporary folklore" gathered in the 1980s and 1990s will reveal nothing about people living 200 years earlier. I say "obvious," because Wilson's 1987 review also denied that there is an "unchanging group of people called the 'folk'" (102-103). Therefore, when interested in people living 150-200 years ago, historians must examine folklore sources as far distant in the past as possible—in dusty academic journals, local histories, newspapers, diaries, correspondence, none of which are "contemporary" to a current folklorist. For the polemics of Wilson's approach, see page 334, note 31.

111. Aurand, *"Pow Wow" Book*, 8.

112. MS Ger 9, "Hohman, Johann Georg, Lang verborgener Freund. MS Copied by Rev. J. W. Early of Reading, Pennsylvania, from book in his possession," Houghton Library; Brown, "Long Hidden Friend," 91, for Early's statement. In 1839 Hohman published *Albertus Magnus, oder Der lange verborgene Schatz- und Haus-Freund und Getreuer und christlicher Unterricht fuer Jedermann*, which, despite some slight alterations and new material after page 75, was a duplicate of his 1820 *Der lange Verborgene Freund*.

113. Add. MS 36,674, folios 40b, 88, 89b, 91b, 108b; Bodleian MS e. Mus. 243, folios 31b-36b, Manuscript Department, Bodleian Library, Oxford University, Oxford, England; Sloane MS 2628, folio 46; Sloane MS 3824, folio 76b; Sloane MS 3846, folio 22; Sloane MS 3851, folios 44-45, 132-33; Scot, *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584), 233, 260-65; Scot, *Discovery of Witchcraft* (1665, expanded rituals), 131, 147-50, 152; Macleod, *Key of Knowledge; or Universal Conjuror*, 12; [Buchan], *Witchcraft Detected & Prevented* (1823), 40-42, 56; Bellhouse, "Complete System of Magic" (ca. 1852), 43-49; Oswald Cockayne, *Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft of Early England*, 3 vols. (London: Longman, Green, Roberts, and Green, 1864), 1:390-96, 3:61, 287-89; John L'Estrange, ed., *The Eastern Counties Collectanea* (Norwich, Eng.: Miller and Leavins, 1872), 28-29; John M. McBryde, Jr., "Charms for Thieves," *Modern Language Notes* 22 (June 1907): 168-70; Felix Grendon, "The Anglo Saxon Charms," *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 22 (Apr.-June 1909): 169, 179-83, 185-87, 107; Godfrid Storms, *Anglo-Saxon Magic* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1948), 203-17; Curt F. Buehler, "Middle English Verses Against Thieves," *Speculum: A Journal of Mediaeval Studies* 33 (July 1958): 371-72; J. Daniel Vann III, "Middle English Verses Against Thieves: A Postscript," *Speculum: A Journal of Mediaeval Studies* 34 (Oct. 1959): 636-37; Curt F. Buehler, "Three Middle English Prose Charms From MS. Harley 2389," *Notes and Queries* 207 (Feb. 1962): 48; Douglas Gray, "Notes on Some Middle English Charms," in Beryl Rowland, ed., *Chaucer and Middle English Studies* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1974), 66-67; Suzanne Eastman Sheldon, "Middle English and Latin Charms, Amulets, and Talismans from Vernacular Manuscripts," Ph.D. diss., Tulane University, 1978, 125-35; Bill Griffiths, *Aspects of Anglo-Saxon Magic* (Norfolk and Trowbridge, Eng.: Anglo-Saxon Books/Redwood Books, 1996), 196-200.

114. Compare Albertus Magnus [alleged], *The Book of Secrets of Albertus Magnus*, eds. Michael R. Best and Frank H. Brightman (1648; Oxford, Eng.: Clarendon Press, 1973), with Albertus Magnus, *approved and verified both sympathetic and natural Egyptian secrets, for man and beast*, 3 vols. in 1 vol. (Harrisburg, PA: 1875; also Chicago: deLaurence, Scott, 1910, 24, 88, 90). This was an 1875 translation of Albertus Magnus [alleged], *Albertus Magnus, bewaehrte und approbierte sympathetische und natuerliche egyptische Geheimnisse fuer Menschen und Vieh*, 3 vols. (Brabant [actually, Pennsylvania]: N.p., 1823); also *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 7:291-92, 250:696.

115. Barrett, *Magus*, II:94; compare with Agrippa [alleged], *Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy*, 1655 edition (61-62), 1665 edition (58-59), 1783 edition (109-10).

116. Barrett, *Magus*, II:illustration opposite 106.

117. Scot, *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584), 163, 345; Scot, *Discovery of Witchcraft* (1665, expanded rituals), 102, 252.

118. Sibly, *New and Complete Illustration of the Occult Sciences*, illustration opposite 1103.

119. Scot, *Discourse*, 41-42 (emphasis added).

120. Benjamin Camfield, *A Theological Discourse of Angels and Their Ministries ...* (London: R. E., 1678), 41; Tobit 6:15-17, 8:2-3, in *The Holy Bible ... With the Apocrypha* (Albany, NY: E. F. Backus, 1816).

121. Richard Laurence, trans., *The Book of Enoch the Prophet ...*, 2d ed., enl. (1821; Oxford, Eng.: J. H. Parker, 1833), 24 (ch. XX, no. 3); *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 55:313.

122. Barrett, *Magus*, II:illustration opposite 106.

123. Agrippa [alleged], *Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy*, 1655 edition (61-55), 1665 edition (59), 1783 edition (109); Barrett, *Magus*, II:94.

124. William Lilly, *Christian Astrology* (London: Thomas Brudenell, 1647), 80; William Ramesey, *Astrologia Restaurata; or, Astrologie Restored ...* (London: Robert White, 1653), 62; Joseph Blagrave, *Blagrave's Introduction to Astrology* (London: Tyler and Holt, 1682), 59; Barrett, *Magus*, II:135, 139.

125. Calculated according to instructions in Paul Christian, *pseud.* [Christian Pitois], *The History and Practice of Magic*, trans. James Kirkup and Julian Shaw, 2 vols. (1870; New York: Citadel Press, 1963), 2:463-64; compare with "Table of the Planets," in M. C. Poinso, *The Encyclopedia of Occult Sciences* (New York: Robert M. McBride, 1939), 54.
126. Christian, *pseud.* [Pitois], *The History and Practice of Magic*, 2:476-78.
127. Sibly, *New and Complete Illustration of the Occult Sciences*, 1094.
128. J. Newton Brown, ed., *Fessenden & Co.'s Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge* . . . (Brattleboro, VT: Fessenden and Co.; Boston: Shattuck & Co., 1835), 291, s.v. "Cabala." Brown's encyclopedia had five reprints during Joseph Smith's life, and afterwards had multiple printings by Philadelphia publisher Lippincott.
129. David Godwin, *Godwin's Cabalistic Encyclopedia: A Complete Guide to Cabalistic Magick* (Houston, TX: By the author, 1979), 21-22, whose transliteration I follow here for convenience; compare with Barrett's 1801 *Magus*, II:112 ("the name of god, Agla"), which he translated (II:39) as "the Mighty God for ever"; compare with Allen's 1816 and 1830 scholarly *Modern Judaism*, 7 (reference to Agla), 7n1 (translated as "Thou art strong for ever, O Lord! or, Thou art strong in the eternal God").
130. Sloane MS 3824, folio 76; C. J. S. Thompson, *The Mysteries and Secrets of Magic* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1928), 255.
131. Julius Friedrich Sachse, *The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: P. C. Stockhausen, 1899), 2:163 (for quote on Beissel), 2:374 (for AGLA tree-symbol).
132. James E. Ernst, *Ephrata: A History*, ed. John Joseph Stoudt (Allentown: Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, 1963), 97 (for long quote), 43 (for Maryland's Rosicrucian "adept"), 134 (for another one of Pennsylvania's "adepts in the Rosenkreutzer"), also 116, 124-25; also for Ephrata's Rosicrucianism and other occult activities, see E. G. Alderfer, *The Ephrata Commune: An Early American Counter Culture* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1985), 21-22, 59, 146-48; Peter C. Erb, ed., *Johann Conrad Beissel and the Ephrata Community: Mystical and Historical Texts* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellon Press, 1985), 20, 29, 31.
133. Daniel G. Reid, *Dictionary of Christianity in America* (Downer's Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1990), 395 (for "celibate orders"); Charles M. Treher, "Snow Hill Cloister: A Unique Attempt at Quasi-Monastic Protestantism in Franklin County, Pennsylvania," in Frederick S. Weiser, ed., *Publications of the Pennsylvania German Society, Volume II* (Allentown: Pennsylvania German Society, 1968), 9 (for "parent cloister"), 25 (for "secular congregation"), 34-35, 47; Lieber, *Encyclopaedia Americana* (1829-33), 4:537 (for "few that remain"); Dale E. Biever, "A Report of Archaeological Investigations at the Ephrata Cloister, 1963-1966," in *Four Pennsylvania German Studies* (Breinigsville: Pennsylvania German Society, 1970), 10 (for "several sisters" in 1835, also for the incorporation and summation: "Oswald Seidensticker reported that the society was almost nonexistent in 1881").
134. A. Russell Slagle, "The Schlegel Family and the Rosicrucian Movement," *Pennsylvania Folklife* 25 (Spring 1976): 33.
135. Christopher McIntosh, *The Rosicrucians: The History, Mythology and Rituals of an Occult Order*, rev. ed. (Wellingborough, Eng.: Crucible/Aquarian Press/Thorsons Publishing Group, 1987), 60; Margaret C. Jacob, *The Radical Enlightenment: Pantheists, Freemasons and Republicans* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1981), 38; Harry Wells Fogarty, "Rosicrucians," in Eliade, *Encyclopedia of Religion*, 12:476; Antoine Faivre, *Access To Western Esotericism* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994), 8, 10; Hugh Ormsby-Lennon, "Rosicrucian Linguistics: Twilight of a Renaissance Tradition," in Ingrid Merkel and Allen G. Debus, eds., *Hermeticism and the Renaissance: Intellectual History and the Occult in Early Modern Europe* (Washington, D.C.: Folger Books/The Folger Shakespeare Library; London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1988), 312, "The Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross may never have existed—no one disclosed his membership, its defenders emphasized that they were not initiates—but its ethos and mythos pervaded England during

the Interregnum and Early Restoration"; also for Rosicrucianism as a way of thinking, see Christopher McIntosh, *The Rose Cross and the Age of Reason: Eighteenth-Century Rosicrucianism in Central Europe and its Relation to the Enlightenment* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992), 101, 159, 179.

Joscelyn Godwin, *The Theosophical Enlightenment* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994), accepted the actual existence of Rosicrucian organizations (121) and acknowledged that there were Rosicrucian initiations of Englishmen into the 1840s (104-105, 120, 123, 130). However, Godwin was skeptical of others who claimed to be initiated Rosicrucians during this period (119-20, 157).

Even though Hamblin, "Everything Is Everything," cited several of the above sources (256n17, 257n17, 257n19, 267n46, 269n56, 270nn58-59, 270nn59-60), this FARMS polemicist and BYU historian ignored their statements about Rosicrucianism as an influential intellectual tradition from the 1700s onward. Hamblin's willful ignorance was necessary to support his claim (269): "Thus Joseph Smith was alive precisely during the period of the least influence of Kabbalah, hermeticism, and Rosicrucianism, all of which had seriously declined by the late eighteenth century—before Joseph's birth—and would revive only in the late-nineteenth century after Joseph's death" (emphasis in original); also see pages 372 (note 152) and 373 (note 156), for Hamblin's ignoring of sources and misuse of sources in order to deny the influence of Rosicrucianism in early America.

136. "Members of the Mercurii: Raphael, the Metropolitan Astrologer" [Robert C. Smith], *The Astrologer of the Nineteenth Century: Or, The Master Key of Futurity, and Guide to Ancient Mysteries, Being a Complete System of Occult Philosophy*, 7th ed. (London: Knight and Lacey, 1825), 216; George Dodds, "The Translation of an Ancient Formula of Magical Exorcism, Written in Cipher," *Reliquary* 10 (Jan. 1870): 130.

137. Sihly, *New and Complete Illustration of the Occult Sciences*, 1093.

138. Anderson, *Ancestry and Posterity of Joseph Smith and Emma Hale*, 75.

139. *History of the Church*, 1:9; Faulring, *American Prophet's Record*, 6; Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:8, 50-51, 73-74, 276, 392, 409, 430. As one of the dating errors of official LDS documents, in his first autobiography (1832) Joseph Smith gave the date as "22d day of Sept. AD 1822."

140. Hamblin, "Everything Is Everything," 283.

141. *Ibid.*, 283n93.

142. Emer Harris statement in Utah Stake General Minutes, Local Record 9629, ser. 11, vol. 10 (1855-60), 278 (6 Apr. 1856, afternoon meeting), LDS archives.

143. C. Grant Loomis, *White Magic: An Introduction to the Folklore of Christian Legend* (Cambridge, MA: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1948), 5; Briggs, *Pale Hecate's Team*, 57; Daniel Lawrence O'Keefe, *Stolen Lightning: The Social Theory of Magic* (1982; New York: Vintage Books, 1983), 525-26.

144. Joshua Gordon, "Witchcraft Book," manuscript [1784], South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina at Columbia; Jon Butler, "Magic, Astrology, and the Early American Religious Heritage, 1600-1760," *American Historical Review* 84 (Apr. 1979): 335-37; Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith*, 231-32.

145. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania*, 1:267, and 2:275, 1:268, for Fraley or "Fraily"; *Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790: Pennsylvania* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1908), 196, for Henry Fraley and Jacob Fraley in Germantown, Philadelphia County; John "D" Stemmons, ed., *Pennsylvania in 1800: A Computerized Index to the 1800 Federal Population Schedules of the State of Pennsylvania* (Salt Lake City: By the author, 1972), 195, for Henry Fraley and Jacob Fraley in Germantown; Ronald Vern Jackson, ed., *Pennsylvania, 1810: Census Index* (North Salt Lake, UT: Accelerated Indexing Systems, 1976), 89, for Henry "Fraily" in Germantown and Jacob Frailey in Moyamens, Philadelphia County; Jackson and Gary Ronald Teeple,

eds., *Pennsylvania, 1820: Census Index* (Bountiful, UT: Accelerated Indexing Systems, 1978), 115, for Henry Fraley in Germantown.

146. "A History of the Divining Rod; With the Adventures of an Old Rodsman," *United States Magazine and Democratic Review* 26 (Mar. 1850): 200, 223, (Apr. 1850): 319; Marvin S. Hill, "Money Digging Folklore and the Beginnings of Mormonism: An Interpretive Suggestion," *BYU Studies* 24 (Fall 1984): 476-77.

147. Dogberry, pseud. [Cole], "Book of Pukei," *The Reflector* (Palmyra, NY), 12 June 1830, 36; reprinted with wrong date in Kirkham, *New Witness*, 2:52; also John Phillip Walker, ed., *Dale Morgan on Early Mormonism: Correspondence and A New History* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1986), 233; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

148. Dan Vogel, "The Locations of Joseph Smith's Early Treasure Quests," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 27 (Fall 1994): 207, and 207n31, "Extant Manchester tax records list Cole's ownership of Lot 2 for the years 1820, 1821, 1822, and 1823."

149. Lorenzo Saunders interview (12 Nov. 1884), 12 (for first set of quotes), 7 (for last quote), fd 8, box 1, E. L. Kelley papers, Library-Archives, Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Independence, Missouri (hereafter RLDS library-archives); also Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

150. Norman R. Bowen, ed., *A Gentile Account of Life in Utah's Dixie, 1872-73: Elizabeth Kane's St. George Journal* (Salt Lake City: Tanner Trust Fund/University of Utah Library, 1995), 72.

151. "GOLD BIBLE, NO. 5," *The Reflector* (Palmyra, NY), 28 Feb. 1831, 108; "JOSEYISM," *The Telegraph* (Painesville, OH), 8 Mar. 1831, [3]; also Kirkham, *New Witness*, 1:292; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

152. Lorenzo Saunders interview (12 Nov. 1884), 12; also Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming); for the dating, see Vogel, "Locations of Joseph Smith's Early Treasure Quests," 206.

153. Vogel, "Locations of Joseph Smith's Early Treasure Quests," 204, with photos on 205, 210. For my use of Cumorah to designate the hill in Joseph Smith's Palmyra neighborhood, see page 402, note 235.

154. Diedrich Willers, Jr. (1820-1908), "Ambition and Superstition," box 1, Willers papers, Cornell University Library, Ithaca, New York, quoted in Vogel, "Locations of Joseph Smith's Early Treasure Quests," 207n33.

155. Dogberry, pseud. [Cole], "Book of Pukei," *The Reflector* (Palmyra, NY), 12 June 1830, 37; "GOLD BIBLE, NO. 5," *The Reflector* (Palmyra, NY), 28 Feb. 1831, 108, reprinted in "JOSEYISM," *The Telegraph* (Painesville, OH), 8 Mar. 1831, [3]; also Kirkham, *New Witness*, 1:291-92, 2:52 (with wrong date); Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

156. Pomeroy Tucker, *Origin, Rise, and Progress of Mormonism ...* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1867), 38; also W. H. McIntosh, *History of Wayne County, New York ...* (Philadelphia: Everts, Ensign & Everts/J.B. Lippincott, 1877), 150.

157. New York manuscript 1830 census (federal) for Sodus, Wayne County, 138 (handwritten page number), microfilm, Family History Library, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter LDS Family History Library).

158. Luman Walter's obituary in *Ontario Messenger* (Canandaigua, NY), 13 June 1860, quoted in Rubert Elbridge Moody, *America's First Rushville* (Interlaken, NY: Heart of the Lakes Publishing, 1991), 190; photos and photocopies of Luman Walter's gravestone (2 June 1860) and his probated estate papers in fds 9 and 11, box 156, H. Michael Marquardt papers, Marriott Library, as well as in fd 370, carton 8, Ernest D. Strack Collection, Lee Library; New York manuscript 1860 census for "L Walter" in Gorham, Ontario County, 381; compare with the New York manuscript 1830 census for "Luman Walters" in Sodus, the New York 1840 census for "Luman Walter" in Gorham (145, handwritten), the 1850 census for "Lum Walter" in Gorham (217, printed); Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

159. *Ontario Messenger*, 13 June 1860; Moody, *America's First Rushville*, 190.
160. June Skinner Parfitt, *A Genealogy of the Walter Family* (Manchester, NH: By the author, 1986), 128, copy in fd 377, carton 8, Strack Collection.
161. John A. Clark, "GLEANINGS BY THE WAY. No. VI," *Episcopal Recorder* 18 (5 Sept. 1840): 94, reprinted in Clark, *Gleanings By the Way* (Philadelphia: W. J. & J. K. Simon, 1842), 227.
162. Joel Tiffany, "Mormonism. (continued from May No., p. 51)," *Tiffany's Monthly: Devoted to the Investigation of the Science of Mind* ... 5 (June 1859): 110.
163. Willers, "Ambition and Superstition," undated (but prior to the 1860 death of Luman Walter[s], because of the verb tense); Vogel, "Locations of Joseph Smith's Early Treasure Quests," 207n33, which preserved various edits in the original.
164. Wayne County Criminal Records clerk to D. Michael Quinn, 30 Sept. 1997; Ontario County, New York: Court of Common Pleas (1815-33), Court of Sessions (criminal proceedings, 1816-37), bail book (1818-41), Oyer and Terminer Court (criminal proceedings, 1793-1832), County Court Minutes (civil, 1829-38), microfilms, LDS Family History Library, which has Wayne County court records only after 1835. Although the Ontario County Court Minute book (1823-29) is missing from the above microfilming, it contained civil proceedings, while the above bail book covers the time period. There is no reference to Luman Walter in Wayne County, New York's Oyer and Terminer Minutes (criminal proceedings, 1824-45), nor in Wayne County's Court of Common Pleas Record (civil, 1823-31), both in Microfilm 900 #64, Lee Library (but absent from its BYLINE computer-catalog of holdings).
165. Thomas Judson vs. Luman W. Walter, in Sodus Town justice civil docket (12 Nov.-29 Dec. 1829), 14 (12 Dec. 1829), photocopy, fds 9-10, box 156, Marquardt papers, Marriott Library, for debtor-imprisonments until payment of bail, see Ontario County bail book (1818-41).
166. Peter Benes, "Fortune-tellers, Wise-Men, and Magical Healers in New England, 1644-1850," in Benes, *Wonders of the Invisible World*, 127n2 (for New Hampshire's 1718 statute), 137 (for arrest of "Laman (or Luman) Walter"); also John L. Brooke, *The Refiner's Fire: The Making of Mormon Cosmology, 1644-1844* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 152.
167. James Giddings announcement, 21 Aug. 1818, in "Escape From Justice," *Concord Gazette* (Concord, NH), 1 Sept. 1818, [3]. Benes, "Fortune-tellers, Wise-Men, and Magical Healers in New England," 137, mistakenly claimed the jail was in Boscawen (actually the residence of Deputy Sheriff Giddings). His announcement referred to "the jail in Hopkinton, county of Hillsborough."
168. *ATLAS OF WAYNE CO., NEW YORK: From actual Surveys and Official Records* (Philadelphia: D. C. Beers & Co., 1874), 4, for distances from Palmyra to Pultneyville and Sodus. For the first edition, I did not have access to this atlas and its exact mileages, and from maps I over-estimated the distance as twenty-five miles.
169. "THE VILLAGE OF PALMYRA," *The Reflector* (Palmyra, NY), 21 Aug. 1830, 102.
170. "Names and Births of James C. Slys famley [sic]" and "Marriages," in James C. Sly 1849 journal and family record, LDS archives.
171. Hamblin, "Everything Is Everything," 285-86.
172. "Rode 33 miles" and "next day rode 36 m[ile]s" in Faulring, *American Prophet's Record*, 22-23, and Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2:22, 24.
173. *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London and Liverpool: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1854-86), 2:180-81 (B. Young/1855) for first and last quotes, and 5:55 (B. Young/1857) for middle quote about "profound learning."
174. Lucy Mack Smith manuscript history (1845), 69 (as typed-in pagination), transcribed by Martha Jane Coray, photocopy, Marriott Library; Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith*, 102; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:331. For Lucy Mack Smith's manu-

script history, my page citations follow the pagination in the photocopy at the Marriott Library, while Vogel gives different page numbers as his internal citations.

175. *Journal of Discourses*, 5:55 (B. Young/1857).

176. E. L. Kelley and Clark Braden, *Public Discussion of the Issues Between The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints and The Church of Christ (Disciples) Held in Kirtland, Ohio, Beginning February 12, and Closing March 8, 1884 Between E. L. Kelley, of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints and Clark Braden, of the Church of Christ* (St. Louis, MO: Clark Braden, 1884), 367, short-titled on all pages as "THE BRADEN AND KELLEY DEBATE."

177. Brigham Young office journal, 28 Apr. 1850, LDS archives, with typescript in fd 10, box 11, Donald R. Moorman papers, Archives and Special Collections, Donnell and Elizabeth Stewart Library, Weber State University, Ogden, Utah.

178. *Passenger Arrivals, 1819-1820: Transcript of the List of Passengers Who Arrived in the United States from the 1st of October, 1819, to the 30th September, 1820, with an Added Index* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1967).

179. Luman Walter and Harriet Howard marriage (3 Nov. 1819), in Andover town record book 2 (1803-33), 191, microfilm, LDS Family History Library.

180. "Index of Passenger Arrival Records for Port of New York (1820-46), and for Ports of Boston, Philadelphia, New Haven, New Bedford, New Orleans, Mobile, Baltimore (1820-74)," microfilm, LDS Family History Library, lists "L. Walter" arriving in New York City aboard the *Brig Laurel* on 30 September (the year written as 1821 or 1827). Aside from the uncertain year of arrival, the index card had two other problems: the listed age of "L. Walter" as twenty-eight is certainly wrong for Pultneyville's Luman Walter, and there was no information about the ship's port of departure. Two kinds of records were unavailable to me for the first edition, but I was able in 1997 to examine the register of arriving vessels and the lists of passengers on each vessel. Instead of the simple yes-no verification I expected, the vessel register showed that the *Brig Laurel* never arrived in New York City on 30 September of any year between 1820 and 1828. It did arrive on 15 September 1821 from St. Andrews in the Caribbean, but that list of passengers is missing. The *Brig Laurel* next arrived on 25 May 1822 from Buenos Aires, with no Walter(s) on its passenger list. It next arrived on 29 August 1826 from Cadiz, with no Walter(s) on the passenger list. Brigs with similar names (*Laura*, *Laura Ann*) also did not arrive on 30 September of any year in this period, and some of their passenger lists are missing. The *Brig Level* arrived on 30 September 1828 from the Turk Islands in the Caribbean, but its passenger list is missing. I even read through all existing passenger lists for every August and September from 1820 through 1828, without success. Instead of being able to use original records to verify the accuracy of the index card in question, I found that it is apparently the only existing source about the arrival of "L. Walter" on 30 September of 1821 or 1827. See *Passengers Who Arrived in the United States, September 1821-December, 1823* (Baltimore: Magna Carta Book, 1969); W. David Samuelsen, comp., *New York City Passenger List Manifests Index, 1820-1824* (North Salt Lake, UT: Accelerated Indexing Systems International, 1986); chronological arrivals book (1821-22), alphabetical arrivals book (1826-31), alphabetical arrivals book (1827-28), chronological arrivals book (1827-28), in "Registers of Vessels Arriving at the Port of New York from Foreign Ports, 1789-1919," microfilm, LDS Family History Library; "Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at New York, 1820-1897," microfilm, LDS Family History Library.

181. Martin Harris interview (1859), in Tiffany, "MORMONISM—No. II," 167; also Willard Chase affidavit (11 Dec. 1833) and William Stafford affidavit (8 Dec. 1833), in Eber D. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled ...* (Painesville, OH: By the author, 1834), 240; Kirkham, *New Witness*, 2:380; Bushman, *Joseph Smith*, 77; Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined*, 123-24, 144-45; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

182. Barnes Frisbie, *The History of Middletown, Vermont ...* (Rutland: Tuttle, 1867), 43, 44, 46, 49, 51, 62; Abby Maria Hemenway, *The Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, 4 vols.

(Burlington: By the author, 1877-82), 3:811-12, 814, 818-19; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:602-604, 606, 608, 618-19.

183. "The Rodsmen," *Vermont American* (Middlebury, VT), 7 May 1828, [2], gave the earliest account of the Wood movement in Rutland County. It reported that it began "about the year 1800[,] ... attracted but little notice, till the latter part of the following year [1801]," and came to a climactic downfall "during the night of the 14th Jan. 1802." Nearly forty years later, Frisbie's narrative quoted as a first-hand witness a minister who began by saying that he first learned of the Wood movement on 1 November 1801 and that its climax occurred on "the 14th of Jan. [1802]." This was consistent with the 1828 newspaper report, but the minister contradicted his first chronology by adding a concluding statement that the climax came on 14 January 1801. Frisbie indicated his own uncertainty by stating that "the Wood affair collapsed in 1801 or 1802," and then dated the central activities of the Wood movement as beginning in the spring of 1800 and coming to its climax on 14 January 1801. See Frisbie, *History of Middletown*, 47-61; Hemenway, *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, 3:812-18.

Due to its closeness to the events, the 1828 newspaper account provides the more reliable chronology, namely, that the Wood movement began in 1800 and ended in 1802. The latter is also supported by local civil records indicating that towns started "warning out" participants in 1802 and that in 1803 the Wood family began preparations to leave Rutland (see following narrative in text). This was consistent with the 1828 newspaper's comment: "The leaders of the fraternity, therefore, feeling ... that the heavy hand of the law would fall on them for their misdeeds;—disposed of their property and removed to the county of St. Lawrence [later Jefferson County], New-York."

184. Alexander Winchell, *Genealogy of the Winchell Family in America* ... (Ann Arbor, MI: Chase's Steam Printing House, 1869), 44, 61; Middletown Springs, Vermont, town records (1801-32), 15 (7 Sept. 1802), microfilm, LDS Family History Library; Josiah Henry Benton, *Warning Out in New England, 1656-1817* (Boston: W. B. Clarke, 1911), 106 (emphasis added), also 3.

185. Anderson, "Mature Joseph Smith and Treasure Searching," 521-24.

186. Jesse Smith to "Hiram" Smith, 17 June 1829, letterbook 2:59-60, Joseph Smith papers, microfilm in Archives and Special Collections, Lee Library, in RLDS library-archives, and in Marriott Library; also Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:553. For "Hiram" as original spelling of Hyrum Smith, see page 382, note 15.

187. *A Book of Commandments for the Government of the Church of Christ* ... (Zion [Independence, MO]: W. W. Phelps, 1833), 19; Robert J. Woodford, "Book of Commandments," in Ludlow, ed., *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 1:138.

188. Robert J. Woodford, "The Historical Development of the Doctrine and Covenants," 3 vols., Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1974, 1:185-91; Lyndon W. Cook, *The Revelations of the Prophet Joseph Smith: A Historical and Biographical Commentary of the Doctrine and Covenants* (Provo, UT: Seventy's Mission Bookstore, 1981), 16; Richard P. Howard, *Restoration Scriptures: A Study of Their Textual Development*, 2d ed., rev. and enl. (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1995), 156-58.

189. "LIST OF LETTERS," *Palmyra Register* (Palmyra, NY), 6 Oct. 1819, [3].

190. Willard Chase affidavit (1833), Henry Harris affidavit (1833), Joshua Stafford statement (15 Nov. 1833), William Stafford affidavit (8 Dec. 1833), in Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 237, 240, 251, 258, reprinted in Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined*, 120, 131, 142, 143, in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming); Hamilton Child, *Gazetteer and Business Directory of Wayne County, N.Y. for 1867-8* (Syracuse: Journal Office, 1867), 53; Tucker, *Origin, Rise, and Progress of Mormonism*, 20-21; McIntosh, *History of Wayne County*, 150. Wilson untitled review (1987), 97-98, claimed: "Quinn's answers to those questions are based partly on associational evidence, on possible connections. About 1800, people in Vermont, not far from the Smith family, began using divining rods for revelatory purposes (30-33); from this we are to infer that the Smiths began doing

the same." Despite his claim that he read the book twice (96), Wilson did not acknowledge my discussion of Vermonter assertions that Joseph Sr. was involved in this movement, nor did Wilson try to explain why postal announcements in Palmyra's newspaper verified Vermonter claims that this movement's instigator (a man named Winchell) later moved to Palmyra. For the polemics of Wilson's approach, see page 334, note 31.

191. Highway tax assessment lists, 1811-31, Palmyra town records, King's Daughter's Museum, Palmyra, New York, microfilm, LDS Family History Library.

192. "List of Letters," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 7 July 1824, [3]. Contrary to Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:603n5, 620n38, this evidence of Justus Winchell's receipt of mail at the Palmyra post office proves that Winchell visited the town, not merely "that Winchell was *perhaps* an occasional visitor" (emphasis added) or "According to Quinn's research, it *would have been possible* for Justice [sic] Winchell to have been seen in the Palmyra area before his death in 1823 (emphasis added). Vogel frequently misspelled Justus, including his index reference to Winchell (1:707).

193. Richard Lloyd Anderson, "The Reliability of the Early History of Lucy and Joseph Smith," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 4 (Summer 1969): 15-16; Anderson, "Mature Joseph Smith and Treasure Searching," 492-93.

194. Maria S. Hurlbut statement (15 Apr. 1885), Arthur B. Deming Collection, Chicago Historical Society, Chicago, Illinois; also Jesse, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2:556; also *History of the Church*, 1:355n, "being the seventh son in his father's family, according to the old folk-lore superstition that the seventh son would possess supernatural qualities that would make him a physician, he was called 'Doc,' or 'Doctor.'"

195. William Henderson, *Notes on the Folk-Lore of the Northern Counties of England and the Borders*, 2d ed. (1866; London: Folk-Lore Society/Satchell and Peyton, 1879), 305; also Edwin Miller Fogel, *Beliefs and Superstitions of the Pennsylvania Germans* (Philadelphia: American Germanica Press, 1915), 59. Daniel C. Peterson, "Constancy amid Change," *FARMS Review of Books: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 8 (1996), no. 2:97n80, wrote concerning Hurlbut's name: "as a seventh son, he was folklorically expected to have miraculous powers."

196. Buddy Youngreen, "From the Prophet's Life: A Photo Essay," *Ensign* 14 (Jan. 1984): [33], for photograph of Smith's "Family Record" in lower right of page: printed in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:583, without the emphasis of the original. This son was a "stillborn" child (see ch. 3).

197. Parfitt, *Genealogy of the Walter Family*, 110, 127-28, 245; John Boyd, *Annals and Family Records of Winchester, Conn. ...* (Hartford: Case, Lockwood and Brainard, 1873), 97-98, 275; *History of Litchfield County, Connecticut ...* (Philadelphia: J. W. Lewis, 1881), 178.

198. Vermont general index in vital records (early to 1870), microfilm, LDS Family History Library, has no entry for any male by either of his first names (or unnamed child with that birthdate) by the surnames of Hurlbert, Hurlburt, Hurlbut, Hurlbutt.

199. Boyd, *Annals and Family Records of Winchester, Conn.*, 97-98, 275; *History of Litchfield County, Connecticut*, 178; *Heads of Families At the Second Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1800: Vermont* [a printed version of the manuscript census] (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1972), 43, also 52 (for "Hurlbutt" family in same county of Caledonia).

200. Albert Carlos Bates, *Records of the Congregational Church in Turkey Hills, now the Town of East Granby, Connecticut, 1776-1858* (Hartford: N.p., 1907), 32, 39; Winchell, *Genealogy of the Winchell Family*, 44, 61.

201. Frisbie, *History of Middletown*, 44, 46, 49, 51; Hemenway, *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, 3:811-12, 814, 819; Hiland Paul and Robert Parks, *History of Wells, Vermont ...* (Rutland, VT: Tuttle and Co., 1869), 80-82; *ATLAS OF RUTLAND CO., VERMONT: From actual Surveys ...* (New York: Beers, Ellis, & Soule, 1869), 2. Brooke, *Refiner's Fire*, 103, 133, 136-39, 142, 348n38, emphasized the counterfeiting connection he perceived between

William Cowdery, Winchell, Lucy Mack Smith's distant cousin, and Joseph Smith, Sr. Brooke consistently misspelled Winchell's first name as "Justis." For Brooke's unfortunate emphasis on counterfeiting as an alleged example of alchemy and the occult, see page 307 and 384 (note 38).

202. Roberts, *Comprehensive History of The Church*, 1:10; Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith*, 45-49; Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New England Heritage*, 90, 101-106, 111, for Asael Smith's residence in Tunbridge (which Anderson does not identify as being in Orange County); Bushman, *Joseph Smith*, 24; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:238, 243, 250, 589; Orange County Clerk to D. Michael Quinn, 2 Oct. 1997, "no [criminal] index for Winchel(l) [was] found."

203. "The Rodsmen," *Vermont American* (Middlebury, VT), 7 May 1828, [2].

204. Middletown Springs town records (1801-32), 32 (25 May 1803).

205. Franklin B. Hough, *A History of Jefferson County, In the State of New York ...* (Albany, NY: Joel Munsell, Watertown, NY: Sterling & Riddell, 1854), 159-160; compare with names of the Wood family's rodsmen in H. P. Smith and W. S. Rann, *History of Rutland County, Vermont ...* (Syracuse, NY: D. Mason & Co., 1886), 653-54.

206. *Heads of Families ... in the Year 1800: Vermont*, 157, for Samuel Lawrence in Andover, Windsor County; Samuel F. Lawrence in New York manuscript 1830 census for Palmyra, Wayne County, 37.

207. Andover, Vermont town record book 1 (1781-1804), 170 (24 June 1800), 178 (11 Aug. 1801), for Samuel Lawrence, and book 2 (1803-33), 480 (7 June 1806), for James Wood, Warren Wood, and their families, microfilm, LDS Family History Library.

208. Dean C. Jessee, ed., "Joseph Knight's Recollection of Early Mormon History," *BYU Studies* 17 (Autumn 1976): 32.

209. Newton H. Winchell and Alexander N. Winchell, *The Winchell Genealogy ...*, 2d ed. (Minneapolis: Horace W. Winchell, 1917), 24.

210. *Heads of Families ... in the Year 1800: Vermont*, 126; *ATLAS OF RUTLAND CO., VERMONT*, 2. For the first edition, I did not have access to this atlas and its exact mileages, and from maps my estimates varied from these corrected distances.

211. Winchell, *Genealogy of the Winchell Family*, 33, 44-45, 61; Winchell and Winchell, *Winchell Genealogy*, 24, 105-106, 149; New York manuscript census (1800); Vermont manuscript census (1800).

212. James Murdock to [Bryan] Ransom and [Harvey D.] Smith, 15 Dec. 1813, described and quoted in Rick Grunder, *The Mormons: Mormon List Twenty Three* (Ithaca, NY: Rick Grunder—Books, 1987), no. 29.

213. In the microfilms of the LDS Family History Library, the St. Lawrence County circuit court record (1810-24) has a gap from 25 June 1812 to 22 June 1814, and there are no other judicial records for 1813. The county's marriage records do not begin until 1841. The Jefferson County judicial records begin in 1817 and its marriage records begin in 1819; also Jefferson County Clerk to D. Michael Quinn, 20 Oct. 1997, and St. Lawrence County Clerk to Quinn, undated 1997.

214. Vermont general index to vital records (early to 1870), entries for birth of Alvin Smith (11 Feb. 1798) and birth of "Hiram Smith" (9 Feb. 1800); Mary Audentia Smith Anderson, *Ancestry and Posterity of Joseph Smith and Emma Hale* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1929), 74; Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:19; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:576.

215. Anderson, "Mature Joseph Smith and Treasure Searching," 522, 554n108.

216. See previous note 183.

217. Anderson, *Ancestry and Posterity of Joseph Smith and Emma Hale*, 74; Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:18-19; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:576; also Ronald Vern Jackson, ed., *Vermont 1800 Census Index* (Bountiful, UT: Accelerated Indexing Systems, 1976), 17, for August 1800 as beginning of census-taking.

218. *Heads of Families ... in the Year 1800: Vermont*, 97, 123; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:639.
219. Anderson, "Mature Joseph Smith and Treasure Searching," 522, 554n108.
220. Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:640.
221. Winchell, *Genealogy of the Winchell Family*, 20, 44, 57, 89; Winchell and Winchell, *Winchell Genealogy*, 149-50; New York manuscript census (1790-1820). The Palmyra-Canandaigua distance of thirteen miles was in Horatio G. Spafford, *A Gazetteer of the State of New-York* (Albany: E. D. Packard, 1824), 401, and the Palmyra-Wayne distance was in *ATLAS OF WAYNE CO., NEW YORK*, 4; the Manchester-Gorham distance was in *ATLAS OF ONTARIO COUNTY, NEW YORK: From actual Surveys ...* (Philadelphia: Pomeroy, Whitman & Co., 1874), 11. The others are my estimates from maps and Spafford (112, 401, 404). These distances vary in published studies of early Mormonism. For example, H. Michael Marquardt and Wesley P. Walters, *Inventing Mormonism: Tradition and the Historical Record* (San Francisco: Smith Research Associates, 1994), 28, 40n47, criticized BYU historians for claiming "ten miles" separated Canandaigua from Palmyra, whereas Marquardt and Walters insisted that "accurate maps" showed the distance "is actually twelve." Aside from the Marquardt-Walters disagreement with the 1824 gazetteer, BYU historians were probably thinking of Spafford's statement (302) of ten miles as the distance between Canandaigua and Manchester.
222. "List of Letters," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 7 Apr. 1824, [3], 7 July 1824, [3].
223. Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith*, 102; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:331.
224. Winchell, *Genealogy of the Winchell Family*, 21, 229; Justus Winchell (1759-1838), family group sheet and computerized Ancestral File, LDS Family History Library; *ATLAS OF WAYNE CO., NEW YORK*, 4, for distance between Palmyra and "Rose Valley"; Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saints Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News/Andrew Jenson History, 1901-36), 4:688; Frank Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Utah Pioneers Book Publishing, 1913), 812; Milton V. Backman, Jr., *A Profile of Latter-day Saints of Kirtland, Ohio and Members of Zion's Camp, 1830-1839: Vital Statistics and Sources* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1982), 17; Susan Ward Easton Black, *Membership of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830-1848*, 50 vols. (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1984-88), 46:979. For the first edition, I did not have access to the above atlas and its exact mileages, and from maps I under-estimated the distance between Palmyra and Rose.
225. *Vermont American* (Middlebury, VT), 6 Aug. 1828; R. A. Oakes, *Genealogical and Family History of the County of Jefferson, New York ...* (New York: Lewis Publishing, 1905), 605-66; Frisbie, *History of Middletown*, 44-46; Hemenway, *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, 3:810-11.
226. Stanley R. Gunn, *Oliver Cowdery: Second Elder and Scribe* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1962), 14, 23.
227. Anderson, *Ancestry and Posterity of Joseph Smith and Emma Hale*, 60; Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New England Heritage*, 105-106; Bushman, *Joseph Smith*, 4; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:143n212, 487, 487n11, 571, 633-34.
228. Bates, *Records of the Congregational Church*, 32, 39; *Heads of Families ... in the Year 1800: Vermont*, 104, 106.
229. "Ancestry Of Orrin Porter Rockwell," *Deseret News* "Church Section," 31 Aug. 1935, 7; *Journal of Discourses*, 19:37-38 (B. Young/1877); Christopher M. Stafford affidavit (23 Mar. 1885), in *Naked Truths About Mormonism* 1 (Apr. 1888): 1, reprinted in Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined*, 166, in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming). Ancestral File shows that Stafford married Emily Rockwell, sister of Orrin Porter.
230. *History of Litchfield County*, 236.

231. New York manuscript 1830 census for Grove Lawrence in Camillus, Onondaga County, 200 (handwritten number), and for "Samuel F. Lawrence" (age 40 to 50) in Palmyra, Wayne County, 37; Joseph Capron statement (8 Nov. 1833), in Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 259, reprinted in Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined*, 118-19, in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

232. Martin Harris interview (1859), in Tiffany, "MORMONISM—No. 11," 164; Kirkham, *New Witness*, 2:377; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

233. New York manuscript census (1830); Parfitt, *Genealogy of the Walter Family*, 49, 120-28; Howard Williston Carter and Nellie Russell Cordis Carter, *Baptisms, Marriages, Burials and List of Members Taken From the Church Records ... Norfolk, Connecticut, 1761-1813* (Norfolk, CT: Stoekel, 1910), 52, 76, 78; Theron Wilnot Crissy, *History of Norfolk, Litchfield County, Connecticut, 1744-1900* (Everett, MA: Massachusetts Publishing, 1900), 395, 509.

234. George Walter in Patriarchal Blessing Index (1833-1963), microfilm, LDS Family History Library; "The Journal of Bishop Edward Partridge, 1818, 1835-1836, transcribed by Lyman DePlatt, a great-great-grandson," 22 (original pagination for date of his visit with Walter in Grove, New York on 1 July 1835, compared to his statement of distances traveled until arrival in Palmyra on 7 July), LDS archives; Backman, *Profile of Latter-day Saints of Kirtland*, 114; Easton-Black, *Membership of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830-1848*, 44:679; Thomas F. Gordon, *Gazetteer of the State of New York* (Philadelphia: T. K. and P. G. Collins, 1836), 356, 358, for Grove in Allegheny County, New York, also other nearby towns mentioned in Partridge's diary. The title in LDS archives could be confusing, because Partridge had a grandson Platte D. Lyman, named for his birth near the Platte River. Lyman DePlatt is an LDS researcher of Latin America.

235. "The Rodsmen," *Vermont American* (Middlebury, VT), 7 May 1828, [2]; Oakes, *Genealogical and Family History of the County of Jefferson*, 605; Backman, *Profile of Latter-day Saints of Kirtland*, 38, 51; Parfitt, *Genealogy of the Walter Family*, 76, 128; George Frederick Tuttle, *Tuttle Genealogy ...* (Rutland, VT: Tuttle & Co., 1883), 1, 136, 171, 453; Ancestral File for Erastus Ives and Seba Ives.

236. Seth Barden (b. 1769), family group sheet and Ancestral File; Carter and Carter, *Baptisms, Marriages, Burials and List of Members Taken From the Church Records ... Norfolk, Connecticut*, 96; Corbett, Hyrum Smith, 33n; Backman, *Profile of Latter-day Saints of Kirtland*, 63; Parfitt, *Genealogy of the Walter Family*, 76, 128.

237. History of Litchfield County, 236; Crissy, *History of Norfolk*, 509; New York manuscript 1800 census for Grove "Lawrance" in Floyd, Oneida County, 193 (printed number, verso), 1820 census for Grove Lawrence in Camillus, Onondaga County, 139 (printed number), 1830 census for Grove Lawrence in Camillus, Onondaga County, 200 (handwritten number).

238. Wayne E. Morrison, Sr., comp., *Early History, &c., Wayne County, New York, 1789-1869* (Ovid, NY: By the author, 1869), 43.

239. Backman, *Profile of Latter-day Saints of Kirtland*, 6.

240. Anderson, *Ancestry and Posterity of Joseph Smith and Emma Hale*, 302, 430, 511-15; Parfitt, *Genealogy of the Walter Family*, 62, 71; Tuttle, *Tuttle Genealogy*, 1, 136, 177, 181.

241. Orson Pratt to Parley P. Pratt, 11 Oct. 1853, in Archibald F. Bennett, *Saviors On Mount Zion* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Sunday School Union Board, 1950), 86.

242. Anderson, *Ancestry and Posterity of Joseph Smith and Emma Hale*, 302 (for Elizabeth Lewis), 433 (for marriages at Wells of her brothers Enos in 1799 and Amos in 1809); Parfitt, *Genealogy of the Walter Family*, 62, 71. Anderson (302, 433) claimed a 1790 marriage date, but Joseph Smith's family bible stated that the Hale-Lewis marriage occurred in 1789. See Buddy Youngreen, "From the Prophet's Life: A Photo Essay," *Ensign* 14 (Jan. 1984): [33] (for upper right hand photo), printed in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:581.

243. Winchell, *Genealogy of the Winchell Family*, 44, 61; Bates, *Records of the Congregational Church*, 32, 39; ATLAS OF RUTLAND CO., VERMONT, 2. For the first edition, I did

not have access to this atlas and its exact mileages, and from maps I over-estimated the distance between Rutland and Wells.

244. Gideon Carter (b. 1766) and Jabez Carter (b. 1752), family group sheets and Ancestral File; O. L. Doud, *Doud-Dowd and Allied Families* (Sun City, AZ: Doud-Dowd Association, 1976), nos. 3, 18, 21, 69, 95, 332, 480, 1266; Parfitt, *Genealogy of the Walter Family*, 47-48; Backman, *Profile of Latter-day Saints of Kirtland*, 14; *ATLAS OF RUTLAND CO., VERMONT*, 2.

245. Blackman, *History of Susquehanna County*, 580-81.

246. Isaac Hale affidavit (20 Mar. 1834), in *Susquehanna Register* (Montrose, PA), 1 May 1834, reprinted in Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 262-66, in Kirkham, *New Witness*, 2:137-38, in Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined*, 126-27, in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming); "ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT" (1 Nov. 1825), reprinted in Kirkham, *New Witness*, 1:493-94; also Doud, *Doud-Dowd and Allied Families*, nos. 3, 22, 92, 472, 1197-1, 1197-2; Parfitt, *Genealogy of the Walter Family*, 47-48, 128; Walker, *Dale Morgan on Early Mormonism*, 325.

247. Walker, *Dale Morgan on Early Mormonism*, 399n15.

248. J. Gardner Bartlett, *Robert Coe, Puritan: His Ancestors and Descendants, 1340-1910* (Boston: By the author, 1911), 180, 238, 339; Boyd, *Annals and Family Records of Winchester, Conn.*, 275; Parfitt, *Genealogy of the Walter Family*, 118-23, 126-28; Vermont general index to vital records (early to 1870), entry for the birth of Luman Walter's child (15 May 1821); *History of the Church*, 2:28, 510, 528.

249. Winchell, *Genealogy of the Winchell Family*, 45; Oliver Seymour Phelps and Andrew T. Servin, *The Phelps Family of America*, 2 vols. (Pittsfield, MA: Eagle Publishing, 1899), 1:85-86, 96, 108, 110, 138, 140, 149, 213-14, 225, 251, 373, 389, 650, 680; Parfitt, *Genealogy of the Walter Family*, 10, 48, 128.

250. Royal Barney, Sr., (b. 1784) family group sheet and Ancestral File; "The Rodsmen," *Vermont American* (Middlebury, VT), 7 May 1828, [2]; Oakes, *Genealogical and Family History of the County of Jefferson*, 425, 605-606; Backman, *Profile of Latter-day Saints of Kirtland*, 5.

251. Backman, *Profile of Latter-day Saints of Kirtland*, 1, 9, 17, 28-29, 38-42, 49-50, 56, 62, 68-71, 76-79.

252. "A Family Meeting in Nauvoo: Minutes of a meeting of the Richards and Young Families held in Nauvoo, Ill., Jan. 8, 1845," *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 11 (July 1920): 107.

253. Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:xxxix; Marquardt and Walters, *Inventing Mormonism*, 3; Richard L. Bushman, "Just the Facts Please," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 6 (1994), no. 2:127.

254. *Heads of Families ... in the Year 1800: Vermont*, 43, 47; Ronald Vern Jackson, Gary Ronald Teeple, and David Schaefermeyer, eds., *Vermont 1810 Census Index* (Bountiful, UT: Accelerated Indexing Systems, 1976), 76. There are gaps in Parfitt, *Genealogy of the Walter Family*, and Enos Walter does not appear in its index. However, Anne Walter of Royalton was in Parfitt's list of Vermont census names, whose relationships had not yet been established.

255. Vermont manuscript census (1800, 1810); Luman Walters and Harriet Howard marriage (3 Nov. 1819), in Andover town record book 2 (1803-33), 191; Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith*, 56, 58, 59, 66; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:254; Parfitt, *Genealogy of the Walter Family*, 12, 67, 128.

256. "Cicero's Orations in latin," according to Dogberry, *pseud.* [Cole], "Book of Pukei," *The Reflector* (Palmyra, NY), 12 June 1830, 36 (emphasis and lower-case spelling in original), reprinted by wrong date in Kirkham, *New Witness*, 1:51; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

257. Luman Walter and A. B. Coffin, promissory note, 7 Feb. 1853, 19 June 1854, photocopies, fd 370, carton 8, Strack Collection.
258. Dean C. Jessee statement to D. Michael Quinn, 12 Aug. 1986.
259. Anderson, "Mature Joseph Smith and Treasure Searching," 554n110.
260. Parfitt, *Genealogy of the Walter Family*, 128.
261. "MINUTES OF THE GENERAL CONFERENCE HELD AT GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, DESERET, April 6th, 1850," *Latter-Day Saints' Millennial Star* 12 (15 Sept. 1850): 275; also in *The Essential Brigham Young* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), 35.
262. *Journal of Discourses*, 2:180, for quotes (B. Young/1855), also 5:55 (B. Young/1857), for similar account of this astrologer.
263. "MINUTES OF THE GENERAL CONFERENCE HELD AT GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, DESERET, April 6th, 1850," *Latter-Day Saints' Millennial Star* 12 (15 Sept. 1850): 275; *Essential Brigham Young*, 35.
264. Richard F. Palmer and Karl D. Butler, *Brigham Young: The New York Years* (Provo, UT: Charles Redd Center for Western Studies, Brigham Young University, 1982), 76; Leonard J. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), 35-36.
265. Previous note 261; *Journal of Discourses*, 2:180-81 (B. Young/1855), 5:55 (B. Young/1857).
266. Tucker, *Origin, Rise, and Progress of Mormonism*, 38-39.
267. *ATLAS OF WAYNE CO., NEW YORK*, 4.
268. Midgley, "Who Really Wrote the Book of Mormon?: The Critics and Their Theories," 131n15; also Hamblin, "Everything Is Everything," 284, which dismissed (without examples) "Quinn's exaggeration of the evidence" concerning Walter.
269. Barrett, *Magus*, I:146, II illustration opposite 106; also deHoyos, *Masonic Emblem & Parchments of Joseph & Hyrum Smith*, 5-6.
270. [Buchan], *Witchcraft Detected & Prevented*, 51, which ended the quoted phrase with the ungrammatical "your name make." For clarity, I dropped "make" from the quote.
271. These two characters of Hod are directly above the character for Vau. These three characters, expressed in a triangular fashion on the Lamen, are the same characters, with the same total number equivalent, as the three-character Hod also in Barrett, *Magus*, I:146.
272. Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, 236; Frances A. Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), 93-94. In his system, which he adapted from the Cabala, Agrippa assigned numbers to the alphabet as follows: A=1, B=2, C=3, D=4, E=5, F=6, G=7, H=8, I=9, K=10, L=20, M=30, N=40, O=50, P=60, Q=70, R=80, S=90, T=100, V=200, X=300, Y=400, Z=500. He did not explain the omission of J, U, and W, but traditionally J equals I (therefore, 9 in this system), U equals V (therefore, 200), and W equals V (therefore, 200).
273. First claimed by some Palmyra residents in 1831, this Rigdon-Smith association was the most common nineteenth-century explanation for how a farmboy could produce a 500-page work of such complexity and sophistication as is the *Book of Mormon*. This alleged association was actually half of the explanation. The other half was that Rigdon, a minister, allegedly acquired an unpublished manuscript written by recently deceased minister Solomon Spaulding, whose manuscript Rigdon allegedly handed to Smith in secret. Despite his emphatic disbelief in the *Book of Mormon*, Charles A. Shook began the twentieth-century repudiation of the Spaulding-Rigdon theory, which equally-emphatic disbeliever Fawn M. Brodie also repudiated in her 1945 biography. See Shook, *The True Origin of The Book of Mormon* (Cincinnati, OH: Standard Publishing Co., 1914); Brodie, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945); Dean C. Jessee, "'Spaulding Theory' Reexamined: Manuscripts Raise Doubts About Story," *Deseret News "Church News"*, 20 Aug. 1977, 3-5; Lester E. Bush, Jr., "The Spaulding Theory Then and Now," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 10 (Autumn 1977): 40-69.

274. Anderson, "Mature Joseph Smith and Treasure Searching," 540, also 545.

275. Richard L. Bushman, "Treasure-seeking Then and Now," *Sunstone* 11 (Sept. 1987): 5, also his statement on 6.

Notes to Chapter Five

1. Walter A. Norton, "Comparative Images: Mormonism and Contemporary Religions as Seen by Village Newspapermen in Western New York and Northeastern Ohio, 1820-1833," Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1991, 256-57, citing Orsamus Turner, *History of the Pioneer Settlement of Phelps and Gorham's Purchase, and Morris' Reserve* (Rochester, NY: Erastus Darrow, 1851), 214, and Willard Bean, A.B.C. *History of Palmyra and the Beginnings of 'Mormonism'* (Palmyra, NY: Palmyra Courier, 1938), 22. However, Gary F. Novak, "The Most Convenient Form of Error": Dale Morgan on Joseph Smith and the Book of Mormon," *FARMS Review of Books: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 8 (1996), no. 1:155, observes that "merely finding a revival does not clear up every seeming problem with Joseph's story ..."

Joseph Sr. first moved to Palmyra, where the *Book of Mormon* was later published. In between those two events, the Smiths moved to adjacent Manchester. For convenience, I often use Palmyra generically to refer to residents and events there and in Manchester, New York.

2. Milton V. Backman, Jr., *Joseph Smith's First Vision: Confirming Evidences and Contemporary Accounts*, 2d ed., rev. and enl. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980), 79-93; James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 2d ed., rev. and enl. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 29; Marvin S. Hill, "The First Vision Controversy: A Critique and Reconciliation," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 15 (Summer 1982): 31-46; Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 53; also page 380, note 3. Backman, *Joseph Smith's First Vision*, 74, and Norton, "Comparative Images," 254-56, both emphasized the Palmyra newspaper's reference to a Methodist "camp-meeting which was held in this vicinity" in June 1820, while H. Michael Marquardt and Wesley P. Walters, *Inventing Mormonism: Tradition and the Historical Record* (San Francisco: Smith Research Associates, 1994), 36n13, dismissed the significance of that extraordinarily important fact. For the Second Great Awakening, see Curtis D. Johnson, *Islands of Holiness: Rural Religion in Upstate New York, 1790-1860* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989), 165-75; also chap. 1.

3. Frederic G. Mather, "The Early Days of Mormonism," *Lippincott's Magazine* 26 (Aug. 1880): 199, whose source was apparently (198): "William Van Camp, the aged editor of the *Democratic Press* at Lyons"; *ATLAS OF WAYNE CO., NEW YORK: From actual Surveys and Official Records ...* (Philadelphia: D. C. Beers & Co., 1874), 4.

4. Hamilton Child, *Gazetteer and Business Directory of Wayne County, N.Y. for 1867-8* (Syracuse, NY: Journal Office, 1867), 53; Pomeroy Tucker, *Origin, Rise, and Progress of Mormonism ...* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1867), 21; W. H. McIntosh, *History of Wayne County, New York ...* (Philadelphia: Everts, Ensign & Everts/J.B. Lippincott, 1877), 150; Dan Vogel, comp. and ed., *Early Mormon Documents*, 1+ vols. (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996-), 1:457n4.

5. William Stafford affidavit (8 Dec. 1833), Willard Chase affidavit (11 Dec. 1833), Henry Harris affidavit (1833), Barton Stafford affidavit (3 Nov. 1833), Joshua Stafford affidavit (15 Nov. 1833), in Eber D. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled ...* (Painesville, OH: By the author, 1834), 237, 240, 249, 250, 258, reprinted in Rodger I. Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1990), 143, 120, 131, 140, 142, and in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

6. For scholarly disagreements about these revivals and about dating Smith's first vision, see previous note 2.

7. I mention this only because of Smith's published statement about his struggles with youthful "appetites" and "passions" from age fourteen to seventeen. See following note 15.

8. John Brand, *Observations on the Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, 3d ed., 3 vols. (1777; London: Henry G. Bohn, 1849), 3:60; Francis Grose, *A Provincial Glossary with a Collection of Local Proverbs, and Popular Superstitions* (London: S. Hooper, 1787), 35-36; William Smellie, ed., *Encyclopaedia ...*, 1st Am. ed., 18 vols. (Philadelphia: Thomas Dobson, 1798), 17:609. This was the U.S. edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

9. Scott H. Faulring, ed., *An American Prophet's Record: The Diaries and Journals of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books/Smith Research Associates, 1987), 5; Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2+ vols., with a different subtitle for each volume (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989-92+), 1:6; *The Essential Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1995), 28; also Backman, *Joseph Smith's First Vision*, 157; Joseph Smith et al., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, Period I: History of Joseph Smith the Prophet, and ... Period II: From the Manuscript History of Brigham Young and Other Original Documents, ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1902-32; 2d ed. rev. [Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1978]), 1:5 (hereafter *History of the Church*).

10. Bushman, *Joseph Smith*, 57, 58; Allen and Leonard, *Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 35; Richard Lyman Bushman, "The Visionary World of Joseph Smith," *BYU Studies* 37 (1997-98), no. 1:183-204.

11. Bushman, *Joseph Smith*, 72.

12. Bushman, *Joseph Smith*, 56, 72-75; D. Michael Quinn, "From Sacred Grove to Sacral Power Structure," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 17 (Summer 1984): 10; Jan Shipps, *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985), 8-9.

13. "THREE YEARS OF WAITING" section in Ivan J. Barrett, *Joseph Smith and the Restoration: A History of the Church to 1846* (Provo, UT: Young House/Brigham Young University Press, 1973), 57-58.

14. Faulring, *American Prophet's Record*, 6; Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:7; *Essential Joseph Smith*, 28; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:29.

15. "History of Joseph Smith," *Times and Seasons* 3 (1 Apr. 1842): 749, reprinted in *Latter-Day Saints' Millennial Star* 3 (June 1842): 23, in *Latter-Day Saints' Millennial Star* 14 ("Supplement," 1852, following page 704): 4.

The sexual meaning of this statement embarrassed some LDS leaders from 1842 to the present. The official publication *History of the Church* deleted it. In his full printing of the 1839 draft of Smith's history, Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:276, presents the passage quoted in my text, showing that Smith's statement was lined through in the existing manuscript (see also following note 47). Jessee noted (276n2) that in December 1842 church historian and apostle Willard Richards made this deletion and added new words (allegedly by Smith) denying guilt of "any great or malignant sins." Jessee noted that this softening of Smith's original words did not appear in the *Times and Seasons*, but he did not acknowledge their reprinting a decade later.

16. Obediah Dogberry, pseud. [Abner Cole], "Book of Pukei.—Chap. 2," *The Reflector* (Palmyra, NY), 7 July 1830, 60; also Kirkham, *New Witness*, 1:276; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

17. *History of the Church*, 1:11.

18. Abigail Harris statement (28 Nov. 1833), in Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 253, reprinted in Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined*, 129-30, in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming), also 1:72n52, for in-law relationship of Abigail Harris.

19. "THE GOLDEN BIBLE," *Advertiser and Telegraph* (Rochester, NY), 31 Aug. 1829, and "A GOLDEN BIBLE," *Gem* (Rochester, NY), 5 Sept. 1829, both in Francis W. Kirkham,

A New Witness for Christ in America: The Book of Mormon, 2 vols. (Independence, MO: Zion's Printing and Publishing, 1951), 1:150-51 (emphasis added). The *Palmyra Freeman's* last surviving issue is for June 1829, thus requiring historians to depend on reprints of its articles in other newspapers after that date. *The Book of Mormon*, published at Salt Lake City in various editions, with verse citations (similar to the Bible) according to the names of its constituent books.

20. Joseph Lewis and Hiel Lewis, "MORMON HISTORY, A New Chapter, About to Be Published," *Amboy Journal* (Amboy, IL), 30 Apr. 1879, [1], photocopy in fd 8, box 149, H. Michael Marquardt papers, Manuscripts Division, Department of Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City (hereafter Marriott Library); reprinted in W. Wyl, pseud. [Wilhelm Ritter von Wymetal], *Mormon Portraits, or the Truth About Mormon Leaders From 1830 to 1886* (Salt Lake City: Tribune Printing and Publishing, 1886), 79 (as "DREAM"); also Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

21. Fayette Lapham, "Interview with the Father of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet. Forty Years Ago: His Account of the Finding of the Sacred Plates," *Historical Magazine* 7 (May 1870): 306, reprinted in Kirkham, *New Witness for Christ in America*, 2:385; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:458.

22. Letter from Amherst, Ohio, 26 Nov. 1830, in "BEWARE OF IMPOSTERS," *The Telegraph* (Painesville, OH), 14 Dec. 1830, [2], emphasis added, reprinted in *The Reflector* (Palmyra, NY), 14 Feb. 1831, 103; Kirkham, *New Witness*, 2:438-39; John Phillip Walker, ed., *Dale Morgan on Early Mormonism: Correspondence and A New History* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1986), 347; also *History of the Church*, 1:118-19; Parley P. Pratt, *Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt* ..., ed. Parley P. Pratt, Jr. (New York: Russell Brothers, 1874), 49. On the role of unordained apostles and special witnesses in 1829-31, see D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books/Smith Research Associates, 1994), 10-14.

23. "THE GOLDEN BIBLE," *Ohio Star* (Ravenna, OH), 9 Dec. 1830, [2]; also typescript in fd 4, box 46, Madeline R. McQuown papers, Marriott Library.

24. Josiah Priest, *The Wonders of Nature and Providence, Displayed* (Albany, NY: E. and E. Hosford, 1825), 38-39; Robert Paul, "Joseph Smith and the Manchester (New York) Library," *BYU Studies* 22 (Summer 1982): 350; also ch. 6 for discussion of the Manchester Library and Joseph Jr.'s reading habits.

25. Malcolm Macleod, *Macleod's History of Witches* (Newark, NJ: William Tuttle, 1811), 22; *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 754 vols. (London: Mansell, 1968-81), 353:49-50.

26. Reginald Scot, *A Discourse Concerning The Nature and Substunce of Devils and Spirits* (London: N.p., 1665), 42 [bound as a separately paged addition to Scot, *The Discovery of Witchcraft* (London: Andrew Clark, 1665)]; Ebenezer Sibly, *A New and Complete Illustration of the Occult Sciences* (London: Champante and Whitrow, 1784), 1093.

27. Faulring, *American Prophet's Record*, 6; Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:8; *Essential Joseph Smith*, 29; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:29.

28. Josiah F. Goodhue, *History of the Town of Shoreham, Vermont* ... (Middlebury, VT: A. H. Copeland, 1861), 145.

29. "Money Diggers," *New Hampshire Sentinel* (Keene, NH), 13 Apr. 1822, photocopy in fd 3, box 156, Marquardt papers, Marriott Library.

30. Geoffrey Crayon, pseud. [Washington Irving], *Tales of a Traveller, Part 4* (Philadelphia: Carey and Lea, 1824), 75; *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 272:278-80; "NEW BOOKS," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 2 Jan. 1829, [3]; Sarah J. Hale, *Traits of American Life* (Philadelphia: E. L. Carey and A. Hart, 1835), 104; also Robert Chambers, *The Popular Rhymes of Scotland* (Edinburgh: William Hunter, 1826), 58; H. Royce Bass, *The History of Braintree, Vermont* (Rutland, VT: Tuttle, 1883), 46; Ronald W. Walker, "The Persisting Idea of American Treasure Hunting," *BYU Studies* 24 (Fall 1984): 440.

31. John A. Clark, "GLEANINGS BY THE WAY. No. VI," *Episcopal Recorder* 18 (5 Sept. 1840): 94, reprinted in Clark, *Gleanings By the Way* (Philadelphia: W. J. and J. K. Simon, 1842), 225; "The laying of the corner stone of Zion Church," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 5 Oct. 1827, [2], for Clark as the Episcopal minister; Ole A. Jensen, "Testimony Given to Ole A. Jensen[, John Godfrey, and James Keep] by Martin Harris, a Witness of the Book of Mormon, given at Clarkston July 1875," Archives, Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter LDS archives); William E. Berrett and Alma P. Burton, eds., *Readings in L.D.S. Church History from Original Manuscripts*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1953), 1:63.

32. *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London and Liverpool: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1854-86), 2:180-81 (B. Young/1855). Benson Whittle untitled review, *BYU Studies* 27 (Fall 1987): 111, referred to "coming forth" as a "now quaint phrase," yet I suspect it also sounded archaic in the nineteenth century. Still, non-LDS scholars also frequently use it for the events (claimed and counter-claimed) leading to the book's publication. I believe this phrase "coming forth of the *Book of Mormon*" resonates for both Mormons and non-Mormons because it suggests there was a long and complex background to this 1830 publication. That is certainly why I use the phrase.

33. George Q. Cannon, *Life of Joseph Smith, The Prophet*, Classics in Mormon Literature Series (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1986), vii, [35] for Chapter 4. There were no chapter titles in the first edition of 1888 or the second edition (an "M.I.A. edition" for LDS youth) in 1907. The decision to title the chapter "Cumorah's Treasure" in 1986 was apparently a response to the publicity during the previous two years of the treasure-digging experiences of Joseph Smith (see my Intro.). For my use of Cumorah to designate the hill in Joseph Smith's Manchester neighborhood, see page 402, note 235.

34. Dogberry, pseud. [Cole], "The Book of Pukei.—Chap. 1," *The Reflector* (Palmyra, NY), 12 June 1830, 37, reprinted with wrong date in Kirkham, *New Witness*, 2:52; also Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

35. "Martio Harris," *The Telegraph* (Painesville, OH), 15 Mar. 1831, [3]; also Kirkham, *New Witness*, 2:97.

36. Andrew Moreton, pseud. [Daniel Defoe], *The Secrets of the Invisible World Disclos'd ... or, an Universal History of Apparitions Sacred and Profane, Under all Denominations; whether Angelical, Diabolical, or Human Souls departed* (London, J. Clarke, 1729), 16; *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 136:644-45; also Henry More, *An Antidote Against Atheism ...* (London: Roger Daniel, 1653), 145; *Visits From the World of Spirits ...* (London: L. Wayland, 1791), ix.

37. Macleod, *History of Witches*, 103; *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 353:49-50.

38. *The Doctrine and Covenants of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, published at Salt Lake City in various editions, sec. 129:1-7, hereafter D&C with numbers of section and verse(s).

39. Joseph Glanvil, *Saducismus Triumphatus: or, Full and Plain Evidence Concerning Witches and Apparitions*, 3d ed. (London: S. Lownds, 1689); Richard Baxter, *The Certainty of the Worlds of Spirits* (London: T. Parkhurst, 1691); Daniel Defoe, *A System of Magick; or, A History of the Black Art* (London: J. Roberts, 1727); Macleod, *History of Witches*; *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 201:619, 40:386, 136:644-45, 353:49-50.

40. *History of the Church*, 1:11 (for first quote), 12 (for second quote), 13 (for last quote); Jesse, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:278-79.

41. John Aubrey, *Miscellaneous* [p. 1: "A Collection of Hermetick Philosophy"] (London: Edward Castle, 1696), 80 (emphasis in original); Martin Luther, *Colloquia Mensalia; or, The Familiar Discourses of Dr. Martin Luther At His Table*, trans. Henry Bell, 2d ed. (London: W. Heptinsial, 1791), xxi; *Visits From the World of Spirits*, 192; New York Society Library, A

Catalogue of the Books ... (New York: C. S. Van Winkle, 1813); *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 25:434, 346:467.

42. Oliver Cowdery to W. W. Phelps, "LETTER VII," *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* 1 (July 1835): 156; Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:74.

43. "GOLD BIBLE," *The Reflector* (Palmyra, NY), 6 Jan. 1831, 76, reprinted in Kirkham, *New Witness*, 1:284 (with some variations).

44. Thomas Hamilton, *Men and Manners in America*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1833), 2:310-11; *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 228:563.

45. Oliver Cowdery to W. W. Phelps, "LETTER IV," *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* 1 (Feb. 1835): 76; Backman, *Joseph Smith's First Vision*, 157-59, 161-62; Faulring, *American Prophet's Record*, 5, 51; Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:6, 48, 127, 270, 272, 429, 444, 448; *Essential Joseph Smith*, 28; *History of the Church*, 1:3, 5.

46. Aside from Joseph Jr.'s confusion about how to describe his age at a particular time of his youth, he and his family had the same trouble describing his brother Alvin's age at death. Alvin Smith was born in February 1798 and died at age twenty-five in November 1823 (the twenty-sixth year of his life). However, his family incorrectly inscribed Alvin's gravestone as: "In memory of Alvin, son of Joseph and Lucy Smith, who died November 19, 1823, in the 25 year of his age." When they began recording their reminiscences twelve to twenty-two years later, the Smiths clearly remembered the gravestone's error ("25 year") which caused them to misremember and misstate the actual year of Alvin's death. When Joseph Jr. gave the Smith family's genealogy to Oliver Cowdery in 1834, he missed Alvin's actual death by two years, claiming 1825. Upon dictating a longer history in 1838 (added to the draft of 1839), Joseph said Alvin died in 1824, a year's error. In 1839 Joseph Smith dedicated the "Manuscript History of the Church" to his deceased brother: "In Memory of Alvin Smith, Died the 19th Day of November, In the 25th year of his age year 182," with 3, 4, and 5 written over each other as the last digit of the year. This was uncertainty in dating by two brothers, since Hyrum Smith wrote the inscription. The Smith family Bible also incorrectly gave Alvin's death date as 1825. In 1845 his mother Lucy Mack Smith made the same kind of dating error when she remembered Alvin's death as 1824. See Vermont general index to vital records (early to 1870), entry for birth of Alvin Smith (11 Feb. 1798), microfilm, Family History Library, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter LDS Family History Library); Joseph Smith's inscription, Manuscript History of the Church, Book A-1, inside cover, Joseph Smith papers, microfilm at LDS archives, at Marriott Library, at Department of Archives and Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter Lee Library), at Library-Archives, Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Independence, Missouri (hereafter RLDS library-archives), at Library, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City; Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet and His Progenitors for Many Generations* (Liverpool: S. W. Richards, 1853), 87; Richard Lloyd Anderson, "The Reliability of the Early History of Lucy and Joseph Smith," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 4 (Summer 1969): 25; Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:19, 265 (who perceived 3 and 4 as the only overwritten numbers), 282; Richard Neitzel Holzapfel and T. Jeffrey Cottle, *A Window To the Past: A Photographic Panorama of Early Church History and the Doctrine and Covenants* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1993), 56; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:67, 300, 576.

47. Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:230-31, explains that Smith dictated this history of his early life to clerk George W. Robinson in 1838. It was copied as the first pages of an 1839 draft covering Smith's history to 1832. Because the 1838 dictation's original manuscript disappeared with Robinson's apostasy, Jessee prefers to date "this manuscript [as] 1839 despite references to 1838 in the writing of its original pages" (1:284n1). I prefer to cite this as Smith's 1838 dictation, in order to help the reader perceive the chronology of changes in Smith's official history.

48. Faulring, *American Prophet's Record*, 6; Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:8, 50-51, 73, 275, 392, 409, 430; *Essential Joseph Smith*, 28; Cowdery to Phelps, "LETTER IV," 79; *History of the Church*, 1:14; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:29, 66.

49. Loud and Wilmarth, *The Farmer's Diary, or Ontario Almanack, For the Year of Our Lord, 1823* (Canandaigua, NY: J.D. Bemis & Co., [1822]), calendar for September.

50. "Members of the Mercurii: Raphael, the Metropolitan Astrologer" [Robert C. Smith], *The Astrologer of the Nineteenth Century: Or, The Master Key of Futurity, and Guide to Ancient Mysteries, Being a Complete System of Occult Philosophy*, 7th ed. (London: Knight and Lacey, 1825), 206n.

51. [Peter Buchan], *Witchcraft Detected & Prevented; or, the School of Black Art Newly Opened ... particularly from Scott's [sic] DISCOVERY OF WITCHCRAFT ... It will also contain a variety of the most approved CHARMS in MAGIC; RECEIPTS in MEDICINE, NATURAL PHILOSOPHY, and CHEMISTRY, &c. BY A MEMBER OF THE SCHOOL OF BLACK ART, ITALY* (Peterhead, Eng.: P. Buchan, 1823), 11.

52. Francis Barrett, *The Magus, or Celestial Intelligencer; Being A Complete System of Occult Philosophy*, 2 vols. in 1 (London: Lackington, Allen, 1801), II:69; Julian Franklyn, *A Dictionary of the Occult* (New York: Causeway Books, 1973), 197; Fred Gettings, *Encyclopedia of the Occult* (London: Rider, 1986), 153, 192, 202; Erika Bourguignon, "Necromancy," in Mircea Eliade, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, 16 vols. (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1987), 10:344-47; J. Gordon Melton, ed., *Encyclopedia of Occultism & Parapsychology*, 4th ed., 2 vols. (Detroit, MI: Gale Research/International Thompson Publishing, 1996), 2:914-16, 1050, 1141.

53. Rex C. Reeve, Jr., "Book of Mormon," in Daniel H. Ludlow, ed., *Encyclopedia of Mormonism: The History, Scripture, Doctrine, and Procedure of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 5 vols. (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1992), 1:156; Faulring, *American Prophet's Record*, 6-7; Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:8; *Essential Joseph Smith*, 28; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:29.

54. Scot, *Discourse*, 41-42.

55. Richard M. Dorson, *Jonathan Draws the Long Bow: New England Popular Tales and Legends* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1946), 175, 177; Gerard T. Hurley, "Buried Treasure Tales in America," *Western Folklore Quarterly* 10 (July 1951): 200-201; Walker, "Persisting Idea of American Treasure Hunting," 443.

56. "SOMETHING NEW: THE GOLDEN BIBLE," *Evangelical Enquirer* 1 (7 Mar. 1831): 219.

57. Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1984), 246. In an effort to soften the magic implications of this phrase, editor Jessee put "adjure" in brackets after the word "conjure." However, Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 161, observed that "conjure" and "adjure" were used interchangeably in magic ceremonies for "command." For example, Arthur E. Waite, *The Book of Ceremonial Magic* (1911; New Hyde Park, NY: University Books, 1961), 331, published this magic invocation: "I adjure and command thee, Human Spirit, to appear before me under the similitude of fire" (also 247-48, 284-85).

58. Scot, *Discovery of Witchcraft* (1665), 217, 244, 259, 260 (emphasis in original); also Reginald Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584; Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1964), 347, 351, 354, 356-57. For the significance of the 1665 edition's expanded details of magic rituals, see Sydney Anglo, "Reginald Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft*: Scepticism and Sadduceeism," in Anglo, ed., *The Damned Art: Essays in the Literature of Witchcraft* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977), 135n3.

59. Stephen D. Ricks and Daniel C. Peterson, "Mormon as Magus," *Sunstone* 12 (Jan. 1988): 39.

60. William Ramesey, *Astrologia Restaurata; or, Astrologie Restored ...* (London: Robert White, 1653), 53; Sibly, *New and Complete Illustration of the Occult Sciences*, 112.

61. Henry Cornelius Agrippa [alleged], *Henry Cornelius Agrippa: His Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy*, trans. Robert Turner (London: J. Harrison, 1655), 62-63, in 1665 edition (59-60), in 1783 edition (110-12).

62. Cowdery to Phelps, "LETTER IV," 78-79; Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:50-51.

63. Scot, *Discovery of Witchcraft* (1665, expanded rituals), 244, 218-19.

64. Clark, "GLEANINGS BY THE WAY. No. VI" (1840), 94; Clark, *Gleanings By the Way*, 225.

65. Loud and Wilmarth, *Farmer's Diary, or Ontario Almanack, For the Year of Our Lord, 1823*, calendar for September; also Joshua Sharp, *Astronomical Calendar; or, Farmer's Almanac, For 1823* (Ithaca, NY: A. P. Searing & Co., [1822]).

For nine miles as the distance, see Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith*, 96, reprinted in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:318. Horatio G. Spafford, *A Gazetteer of the State of New-York* (Albany: E. D. Packard, 1824), 302, gave the distance as ten miles between Canandaigua and the town of Manchester itself, rather than to the Smith's farm on the outskirts of Manchester. In preparing the first edition, I forgot about Lucy Mack Smith's statement and conservatively estimated the distance as twelve miles, so as not to overstate their closeness.

66. Dorson, *Jonathan Draws the Long Bow*, 174; Byrd Howell Granger, *A Motif Index for Lost Mines and Treasures ...* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1977), 225; Walker, "Persisting Idea of American Treasure Hunting," 443.

67. Scot, *Discovery of Witchcraft* (1665, expanded rituals), 215.

68. *The Beverly Gipsy ... Being a Complete New and Original Fortune Teller* (New York: J. Liddle, 1800), 19.

69. Sibby, *New and Complete Illustration of the Occult Sciences*, 174; Nicholas de Vore, *Encyclopedia of Astrology* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1947), 179.

70. Jean-Louis Brau, Helen Weaver, and Allan Edmands, *Larousse Encyclopedia of Astrology* (New York: Larousse, 1980), 194, 107.

71. [Samuel G. Goodrich], *Peter Parley's Tales about the Sun, Moon, and Stars* (1830; Philadelphia: Desilver and Thomas, 1833), 108; also entry for "SUN, MOON, AND STARS, tales about [by] S. G. Goodrich," in *Catalogue of the Utah Territorial Library, October, 1852* (Salt Lake City: Brigham H. Young, 1852), 21.

72. Barrett, *Magus*, II:139; also Douce MS 116, folios 322, 366, 380, Bodleian Library, Oxford University, Oxford, England; Peter de Abano, "Heptameron: or, Magical Elements," in Agrippa [alleged], *Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy*, 1655 edition (102), 1665 edition (107), 1783 edition (169); Richard Ball, *Astrology Improv'd ...*, 2d ed. (London: G. Parker, 1723), 75; Erra Pater, *The Book of Knowledge*, trans. William Lilly (Canaan, NY: Thomas Spencer, 1794), 25; Richard Ball, *Astro-Physical Compendium, or a Brief Introduction to Astrology* (London: Scratcherd and Whitaker, 1794), 16, 53; Erra Pater, *The Book of Knowledge*, trans. William Lilly (Albany, NY: Hosford, 1809), 27; Thomas White, *The Beauties of Occult Science Investigated ...* (London: Anne Davis, 1811), 142; [Buchan], *Witchcraft Detected & Prevented*, 98; Waite, *Book of Ceremonial Magic*, 152; Sayed Idries Shah, *The Secret Lore of Magic: Books of the Sorcerers* (New York: Citadel Press, 1958), 285. The previous books (aside from Waite and Shah) were for the instruction of modern practitioners of ritual magic, and therefore adapted the hours-tables to a.m. and p.m. time. The following two scholarly studies presented differing tables of planetary hours, according to ancient instructions: Paul Christian, pseud. [Christian Pitois], *The History and Practice of Magic*, trans. James Kirkup and Julian Shaw, 2 vols. (1870; New York: Citadel Press, 1963), 1:306; E. A. Wallis Budge, *Amulets and Talismans* (1930; New Hyde Park, NY: University Books, 1961), 381.

73. *Catalogue of Books, for Sale at the Bookstore ... on the road leading to Lebanon* (Hanover, NH: N.p., 1799), 7, 8; Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith*, 58, 60; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:256, 259-60; *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 161:565-66.

74. Members of the Mercurii [Robert C. Smith], *Astrologer of the Nineteenth Century ... a Complete System of Occult Philosophy*, 190.
75. Augustine Calmet, *The Phantom World* ..., 2 vols. (London: Richard Bentley, 1850), 1:220.
76. Joseph Blagrove, *Blagrove's Introduction to Astrology* (London: Tyler and Holt, 1682), 180; Ball, *Astrology Improv'd*, 75; Ball, *Astro-Physical Compendium, or a Brief Introduction to Astrology*, 16, 53; Erra Pater, *Book of Knowledge*, 25; Barrett, *Magus*, 11:139; White, *Beauties of Occult Science Investigated*, 142; [Buchan], *Witchcraft Detected & Prevented*, 98; Waite, *Book of Ceremonial Magic*, 152-53; Shah, *Secret Lore of Magic*, 286.
77. Waite, *Book of Ceremonial Magic*, 150-53.
78. *History of the Church*, 1:14.
79. Agrippa [alleged], *Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy*, 1655 edition (59), 1665 edition (56), 1783 edition (105).
80. Gary F. Novak untitled review, *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 5 (1993): 238n14. For meaning of polemics, see Preface.
81. "Mormonism in Its Infancy," *Newark Daily Advertiser*, undated clipping of letter from Manchester, New York, 8 Aug. 1856, in Charles L. Woodward, "First Half Century of Mormonism," 1:125, microfilm, New York Public Library, New York City, New York; also Tucker, *Origin, Rise, and Progress of Mormonism*, 34; Walker, "Persisting Idea of American Treasure Hunting," 435. For Orsamus Turner as the probable author of this 1856 letter, see his very similar statement in "ORIGIN OF THE MORMON IMPOSTURE," *Littell's Living Age* 30 (July-Sept. 1851): 429; and Turner, *History of the Pioneer Settlement*, 214, quoted in ch. 2.
82. Loud and Wilmarth, *Farmer's Diary, or Ontario Almanack, For the Year of Our Lord, 1823*, page for September, compared with inside-cover page of Zodiac symbols.
83. Harley MS 6482, folio 103b, Manuscript Department, British Museum-Library, London, England; John Heydon, *Theomagia, or the Temple of Wisdom*, 3 vols. in 1 (London: T. M., 1664), 1:172.
84. Henry Harris affidavit (1833).
85. Willard Chase affidavit (1833).
86. Turner, *History of the Pioneer Settlement*, 216.
87. John H. Gilbert interview (3 Dec. 1877), in Kirkham, *New Witness*, 2:371, in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).
88. Martin Harris interview (Jan. 1859), in Joel Tiffany, "MORMONISM—No. 11," *Tiffany's Monthly. Devoted to the Investigation of the Science of Mind* ... 5 (July 1859): 164, 169, reprinted in Kirkham, *New Witness*, 2:376-77, 381, in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming). Even careful researchers have misstated the subtitle of this periodical and given the wrong date for this installment, which was the third article of a series on Mormonism that began in May 1859. Tiffany wrote (163): "The following narration we took down from the lips of Martin Harris, and read the same to him after it was written, that we might be certain of giving his statement to the world." The entire interview was in quotes, preceded by the words: "Mr. Harris says:"
89. Hosea Stout diary, 25 Feb. 1856, in Juanita Brooks, ed., *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diaries of Hosea Stout, 1844-1861*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1964), 2:593.
90. Faulring, *American Prophet's Record*, 6-7; Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:8; *Essential Joseph Smith*, 28-29; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:29-30.
91. Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:281-82, 415-17; *History of the Church*, 1:15-16; also previous note 47.
92. Richard Lloyd Anderson, "Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reappraised," *BYU Studies* 10 (Spring 1970): 296 (first quote); Anderson, "The Alvin Smith Story: Fact &

Fiction," *Ensign* 17 (Aug. 1987): 61 (second quote); also Anderson untitled review, *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 3 (1991): 57.

93. Willard Chase affidavit (1833).

94. Dean C. Jessee, "Joseph Knight's Recollection of Early Mormon History," *BYU Studies* 17 (Autumn 1976): 31.

95. Oliver Cowdery to W. W. Phelps, "LETTER VIII," *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* 2 (Oct. 1835): 197-98; Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:86-87.

96. Lucy Mack Smith manuscript history (1845), 50 (as typed-in pagination), transcribed by Martha Jane Knowlton Coray, photocopy, Marriott Library; Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith*, 85; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:297-98. For Lucy Mack Smith's manuscript history, my page citations follow the pagination in the photocopy at the Marriott Library, while Vogel gives different page numbers as his internal citations. For Lucy's dating of this event, see following note 219.

97. William B. Smith, "The Old Soldier's Testimony," *Saints' Herald* 31 (4 Oct. 1884): 644; also Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:505 (for first quote), 504 (for remaining quotes).

98. Cowdery to Phelps, "LETTER VIII," 198; Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:86.

99. Willard Chase affidavit (1833); Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 276.

100. Anderson, "Alvin Smith Story," 62; also Anderson, "Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reappraised," 297.

101. Cowdery to Phelps, "LETTER VIII," 198; Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:86, and 86n1, which refers readers to sources "on treasure seeking in early America."

102. Isaac Hale affidavit (20 Mar. 1834), in *Susquehanna Register* (Montrose, PA), 1 May 1834, reprinted (13 June 1834): 68, with photocopy in McQuown papers (Map Case, fd 3, newspaper photostats, 1832-86), Marriott Library; reprinted in Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 263; Kirkham, *New Witness*, 2:137-38; Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined*, 126-27; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming). Also unconnected with Philastus Hurlbut were the *Susquehanna Register's* original publication of affidavits by Nathaniel Lewis, Joshua M'Kune, Hezekiah M'Kune, Alva Hale, Levi Lewis, and Sophia Lewis.

103. Anderson untitled review (1991), 57.

104. Cowdery to Phelps, "LETTER VIII," 197; Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:86.

105. Chambers, *Popular Rhymes of Scotland*, 64; also Ernest W. Baughman, *Type and Motif-Index of the Folktales of England and North America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1966), 375, no. N-561.

106. Harry Middleton Hyatt, *Hoodoo-Conjuration-Witchcraft* ..., 2 vols. (Hannibal, MO: Western Publishing, 1970), 1:118, no. 394; Hurley, "Buried Treasure Tales in America," 201.

107. Anderson, "Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reappraised," 297.

108. Anderson, "Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reappraised," 305, 283.

109. Anderson, "Alvin Smith Story," 72n28, cited the Benjamin Saunders 1884 interview, "document courtesy Michael Quinn and RLDS archivist Madelon Brunson."

110. Benjamin Saunders interview (Sept. 1884), 30, fd 44, box 2, P 19, "Miscellany 1795-1948," RLDS library-archives, also in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

111. Anthony Metcalf, *Ten Years Before the Mast ... How I Became a Mormon and Why I Became An Infidel* ([Malad, ID: By the author, 1888]), 72, also in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

112. Anderson, "Alvin Smith Story," 65; Anderson untitled review (1991), 75; also Anderson, "Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reappraised," 307-309.

113. Benjamin Saunders interview (1884), 22-23, also quoted in Anderson, "Alvin Smith Story," 64.

114. Without acknowledging this characteristic of Kelley's interview notes, Anderson,

"Alvin Smith Story," 64, stated: "But he introduces a major inconsistency into the story by mixing events that occurred in 1823 with events that happened in 1827. ... Since Benjamin is foggy on this basic chronology, how precise can he be on his toad story?"

115. Quinn, *Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power*, 166-67; Reid L. Harper, "The Mantle of Joseph: Creation of a Mormon Miracle," *Journal of Mormon History* 22 (Fall 1996): 35-71; Lynne Watkins Jorgensen and "BYU Studies Staff," "The Mantle of the Prophet Joseph Passes to Brother Brigham: A Collective Spiritual Witness," *BYU Studies* 36 (1996-97), no. 4:125-204. Harper repeatedly expressed doubts about the historicity of this event, but his "Mantle of Joseph," 46, accurately reported that my revisionist history nonetheless "appears to accept the reality of the transfiguration," which I do.

116. Anderson, "Alvin Smith Story," 64.

117. Anderson untitled review (1991), 57.

118. Benjamin Saunders interview (1884), 21.

119. Anderson, "Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reappraised," 305, 283; Anderson untitled review (1991), 76.

120. Anderson, "Alvin Smith Story," 68, 72n54.

121. Anderson, "Alvin Smith Story," 65, also 64, 71n19.

122. Hugh Nibley, "Controlling the Past," *Improvement Era* 58 (Mar. 1955): 154.

123. Benjamin Saunders interview (1884); compare Willard Chase affidavit (1833); Lorenzo Saunders interview (17 Sept. 1884), fd 7, box 1, E. L. Kelley papers, RLDS library-archives; Lorenzo Saunders interview (20 Sept. 1884), fd 44, box 2, P 19, "Miscellany 1795-1948," RLDS library-archives; Lorenzo Saunders interview (12 Nov. 1884), fd 8, box 1, Kelley papers; Lorenzo Saunders to Thomas Gregg, 28 Jan. 1885, in Charles A. Shook, *The True Origin of the Book of Mormon* (Cincinnati, OH: Standard Publishing, 1914), 315; Lorenzo Saunders affidavit (21 July 1887), in *Naked Truths About Mormonism* 1 (Jan. 1888): 2; Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined*, 121, 163; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

Ricks and Peterson, "Mormon as Magus," 39, stated of this book's first edition: "We are assured that the [Benjamin] Saunders interview in late 1894, dealing with events of nearly six decades earlier, is uncontaminated by the notions of his brother-in-law, whose affidavit had been published fifty years before." First, they misstated the year of the 1884 interview, which was not "six decades" after the Chase affidavit of 1833. Second, Ricks and Peterson (both officially connected with FARMS when they wrote this review) made their "we are assured" statement as if I had simply asserted there was no contamination, and they made no reference to my discussion of the manifold differences between Benjamin Saunders's positive view of the Smiths and Chase's negative view.

124. Stephen E. Robinson untitled review, *BYU Studies* 27 (Fall 1987): 94, dismissed my long discussion of the salamander, which follows, in this way: "But since he can't demonstrate any connection between Joseph Smith and the salamander, the whole discussion is erudite irrelevance" (emphasis in original). In fact, testimony of two witnesses (one extremely supportive of the Smiths) demonstrates a "connection between Joseph Smith" and a toad. I doubt that either secular humanists or LDS apologists would want me to end the narrative with that statement. Others (like Robinson) have retreated to polemics.

However, since the first edition of this book, some readers have asked if I would have even thought of the salamander-explanation for the friendly report by Benjamin Saunders if Hofmann's forgery had not forced all Mormons (including FARMS authors) to consider the salamander's esoteric meaning. Counter-factual questions are always difficult to answer absolutely, and my first response to that question was: "I don't know." However, in dozens of dictionaries and general studies that I read or skimmed about the occult and esoteric in Western civilization, nearly all featured Michael Maier's 1687 wood-cut of the elemental salamander surrounded by flames. That attention-grabbing illustration was always accompanied by an explanation of the salamander's esoteric meaning. Unlike Chase's often-nega-

tive statements about the Smiths, Saunders's completely favorable statement in 1884 demands reflection about the meaning of his toad-reference. Since so many of the sources discuss the salamander as a divine entity, I think *eventually* this would have occurred to me as an explanation for what Benjamin said he heard Joseph Smith say.

125. Zadock Thompson, *History of Vermont, Natural, Civil and Statistical* (Burlington, VT: Chauncey Goodrich, 1842), 119-26.

126. Samuel Williams, *The Natural and Civil History of Vermont*, 2d ed. (Burlington, VT: Samuel Mills, 1809), 152-53 (emphasis in original).

127. Reprinted from Lockport's newspaper as untitled article in *New Hampshire Sentinel* (Keene, NH), 8 June 1822, photocopy in Id 3, box 156, Marquardt papers, Marriott Library. I did not find this article in the newspaper at Palmyra, but Lockport's newspaper circulated there. See "Lockport," *Palmyra Herald, and Canal Advertiser* (Palmyra, NY), 3 July 1822, [3].

128. "A Curiosity," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 1 June 1825, [2].

129. John G. Gager, *Kingdom and Community: The Social World of Early Christianity* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1975), 9; also Edward Harrison, *Masks of the Universe* (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1985), 215.

130. G. St. John Stott, "Joseph Smith's 1823 Vision: Uncovering the Angel Message," *Religion* 18 (Oct. 1988): 351, emphasizing Chase's affidavit. He did not cite this book's 1987 edition in his source-notes and was apparently unaware of my discussion of this matter.

131. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 276.

132. Anderson, "Alvin Smith Story," 62.

133. Thomas Heywood, *The Hierarchie of the Blessed Angels ...* (London: Adam Islip, 1635), 472; Henry Cornelius Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (London: Gregory Moule, 1651), 84; Francis Hutchinson, *An Historical Essay Concerning Witchcraft* (London: R. Knaplock, 1718), 57; Defoe, *System of Magick*, 126; Barrett, *Magus*, 1:46; *The Remarkable Life of Dr. Faustus ...* (New York: S. King, 1830), 17; Thomas Wright, *Narratives of Sorcery and Magic, From the Most Authentic Sources*, 2 vols. (London: Richard Bentley, 1851), 1:37, 345, 347; George Lyman Kittredge, *Witchcraft in Old and New England* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1929), 149, 181; Richard Cavendish, ed., *Man, Myth & Magic: An Illustrated Encyclopedia of the Supernatural*, 24 vols. (New York: Marshall Cavendish, 1970), 21:285-86; Wade Baskin, *Dictionary of Satanism* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1972), 320; Herbert Leventhal, *In the Shadow of the Enlightenment: Occultism and Renaissance Science in Eighteenth-Century America* (New York: New York University Press, 1976), 82.

134. For omens, see Johann Jahn, *Jahn's Biblical Archaeology*, trans. Thomas C. Upham (Andover, MA: Flagg and Gould, 1823), 514, sect. 403, 2d para.; Raymond Bloch, "Portents and Prodigies," in Eliade, *Encyclopedia of Religion*, 11:454; Melton, *Encyclopedia of Occultism & Parapsychology*, 2:953.

135. Richard Bernard, *A Guide to Grand Jury Men*, 2d ed. (London: Felix Kyngston, 1629), 103; Hutchinson, *Historical Essay Concerning Witchcraft*, 57; Josiah Henry Combs, "Sympathetic Magic in the Kentucky Mountains: Some Curious Folk-Survivals," *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 27 (July-Sept. 1914): 328; Stith Thompson, *Motif Index of Folk Literature*, rev. ed., 6 vols. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1955-58), 3:288, 319, 332; Baughman, *Type and Motif-Index of the Folktales of England and North America*, 241. William A. Wilson untitled review, *BYU Studies* 27 (Fall 1987): 102, criticized this book for citing "badly outdated publications" and faulted it for not "giving any serious heed to contemporary folklore and to contemporary folklore scholarship." This requires me to make the obvious statement that collections of "contemporary folklore" gathered in the 1980s and 1990s will reveal nothing about people living 200 years earlier. I say "obvious," because Wilson's 1987 review also denied that there is an "unchanging group of people called the 'folk'" (102-103). Therefore, when interested in people living 150-200 years ago, historians must examine folklore sources as far distant in the past as possible—in dusty academic journals, local histories, newspapers, diaries, correspondence, none of which can be "contemporary" to a

current folklorist. For the polemics of BYU professor Wilson's approach, consult pages 94, 95, and 334 (note 31).

136. Kittridge, *Witchcraft in Old and New England*, 204; also Granger, *Motif Index for Lost Mines and Treasures*, 221.

137. The public release in 1985 of the so-called "White Salamander Letter" or 1830 Martin Harris letter (now known to be a forgery) caused an immediate sensation, publicly and privately. Unfamiliar with traditions of folk magic and the occult, modern Mormons tried to understand why an LDS leader allegedly equated a salamander with a divine messenger (see page 339, note 2). The document's forger later stated that he was surprised at the public's reaction since the salamander was such a well-known occult symbol. See Office of Salt Lake County Attorney, *Mark Hofmann Interviews: Interviews Conducted At Utah State Prison Between February 11 and May 27, 1987*, 2 vols. (N.p., n.d.), 2:440-41; Linda Sillitoe and Allen Roberts, *Salamander: The Story of the Mormon Forgery Murders* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988), 498. Hofmann's forgery does not render the following discussion and evidence any less relevant.

138. I have clarified my meaning in these two paragraphs because of a rare misreading in Whittle untitled review (1987). He noted (112): "If the salamander lore allegedly rife in the region at the time had truly made an impression on young Joseph Smith, surely he would have said 'salamander' to Chase and the Saunders family."

139. Edward Topsel, *The History of Four-footed Beasts and Serpents* (London: E. Cotes, 1658), 747; Abraham Rees, *The Cyclopaedia ...*, 1st Am. ed., 41 vols. (Philadelphia: Samuel F. Bradford et al., 1805-24), s.v. "Lizard" and "Salamander"; Fanny D. Bergen, "Topics for Collection of Folk-lore," *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 4 (Apr.-June 1894): 152; Harry Middleton Hyatt, *Folk-Lore From Adams County, Illinois*, 2d ed. rev. (Hannibal, MO: Western Publishing, 1965), 62, no. 1559.

140. E. Hoffmann-Krayer, *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, 10 vols. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1927-42), 2:68-81, 675.

141. "Swedenborgianism," *North American Review* 12 (Jan. 1821): 89.

142. "NEW BOOKS," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 12 Dec. 1820, [3]; "Periodical Literature," *Palmyra Herald, and Canal Advertiser* (Palmyra, NY), 19 Feb. 1823, [3]; "NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 15 Apr. 1823, [3].

143. "SWEDENBORGIANS," *Western Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 6 Dec. 1808, [1]; "SWEDENBORGIANS," *The Reflector* (Palmyra, NY), 16 Mar. 1830, 87.

144. Members of the Mercurii [Robert C. Smith], *Astrologer of the Nineteenth Century ... a Complete System of Occult Philosophy*, 542n.

145. Harley MS 6482, folio 127; Paracelsus, *pseud.* [Theophrastus von Hohenheim], *On Nymphs, Sylphs, Pygmies and Salamanders*, in Henry E. Sigerist, ed., *Four Treatises of Theophrastus von Hohenheim, called Paracelsus* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1941), 226, 231, 234; *Arbatel of Magic in Agrippa* [alleged], *Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy*, 1665 edition (186), also 1783 edition (287), but not in 1655 edition; Basilius Valentinus, *Of Natural & Supernatural Things ...*, trans. Daniel Cable (London: Moses Pitt, 1670), 23-24; Paracelsus, *pseud.* [Theophrastus von Hohenheim], *A Chymical Dictionary* (London: Andrew Clarke, 1674), 344 [paged continuously but bound with Michael Sandivogius, *A New Light of Alchymy* (London: A. Clarke, 1674)]; Basilius Valentinus, *Basil Valentine, His Triumphant Chariot of Antimony* (London: Dorman Newman, 1678), 15; Nicholas Pierre Henri de Montfaucon Villars, *The Diverting History of the Count Gabalis*, 2d ed. (London: B. Lintott, 1714), 14-15, 17; Ephraim Chambers, *Cyclopaedia ...*, 2 vols. (London: Knapton, 1728), 1:138; Manly Palmer Hall, *The Secret Teachings of All Ages: An Encyclopedic Outline of Masonic, Hermetic, Qabbalistic and Rosicrucian Symbolical Philosophy*, 8th ed. (1928; Los Angeles: Philosophical Research Society Press, 1945), cv, cvii; J. C. J. Metford, *Dictionary of Christian Lore and Legend* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1983), 217.

146. Benvenuto Cellini, *The Autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini*, trans. George Bull (Harmondsworth, Eng.: Penguin Books, 1980), 20; also differing translation in Allison Coudert, *Alchemy: The Philosopher's Stone* (Boulder, CO: Shambhala, 1980), 148.
147. *Oxford English Dictionary*, 13 vols. (Oxford, Eng.: Clarendon Press, 1933), 9:47; Noah Webster, *An American Dictionary of the English Language*, 2 vols. (New York: S. Converse, 1828), s.v. "salamander," where he used "vulgar" as the elitist term for common.
148. "James D. Bemis & Co.," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 17 Nov. 1824, [4], including: "N.B. Any of the above Books may be had at the Wayne Bookstore [in Palmyra], at the publishers' prices."
149. Wayland D. Hand and Jeannine E. Talley, *Popular Beliefs and Superstitions from Utah, Collected by Anthon S. Cannon* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1984), 200 (no. 6373, reported by female, age seventy-six, at Provo in 1963), and their introduction explained (xvii): "Unusual explanations often appear *in toto*, and are given in the exact words of the informant," and also noted (xx) the persistence of the ideas of Paracelsus in Utah.
150. "MORMON LEADERS AT THEIR MECCA. Western New York the Scene of a Powerful and Interesting Revival of Mormonism. JOE SMITH'S LIFE AT PALMYRA," *New York Herald*, 25 June 1893, 12, photocopy in fd 7, box 51, Max H. Parkin papers, Marriott Library.
151. See also Albertus Magnus [alleged], *The Book of Secrets of Albertus Magnus* ..., ed. Michael R. Best and Frank H. Brightman (Oxford, Eng.: Clarendon Press/Oxford University Press, 1973), 30n10, 31, 53n6, 54, 107n72, 108; Scot, *Discourse*, 41.
152. *History of the Church*, 1:5, 11; D&C 110:3; Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:6, 127, 272, 276, 277, 430, 449, 461; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:28, 44, 60, 63, 170, 184, 189.
153. Paracelsus, pseud. [Theophrastus von Hohenheim], *On Nymphs, Sylphs, Pygmies and Salamanders*, 236; Villars, *Diverting History*, 15; Chambers, *Cyclopaedia*, 1:138; Lucius Albertus Parvus, *Secrets merveilleux de la magie naturelle et cabalistique du Petit Albert* [sometimes attributed to Albertus Magnus] (Lyon: Heritier de Beringos Freres a le Seigned Agrippa, 1776), 74-75; M. G. Lewis, ed., *Tales of Wonder*, 2 vols. (Dublin: Wogan, et al., 1801), 1:59-66; Walter Scott, *The Poetical Works*, 8 vols. (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable, 1822), 3:281-90; Giacomo Casanova, *History of My Life*, trans. Willard R. Trask, 12 vols. (1826; New York: Harcourt Brace & World, 1966-71), 5:118; Walter Scott, *Demonology and Witchcraft* ... (London: W. Tegg, 1830), 347-48; W. E. H. Lecky, *History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe*, 3d ed., 2 vols. (London: Longmans, Green, 1866), 1:26-27; Edouard Maynial, *Casanova and His Time*, trans. Ethel Colburn Mayne (London: Chapman and Hall, 1911), 8, 168-69; Marsha Keith Manatt Schuchard, "Freemasonry, Secret Societies, and the Continuity of the Occult Traditions in English Literature," Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1975, 215.
154. Lewis, *Tales of Wonder*, 1:59-66; Scott, *Poetical Works*, 3:281-90; "BOOK-STORE In Canandaigua," *Western Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 20 Mar. 1804, [3]; "BOOKS," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 7 Oct. 1823, [4]; "NEW BOOKS at the Palmyra Book Store," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 1 Dec. 1826, [3]; "The Joseph Smith [book] donation list by courtesy of the Church Librarian," in Kenneth W. Godfrey, "A Note On the Nauvoo Library and Literary Insitute," *BYU Studies* 14 (Spring 1974): 387.
155. "T. C. Strong, Book-Seller & Printer," *Palmyra Register* (Palmyra, NY), 15 Sept. 1818, [3]; "BOOKS," *Palmyra Register* (Palmyra, NY), 27 Oct. 1819, [4]; "PALMYRA Book Store," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 12 May 1824, [3]; "The Rape of the Lock," Canto 1, lines 59-60, which I cite for convenience to its modern printing in John Butt, ed., *The Poems of Alexander Pope* ... (London: Methuen, 1980), 220, also 217 (for Pope's introductory comments about Rosicrucians). Also for BYU historian William J. Hamblin's polemical denial of Rosicrucian ideas in early nineteenth-century America, consult pages 372 (note 151), 373 (note 156), and 445 (note 135).

156. William Godwin, *Lives of the Necromancers* ... (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1835), 47.

157. Dallin H. Oaks, "Reading Church History," talk given to the LDS Church Educational System's *Doctrine and Covenants* Symposium, Brigham Young University, 16 Aug. 1985, typescript, 22-23, Department of Archives and Special Collections, Lee Library. Oaks depended on FARMS scholars and researchers, who reported that in "the cultural world prevailing" for early Mormons, "the salamander in particular has a millennia-long history as a symbol of divine and elemental power." See *Why Might a Person in 1830 Connect an Angel With a Salamander?* (Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1985), 1-2; also "Moses, Moroni, and the Salamander," *F.A.R.M.S. Update* (June 1985); "'Salamanders' and 'Short-hand Egyptian,'" *Insights: Foundation for Ancient Research & Mormon Studies* (July 1985): 1-2; also see previous notes 153-56. For the FARMS-BYU relationship, see my Preface. These were conscientious statements by LDS apologists.

Some readers might complain that I should not quote the above statements by Oaks and FARMS because they were intended only to explain the historical context for a document later proved to be a forgery. My first response is a question: Did the truth of the statements by Apostle Oaks and FARMS depend on the Hofmann document's truth? My assumption is that they made truthful statements about the past's cultural view, regardless of Hofmann's modern deception. Thus, it is still appropriate to quote them about historical context.

158. *History of the Church*, 6:51, 366; Joseph Fielding Smith, ed., *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1938), 325, 367; Richard C. Galbraith, ed., *Scriptural Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* ... (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1993), 366, 414.

159. Villars, *Diverting History*, 15, 16.

160. Isadore Singer, ed., *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 12 vols. (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1907), 10:646; Carl Kraeling, *The Synagogue: The Excavations at Dura-Europos, Final Report VIII, Pt. I*, ed. A. R. Bellinger et al. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1956), 76.

161. *History of the Church*, 1:11; Jesse, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:277.

162. *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 250:143; Colin Wilson, *The Occult: A History* (New York: Random House, 1971), 323 (for masterpiece); Elsie Andersen, "Motifs, Symbols, and Style in E. T. A. Hoffmann's *Der Goldne Topf*," M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1968; also discussed in Paul Pry, Jr., pseud. [Grant Palmer], "New York Mormonism," typed manuscript (1986), various paging, fd 7, box 5, in Linda Sillitoe's *Salamander Collection*, Marriott Library. Palmer was identified as "Pry" in Robert F. Smith, "Oracles & Talismans, Forgery & Pansophia: Joseph Smith, Jr. As a Renaissance Magus," bound typescript ("August 1987-Draft"), 30n90, copy in Lee Library and in fd 7, box 97, H. Michael Marquardt papers, Marriott Library.

163. Andersen, "Motifs, Symbols, and Style in E. T. A. Hoffmann's *Der Goldne Topf*," 16, 19, 61-63.

164. Paracelsus, pseud. [Theophrastus von Hohenheim], *On Nymphs, Sylphs, Pygmies and Salamanders*, 240.

165. Louis Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, trans. Henrietta Szold, 7 vols. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1909-38), 5:52n157, for the "vast collection of material relating to Salamander in Jewish literature"; Hoffmann-Krayer, *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, 2:68-81; Daniel G. Brinton, "Nagualism: A Study in Native American Folk-lore and History," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 33 (Jan. 1894): 12, 26.

166. *Reti di Roma, 1984-85*, 2 vols. (Rome: Società Italiana per l'Esercizio Telefonico, 1984), 2:1484-85.

167. Fremont Rider, ed., *The American Genealogical-Biographical Index*, 186 vols. (Middletown, CT: The Godfrey Memorial Library, 1952-96+), 120: s.v. Morone, Moroney,

Morony in 1700s; Barbara Kay Armstrong, *Index To the 1800 Census of New York* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1984), 257, for Morony; Ronald Vern Jackson, Gary Ronald Teeple, and David Schaefermeyer, *Vermont 1820 Census Index* (Bountiful, UT: Accelerated Indexing Systems, 1976), 59, for Morroni.

168. Elsdon C. Smith, *New Dictionary of American Family Names* (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), 360. Ricks and Peterson, "Mormon as Magus," stated: "Surely, though, dark complected people have no necessary connection to the occult." In this outrageous example of polemics, these two BYU religion professors did not inform their readers that I had quoted a source (see text) which made a connection between skin color and the occult. An honest reviewer would note that I cited evidence to make this connection, which the reviewer would then evaluate as adequate or inadequate.

169. Smith, "Oracles & Talismans, Forgery & Pansophia: Joseph Smith, Jr. As a Renaissance Magus," 76. For Robert F. Smith's continuing role as a FARMS writer, see page 530, note 481.

170. John Heydon, *The Holy Guide, Leading the Way to Unite Art and Nature* (London: T. M., 1662), 11.

171. John Beaumont, *An Historical, Physiological, and Theological Treatise of Spirits ...* (London: D. Browne, 1705), 369; Beaumont, *Gleanings of Antiquities* (London: J. Roberts, 1724), 69; Chambers, *Cyclopaedia*, 1:282; Smellie, *Encyclopaedia*, 12:785.

172. John Bell, *Bell's New Pantheon ...*, 2 vols. (London: By the author, 1790), 2:59; Addison Pratt donation of books in Nauvoo Library and Literary Institute Records (1844), LDS archives.

173. S. Liddle MacGregor Mathers, *The Key of Solomon the King (Clavicula Salomonis) Now First Translated and Edited from Ancient Mss in the British Museum* (London: George Redway, 1888), 28; *Claviculae Salomonis & Theosophia Pneumatica ...* (Wesel: Andreas Luppis, 1686); "Clavicules de Salomon," Mellon Manuscript 85, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut; "Le vrais Clavicule du Roi Salomon," Manuscript 24252.89.6*, Houghton Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts; [Johann Christoph Adelung], *Geschichte der menschlichen Narrheit ...*, 7 vols. (Leipzig: Wengandschen Buchhandlung, 1785-89), 6:332-456; Johann Georg Binz, *Catalogus Manuscriptorum Chemico-Alchemico-Magico-Cabalistico-Medico-Physico-Curiosorum* (Vienna: N.p., 1788), "Codices Magici"; Emile Angelo Grillot de Givry, *The Illustrated Anthology of Sorcery, Magic and Alchemy*, trans. J. Courtenay Locke (1931; New York: Causeway Books, 1973), 95.

174. Faulring, *American Prophet's Record*, 6; Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:8.

175. Charles Rollin, *The Ancient History of the Egyptians, Carthaginians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes and Persians, Macedonians and Grecians*, 8 vols. (New York: Duyokinck and Ward, 1812), index, 8:316; Paul, "Joseph Smith and the Manchester (New York) Library," 345.

176. Rees, *Cyclopaedia*, s.v. "Maronea," "Maroni," "Morona," "Morrone"; also "NEW BOOKS," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 3 June 1817, [3], for the Rees encyclopedia.

177. Oliver Goldsmith, *An History of the Earth, and Animated Nature*, 8 vols. (London: J. Nourse, 1774), 7:141, 8:index; *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 205:13-14; *Catalogue of Books, for Sale at the Bookstore ... on the road leading to Lebanon*, 13; "BOOKS," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 22 June 1813, [2]; "T. C. Strong, Book-Seller & Printer," *Palmyra Register* (Palmyra, NY), 15 Sept. 1818, [3]; "BOOKS," *Palmyra Register* (Palmyra, NY), 3 Nov. 1819, [4]; "PALMYRA Book Store," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 24 May 1824, [3]; Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith*, 60; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:260; Paul, "Joseph Smith and the Manchester (New York) Library," 346; *Oxford English Dictionary*, 6:669; see also Topsel, *History of Four-footed Beasts and Serpents*, 749-50; Angelo de Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology ...*, 2 vols. (London: Truebner, 1872), 2:380n.

178. Alexander von Humboldt, *Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions*

of the New Continent, During the Years 1799-1804, trans. Helen Maria Williams, vol. 3. (London: Longman, 1818), 3:302.

179. Paul, "Joseph Smith and the Manchester (New York) Library," 347; "T. C. Strong, Book-Seller & Printer," *Palmyra Register* (Palmyra, NY), 15 Sept. 1818, [3]; *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 260:108

180. Smellie, *Encyclopaedia* (1798), 12:356; Henry Neuman and Guiseppe M. A. Baretti, *Neuman and Baretti's Dictionary of the Spanish and English Languages*, 2 vols. (Boston: Hilliard, Gray, Little, and Wilkins, 1828), 1:481; *Longworth's American Almanac, New-York Register, and City Directory* (New York: Thomas Longworth, 1827), 355, for Peter Moron; Patrick Hanks and Flavia Hodges, *A Dictionary of Surnames* (Oxford, Eng.: Oxford University Press, 1988), 375, for the Arabic derivation of Moron. In *An Approach to the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Council of the Twelve Apostles of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1957), 67, Hugh Nibley, a professor of religion and ancient scripture at Brigham Young University, suggested that there was an Arabic antecedent for the name Moron.

181. William J. Hamblin, "Everything Is Everything: Was Joseph Smith Influenced by Kabbalah? FARMS Review of Books: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies 8 (1996), no. 2:262n31; compare with Samuel Sandmel, "Parallelomania," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 81 (Mar. 1962): 7.

182. Scot, *Discovery of Witchcraft* (1665, expanded rituals), 216.

183. Helmut Nemeč, *Zauberzeichen: Magie im volkstümlichen Bereich* (Vienna: Anton Schroll, 1976), 141-42.

184. Campbell Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets, Chiefly Greco-Egyptian* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950), 69-71.

185. Waite, *Book of Ceremonial Magic*, 241-42; C. J. S. Thompson, *The Mysteries and Secrets of Magic* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1928), 258.

186. Sibly, *New and Complete Illustration of the Occult Sciences*, 114.

187. *Arbatel of Magic in Agrippa* [alleged], *Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy*, 1665 edition (179), 1783 edition (278), but not in the 1655 edition.

188. Sloane MS 3851, folio 15b, British Museum-Library.

189. Whittle untitled review (1987), 112; see page 582, note 656. On the other hand, Anderson, "Alvin Smith Story," 65, insisted: "There is no justification for a campaign to save either the salamander or the toad."

190. Fred Gettings, *Dictionary of Occult, Hermetic and Alchemical Sigils* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981), 342, 216.

191. Ephrata Scrapbook [with dated references only for 1762], 28, MS Group-46, Ephrata Cloister, Pennsylvania Historical Museum Commission, Ephrata, Pennsylvania; E. G. Alderfer, *The Ephrata Commune: An Early American Counter Culture* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1985), 22, 59, 146. This manuscript illustration was based on Johann Georg Gichtel, *Theosophia Practica* (1779; Freiburg im Breisgau: Edition Imago Solis, Aurum Verlag, 1979), 47, also "redrawn" in Hall, *Secret Teachings of All Ages*, lxxv. I did not have access to Gichtel's first edition (1722), but the 1779 edition's illustration showed a dog-like creature on the man's right breast. However, the Ephrata illustrator (fig. 84) changed the shape of the animal into a four-footed reptile. The rest of the illustration followed Gichtel closely, and I view the Ephrata illustrator's alteration as intentional reference to this Rosicrucian commune's emphasis on elemental spirits, specifically the salamander. See pages 372 (note 151), 373 (note 156), and 445 (note 135) for FARMS polemicist Hamblin's denial of Rosicrucianism's influence at Ephrata.

192. For the first edition, I did not have access to the surveyed distances, and from maps I over-estimated the distance of Whitmer's closest residence to Ephrata; see page 535, note 13.

193. Samuel Birch, ed., *Records of the Past ...*, 12 vols. (London: Samuel Bagster and

Sons, 1874-81), 4:129-48; E. A. Wallis Budge, *Egyptian Magic* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Truber, 1899), 142-46.

194. William Warburton, *The Divine Legation of Moses Demonstrated* ..., 2d ed. rev., 4 vols. (London: Fletcher Gyles, 1738-65), 2:122 (emphasis in original); *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 648:91-94.

195. Eliphas Levi, pseud. [Alphonse Louis Constant], *Transcendental Magic: Its Doctrine and Ritual*, trans. Arthur Edward Waite (1856; London: William Rider and Son, 1923), 360.

196. Cowdery to Phelps, "LETTER IV," 78; Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:50.

197. Jessee, "Joseph Knight's Recollection," 31; also William G. Hartley, *"They Are My Friends": A History of the Joseph Knight Family, 1825-1850* (Provo, UT: Grandin Book, 1986), 20.

198. Willard Chase affidavit (1833).

199. Anderson, "Alvin Smith Story," 61.

200. Lapham, "Interview with the Father of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet," 307; Kirkham, *New Witness*, 2:386; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:460. Anderson, "Alvin Smith Story," 61, 71n12, dismissed Lapham as "basically repeating the Chase affidavit."

201. Lorenzo Saunders interview (17 Sept. 1884), 9-10; also Lorenzo Saunders interview (12 Nov. 1884), 16; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming). Despite the fact that Saunders reported what he himself heard "in my father's house," Anderson, "Alvin Smith Story," 61, 71n12, dismissed Lorenzo Saunders as "basically repeating the Chase affidavit."

202. Because early accounts of Joseph Smith's annual visits seem to list only three visits to the hill prior to 1827, some LDS researchers (usually secular revisionists) have concluded that it was not until September 1824 that Joseph Smith could have had the experiences his official narratives identified as occurring on 21-22 September 1823.

Such a view is erroneous, however, because it ignores the fact that both these Mormon and non-Mormon accounts agree that Alvin was alive when Joseph Smith first met Moroni. Since Alvin died in November 1823, Joseph Smith could not have had the first experiences with Moroni in 1824. Alvin's death date is a "fixed point" in verifying chronology. As indicated in the following analysis, existing sources provide information about each of the annual visits to the Hill Cumorah from September 1823 through September 1827.

203. Turner, *History of the Pioneer Settlement*, 213; J. H. Kennedy, *Early Days of Mormonism: Palmyra, Kirtland, and Nauvoo* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1888), 12; Norton, "Comparative Images," 256. Both Turner and Kennedy mistakenly referred to Joseph Smith's oldest brother Alvin as "Alva(h)." The latter was the name of Emma Hale's brother, and Smith family sources list both Alvin and Alva as the name of the first child born to Emma and Joseph Smith. See pages 79 and 420 (note 103).

204. Lorenzo Saunders interview (12 Nov. 1884), 9; compare Willard Chase affidavit (1833).

205. Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith*, 89-90; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:305-306.

206. Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:19, 282.

207. Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith*, 88; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:302.

208. Jessee, "Joseph Knight's Recollection," 31.

209. Joseph Smith manuscript diary, 9 Nov. 1835, in Faulring, *American Prophet's Record*, 52; Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:128.

210. Jessee, "Joseph Knight's Recollection," 31.

211. Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith*, 85-86; also Lucy Mack Smith manuscript history (1845), 50-51; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:297-98, also 1:205-206, for statements (1875-88) of James A. Briggs that while testifying in court against Doctor

Philastus Hurlbut in 1834, Joseph Smith said that "he was kicked by an unseen power out of the hole in the earth."

212. Bruce A. Van Orden, "Joseph Smith's Developmental Years, 1823-29," in Robert L. Millet and Kent P. Jackson, eds., *Studies in Scripture, Volume Two: The Pearl of Great Price* (Salt Lake City: Randall Book, 1985), 370.

213. See pages 62-63, 403-04 (note 254); also John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania in the Olden Times*, 2 vols. (1830; Philadelphia: King & Baird, 1850), 1:268, "the whole influence of the spell was lost."

214. Charles M. Skinner, *Myths & Legends of Our Own Land*, 6th ed., 2 vols. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1896), 2:288.

215. Lorenzo Saunders interview (17 Sept. 1884), 10.

216. Lapham, "Interview with the Father of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet," 307; Kirkham, *New Witness for Christ in America*, 2:386; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:460.

217. Cowdery to Phelps, "Letter VIII," 197.

218. Jessee, "Joseph Knight's Recollection," 31; Smith, "Old Soldier's Testimony," 643; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:504-505.

219. Lucy Mack Smith manuscript history (1845), 50, described this incident immediately after her discussion (49): "From this time forth [after September 1823] Joseph continued to receive instructions [by the angel] from time to time ... [and] he would describe the ancient inhabitants," her description of a several-year period. Then she discussed the incident of the disappearing plates in the "ensuing September," which she immediately followed (51) with a description of her son Alvin's death in "November 1822 [actually 1823]. This narrative sequence indicates that she intended the word ensuing to refer back to the September 1823 visit which she had interrupted by the commentary about her reflections concerning the angel's instructions then and young Joseph's "amusing recitals" during subsequent years. Thus, she used "ensuing" as if it meant "this current September."

However, in preparing the manuscript for publication Orson Pratt interpreted "ensuing" in its precise meaning of "following." Therefore, the published version of 1853 added "1824" as the specific year "ensuing" would identify, even though Lucy Mack Smith was describing events of 1823 (with the exception of her aside about Joseph's "amusing recitals").

Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:297, added the bracketed date of 1823 to clarify the chronology in Lucy's manuscript about this September visit to the hill, but his footnote (1:297n96) shows that he did so for a different reason than I have given here. His footnote (1:303n100) for the published version's erroneous dating of 1824 as Alvin Smith's death also shows that Vogel did not perceive that the 1853 book simply followed Lucy's mistaken reference to "ensuing September."

220. Joseph Smith, Sr., "To the Public," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 29 Sept. [p. 3], 6 Oct. [p. 4], 13 Oct. [p. 4], 20 Oct. [p. 4], 27 Oct. [p. 4], 3 Nov. 1824, [4]; Kirkham, *New Witness*, 1:147; Russell R. Rich, "Where Were the Moroni Visits?" *BYU Studies* 10 (Spring 1970): 256. However, Anderson, "Alvin Smith Story," 63, dropped the allusions to Joseph Jr. from his quote of the statement and mistakenly claimed (63) that the notice appeared only "five times" and specified (71n23) "with the exception of 6 Oct."

221. Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith the Mormon Prophet* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945), 28; Donna Hill, *Joseph Smith: The First Mormon* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1977), 60; Francis M. Gibbons [secretary to the LDS First Presidency], *Joseph Smith: Martyr, Prophet of God* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1977), 42; Bushman, *Joseph Smith*, 65.

222. Agrippa [alleged], *Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy*, 1655 edition (70), 1665 edition (67), 1783 edition (123).

223. Barrett, *Magus*, II:69, 70.

224. Anderson, "Alvin Smith Story," 63.

225. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 12.

226. Cowdery to Phelps, "LETTER VIII," 200-201; Kirkham, *New Witness*, 1:103; Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:93.

227. Jessee, "Joseph Knight's Recollection," 31. Knight added that Smith's future wife, Emma Hale, was the person required for the September 1825 visit. This was Knight's error. By her father's and Smith's own accounts, Joseph Jr. and Emma did not meet until he was working for Josiah Stowell in Harmony, Pennsylvania, in October-November 1825. It is likely that Knight omitted the 1825 visit involving Samuel F. Lawrence because of its unsuccessful outcome. See Isaac Hale affidavit (1834); also *History of the Church*, 1:17; Larry C. Porter, "Historical Background of the Fifteen Harmony Revelations," in *The Seventh Annual Sidney B. Sperry Symposium: The Doctrine and Covenants* (Provo, UT: Religious Instruction, Brigham Young University; Church Educational System, 1979), 165.

228. Jessee, "Joseph Knight's Recollection," 32.

229. Martin Harris interview (1859), in Tiffany, "MORMONISM—No. II," 164, also 165; Kirkham, *New Witness*, 2:377; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

230. Lorenzo Saunders interview (17 Sept. 1884), 9 (for first quote), 10 (for long quote).

231. Willard Chase affidavit (1833). Smith's friend was middle-aged Samuel F. Lawrence. Another local resident Smith Lawrence had a son (b. 1823) named Samuel T. Lawrence, and Chase mixed the two initials in his statement. See New York manuscript 1830 census (federal) for "Samuel F. Lawrence" (age 40-50) in Palmyra, Wayne County, 37, also biographical sketch for Samuel Townley Lawrence in genealogical files, King's Daughters' Library, Palmyra, New York, both on microfilm at LDS Family History Library.

232. Jessee, "Joseph Knight's Recollection," 30-31, 32-33; Joseph Smith manuscript diary, 9 Nov. 1835, in Faulring, *American Prophet's Record*, 52; Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:128. Even without access to Knight's narrative, historian Dale Morgan decades ago noticed this "curious lacuna [i.e., gap] in the various stories which would indicate that one year Joseph forgot all about his September 22 appointment with the spirit." See Walker, *Dale Morgan on Early Mormonism*, 381n27.

233. The 1824 requirement did not refer to Smith's future wife, Emma Hale, whom he met after September 1825. In September 1824 he was only eighteen years old. Smith did not learn of the need to bring her until September 1826 when the angel told him that next year's visit would be his last chance to obtain the plates. See previous note 227 and below.

234. Members of the Mercurii [Robert C. Smith], *Astrologer of the Nineteenth Century ... a Complete System of Occult Philosophy*, 556, quoting his pre-1825 publication on this matter.

235. Isaac Hale affidavit (1834); Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith*, 92; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:312, also vol. 2 (forthcoming); *History of the Church*, 1:17; Porter, "Historical Background of the Fifteen Harmony Revelations," 165; Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery, *Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith*, 2d ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 17-18.

236. Mary Audentia Smith Anderson, *Ancestry and Posterity of Joseph Smith and Emma Hale* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1929), 65-66, 74.

237. Jessee, "Joseph Knight's Recollection," 31-32; Hartley, "They Are My Friends," 21.

238. Henry Harris affidavit (1833); Lorenzo Saunders interview (17 Sept. 1884), 10-11; Lorenzo Saunders interview (12 Nov. 1884), 16. Although the transcriptions of the interviews of 17 Sept. and 20 Sept. are very close, this was not in the 20 Sept. 1884 interview.

239. Sylvia Butts Walker affidavit (20 Mar. 1885), in *Naked Truths About Mormonism* 1 (Apr. 1888): 1; also William Riley Hine affidavit (ca. 1884-5), in *Naked Truths About Mormonism* 1 (Jan. 1888): 2; reprinted in Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined*, 169, 159; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

240. Lewis and Lewis, "MORMON HISTORY"; Wyl, pseud. [Wymetal], *Mormon Portraits*, 79, 80; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

241. Frederic G. Mather, "The Early Days of Mormonism," *Lippincott's Magazine* 26

(Aug. 1880): 200 (for the quote), 200n (for Mrs. Sally McKune as source); also Dan Vogel, "The Locations of Joseph Smith's Early Treasure Quests," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 27 (Fall 1994): 215, 215n71, for McKune's property; also Anderson, "Reliability of the Early History of Lucy and Joseph Smith," 24 (for his evaluation of Mather as an accurate reporter of the statements of those he interviewed).

242. Anderson, "Alvin Smith Story," 61; Van Orden, "Joseph Smith's Developmental Years," 375; Susan Easton Black, "Isaac Hale: Antagonist of Joseph Smith," in Larry C. Porter, Milton V. Backman, Jr., and Black, eds., *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint History: New York* (Provo, UT: Department of Church History and Doctrine, Brigham Young University, 1992), 101.

243. H. Donl Peterson, "Moroni: Joseph Smith's Tutor," *Ensign* 22 (Jan. 1992): 23-29 (esp. 26-27, for "Moroni's Visits, 1824-1827"); compare Jessee, "Joseph Knight's Recollection of Early Mormon History," *BYU Studies* 17 (Autumn 1976). In his essay for Porter, Backman, and Black, *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint History: New York*, 49-70, Peterson's "Moroni: Joseph Smith's Teacher" had the same extraordinary absence of any reference to Knight's history about Moroni's instructions to Joseph Smith.

244. Richard Lyman Bushman, "The Recovery of the Book of Mormon," in Noel B. Reynolds, ed., *Book of Mormon Authorship Revisited: The Evidence for Ancient Origins* (Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1997), 27.

245. Isaac Hale affidavit (1834); Porter, "Historical Background of the Fifteen Harmony Revelations," 166-67. A devotional biography (Gibbons, *Joseph Smith*, 44) disputes this explanation of Hale's opposition to Smith's marriage proposal because the "affidavit supposedly executed by Isaac in 1834 ... was prepared by Philastus Hurlburt." On the contrary, Isaac Hale published his affidavit in *Susquehanna Register* (Montrose, PA), 1 May 1834. Hurlburt had nothing to do with it, and E. D. Howe simply reprinted it in *Mormonism Unveiled*, 243. See Anderson, "Reliability of the Early History of Lucy and Joseph Smith," 25n46; Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined*, 5, 30, 113, 126-27.

246. "ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT" (1 Nov. 1825), reprinted in Kirkham, *New Witness for Christ in America*, 1:493-94; Larry C. Porter, "A Study of the Origins of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the States of New York and Pennsylvania, 1816-1831," Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1971, 124-25; Walker, *Dale Morgan on Early Mormonism*, 241; Black, "Isaac Hale," 96-99.

247. Isaac Hale affidavit (1834); Black, "Isaac Hale," 99.

248. Willard Chase affidavit (1833).

249. Jessee, "Joseph Knight's Recollection," 32.

250. Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith*, 102; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:331-32.

251. Jessee, "Joseph Knight's Recollection," 32; Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery, *Mormon Enigma*, 18-19.

252. Jessee, "Joseph Knight's Recollection," 31-32.

253. Emma Smith Bidamon interview in "LAST TESTIMONY OF SISTER EMMA," *Saints' Herald* 26 (1 Oct. 1879): [289]; Isaac Hale affidavit (1834); *History of the Church*, 1:17; Hill, *Joseph Smith*, 69; Buddy Younggreen, *Reflections of Emma: Joseph Smith's Wife* (Orem, UT: Grandin Book, 1982), 5-6.

254. Edwin Cadwell, "Mormon History' Reviewed," *Amboy Journal* (Amboy, IL), 21 May 1879, [1], photocopy in fd 8, box 149, Marquardt papers, Marriott Library; Mark H. Forscutt, "COMMEMORATIVE DISCOURSE, ON THE DEATH OF MRS. EMMA BIDAMON, Wife of Major Lewis C. Bidamon, of Nauvoo, Ill., formerly WIFE AND WIDOW OF THE PROPHET JOSEPH SMITH," *Saints' Herald* 26 (15 July 1879): 210-11; Judge Me Dear Reader: *Emma Smith Tells Her Own Story, As Seen By Erwin E. Winkus*, 3d ed. rev. and enl. (Salt Lake City: Ensign Publishers, 1979), 14-15; Buddy Younggreen, *Reflections of Emma*,

Joseph Smith's Wife (Orem, UT: Grandin Book, 1982), 6; Norma J. Fischer, *Portrait of a Prophet's Wife: Emma Hale Smith* (Salt Lake City: Silver Leaf Press/Aspen Books, 1992), 5.

255. Willard Chase affidavit (1833); Lorenzo Saunders interview (17 Sept. 1884), 11; Lorenzo Saunders interview (12 Nov. 1884), 16; while Anderson, "Alvin Smith Story," 71n20, insisted: "Such a detail is not hinted at in any other LDS or non-LDS account recorded during Joseph's lifetime." Although the transcriptions of the interviews of 17 Sept. and 20 Sept. are very close, this was not in the 20 Sept. 1884 interview.

256. Jessee, "Joseph Knight's Recollection," 33; Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith*, 100-101; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:326-28.

257. Lapham, "Interview with the Father of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet," 306; Kirkham, *New Witness for Christ in America*, 2:385; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:459.

258. Elisabeth McClellan, *Historic Dress in America, 1800-1870* (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs & Co., 1910), 394 (for quote), [372]-75 (for period illustrations of men's suits); also Elizabeth Ewing, *Everyday Dress, 1650-1900* (London: B. T. Baisford, 1984), [74-75], 90, 92-93, 108, [114-15]; "COSTUME FOR MEN—1820-1840," in Phyllis Tortora and Keith Eubank, *A Survey of Historic Costume* (New York: Fairchild Publications, 1989), 229-30; Diana de Marly, *Fashion For Men: An Illustrated History* (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1985), 87, writes that in the early 1820s "Napoleonic exhibition had been defeated. British black was established for full dress, while day dress became dark, too, in blue and browns," and (90) by the 1830s "black suits were the rule."

259. Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith*, 95; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:316; for Gain Robinson also see George W. Cowles, ed., *Landmarks of Wayne County, New York* (Syracuse: D. Mason, 1895), 121, 123, 128, 180; Porter, "Study of the Origins of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," 74.

260. The full quotes are in Gain Robinson Store day book (1827-29), with no pagination, which was abbreviated to "L.Blk" in day book (1826-28), 301 (with same note that Joseph Sr. purchased this for his son). There was no similar purchase in the 1825-29 book, all in King's Daughters' Library.

261. *Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language Unabridged* (Springfield, MA: G. and C. Merriam, 1981).

262. Abraham ben Simeon of Worms, *The Book of the Sacred Magic of Abra-Melin the Mage*, trans. S. L. MacGregor Mathers (1458; London: J. M. Watkins, 1898), 81-85 (emphasis in original).

263. *History of the Church*, 6:461; Smith, *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, 368; Galbraith, *Scriptural Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, 415.

264. Scot, *Discovery of Witchcraft* (1665, expanded rituals), 215, 218-20, 226; Sibly, *New and Complete Illustration of the Occult Sciences*, 1102, 1104; *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 545:135-37.

265. Northcote W. Thomas, *Crystal Gazing: Its History and Practice* (London: Alexander Moring, 1905), 32, 48-50, 68.

266. Karl Anderson, *The Astrology of the Old Testament* (Boston: By the author, 1892), 219; also Scot, *Discovery of Witchcraft* (1665, expanded rituals), 69; Henry Coley, *Clavis Astrologiae Elimata, or a Key to the Whole Art of Astrology ...* (London: Tooke and Sawbridge, 1676), 27; Blagrove, *Introduction to Astrology*, 62; Christopher Heydon, *Astrology* (London: A. Hamilton, 1792), 15.

267. William Lilly, *Christian Astrology* (London: Thomas Brudenell, 1647), 217.

268. Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith*, 99-100; Hartley, *They Are My Friends*, 23; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:326.

269. *Journal of Discourses*, 5:55 (B. Young/1857).

270. Martin Harris interview (1859), in Tiffany, "MORMONISM—No. II," 165; Kirkham, *New Witness*, 2:377-78; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

271. Barrett, *Magus*, II:139.

272. Calculated according to instructions in Christian, *pseud.* [Pitois], *History and Practice of Magic*, 2:463-64, and 482 for "ruler of the year"; compare with "Table of the Planets," in M. C. Poinsoot, *The Encyclopedia of Occult Sciences* (New York: Robert M. McBride, 1939), 54; also see ch. 3 for discussion of planet which rules/governs each year and each Decan within a zodiacal sign.

273. For the Mars sigil, see Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, 245; Barrett, *Magus*, 1:illustration opposite 143; J. Gordon Melton, ed., *Encyclopedia of Occultism & Parapsychology*, 4th ed., 2 vols. (Detroit, MI: Gale Research/International Thompson Publishing, 1996), 2:1179. For sigils generally, see Gettings, *Dictionary of Occult, Hermetic and Alchemical Sigils*.

274. Barrett, *Magus*, II:110; also Agrippa [alleged], *Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy*, 1655 edition (110), 1665 edition (59), 1783 edition (110); K. M. Briggs, *Pale Hecate's Team: An Examination of the Beliefs on Witchcraft and Magic among Shakespeare's Contemporaries and His Immediate Successors* (New York: The Humanities Press, 1962), 259.

275. "JUDGMENTS DRAWN FROM THE MOON'S AGE," in *The BOOK OF FATE: A New and Complete System of Fortune Telling ... Carefully Rendered into English, and Arranged From the Manuscripts of AN ADEPT*, [3d ed.] (1817; New York: Nafis & Cornish; St. Louis: Nafis, Cornish & Co.; Philadelphia: John B. Perry, n.d.), 149; "PALMYRA Book Store," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 12 May 1824, [3]. For the 1817 and 1823 editions, see WorldCat (a computer-catalog of 38 million different titles); also discussion in ch. 4.

276. David J. Whittaker, "Almanacs in the New England Heritage of Mormonism," *BYU Studies* 29 (Fall 1989): 94.

277. *The Farmer's Diary or Ontario Almanack. For the Year of Our Lord, 1827* (Canandaigua, NY: Bemis, Morse and Ward, [1826]), cover-title and calendar for September.

278. *Farmer's Diary or Ontario Almanack. For the Year of Our Lord, 1827*, page for September, compared with inside-cover page for Zodiac symbols; Ramesey, *Astrologia Restaurata; or, Astrologie Restored*, 130.

279. Erra Pater, *Book of Knowledge* (edition at Albany, NY), 26.

280. Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, 50.

281. Katharine Smith Salisbury letter to "Dear Sisters," 10 Mar. 1886, in *Saints' Herald* 33 (1 May 1886): 260, reprinted in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:521.

282. Blagrave, *Introduction to Astrology*, 180; Ball, *Astrology Improv'd*, 75; Ball, *Astro-Physical Compendium, or a Brief Introduction to Astrology*, 16, 53; Erra Pater, *Book of Knowledge*, 25; Barrett, *Magus*, II:139; White, *Beauties of Occult Science Investigated*, 142; [Buchan], *Witchcraft Detected & Prevented* (1823-26), 98.

283. Joscelyn Godwin, *The Theosophical Enlightenment* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994), xi, 173.

284. Whittle untitled review (1987), 111; for publication of his views by *BYU Studies* in 1987, see page 582, note 656.

285. Lenet Hadley Read, "Joseph Smith's Receipt of the Plates and the Israelite Feast of Trumpets," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies: Foundation for Ancient Research & Mormon Studies* 2 (Fall 1993): 110-20, with quotes from 111, 119; also v, for introductory comments by editor Ricks.

286. Every standard English dictionary has the definitions of these Jewish terms. See page 336, note 52, to explain my choice of Cabala and cabalistic from among the various English transliterations of the Hebrew.

287. Daniel C. Peterson, "Chattanooga Cheapshot, or The Gall of Bitterness," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 5 (1993): 8, and 6 (for the insults).

288. Lewis and Lewis, "MORMON HISTORY"; Wyl, *pseud.* [Wymetal], *Mormon Portraits*, 80; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

289. Martin Harris interview (1859), in Tiffany, "MORMONISM—No. II," 165; Kirkham, *New Witness*, 2:377; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).
290. Jessee, "Joseph Knight's Recollection," 33; also Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith*, 100-101; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:327.
291. Joseph Smith, "Church History," *Times and Seasons* 3 (1 Mar. 1842): 707; Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 431; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:171; *History of the Church*, 1:12. On biblical Urim and Thummim, see Ann Jeffers, *Magic and Divination In Ancient Palestine and Syria* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996), 215, and following notes 304-07.
292. Martin Harris interview (1859), in Tiffany, "MORMONISM—No. II," 169; Kirkham, *New Witness*, 2:381; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).
293. "Book of Pukei.—Chap. 2," *The Reflector* (Palmyra, NY), 7 July 1830, 60; also Kirkham, *New Witness*, 2:54; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).
294. *History of the Church*, 1:18-19; Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith*, 102-105, 108-109; Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:283-84, 400-401, 432, 451; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:69, 157-58, 330-31, 335-36, 340-43; also Bushman, *Joseph Smith*, 82-84.
295. David Whitmer statement (5 June 1881), in Lyndon W. Cook, ed., *David Whitmer Interviews: A Restoration Witness* (Orem, UT: Grandin Book, 1991), 60.
296. "(No. XXXIII, For November,) MUSEUM OF FOREIGN LITERATURE AND SCIENCE ... On the Supernatural in Fictitious Composition—Works of Hoffman [sic]." *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 23 Nov. 1827, [3]; "On the Supernatural In Fictitious Composition: and particularly on the Works of Ernst Theodore William Hoffmann," *Museum of Foreign Literature and Science* 11 (Nov. 1827): 442-60; Thomas Carlyle, *German Romance: Specimens of Its Chief Authors*, 4 vols. (Edinburgh: William Tait, 1827), 2:200-317. A recent American story about talking salamanders of fire is Mercer Mayer, *East of the Sun & West of the Moon* (New York: Four Winds Press, 1980), 15-16.
297. As examples of the Palmyra bookstore's regular advertisements (with the same headline), see "MUSEUM OF FOREIGN LITERATURE AND SCIENCE," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 1 June 1825, [1], 24 Mar. 1826, [3], 30 Mar. 1827, [3], 7 Sept. 1827, [3].
298. Emma Smith Bidamon interview (1879), reprinted in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:541, also references in 31, 31n14, 71-73, 356-69; *History of the Church*, 1:18-28; Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:287-303; Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith*, 110-24; Andrew Jenson, comp., *Church Chronology: A Record of Important Events Pertaining to the History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 2d ed., rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1914), entries for December 1827, February and June 1828; Ariel L. Crowley, "The Anthon Transcript," *Improvement Era* 45 (Jan.-Mar. 1942): 14-15, 58-60, 76-80, 124-25, 150-51, 182-83; Stanley B. Kimball, "The Anthon Transcript: People, Primary Sources, and Problems," *BYU Studies* 10 (Spring 1970): 325-52; Calvin N. Smith, "The Other 'Learned' Man: Dr. Mitchell, 'A Walking Congressional Record,'" *Deseret News* "Church News," 21 Aug. 1983, 6, 12; Bushman, *Joseph Smith*, 85-93; John W. Welch and Tim Rathbone, *The Translation of the Book of Mormon: Basic Historical Information* (Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1986), 7-13; Robert F. Smith, Gordon C. Thomasson, and John W. Welch, "What Did Charles Anthon Really Say?", in Welch, ed., *Reexploring the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1992), 73-76; Daniel W. Bachman, "The Anthon Transcript," Welch and Rathbone, "Book of Mormon Translation by Joseph Smith," and William J. Critchlow III, "Manuscript, Lost 116 Pages," in Ludlow, *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 1:43-44, 210, 2:854-55; David E. Sloan, "The Anthon Transcripts and the Translation of the Book of Mormon: Studying It Out in the Mind of Joseph Smith," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies: Foundation for Ancient Research & Mormon Studies* 5 (1996), no. 2:57-81.
299. "A GOLDEN BIBLE," *Gem* (Rochester, NY), 5 Sept. 1829, in Kirkham, *New*

Witness, 1:151, also 2:32; also "BLASPHEMY" and its preface, *Cincinnati Advertiser and Ohio Phoenix*, 2 June 1830, [1], reprinted from the *Rochester Republican*; "THE BOOK OF MORMON," *Brattleboro' Messenger* (Brattleboro, VT), 30 Oct. 1830, and "COMMUNICATION," *Brattleboro' Messenger* (Brattleboro, VT), 20 Nov. 1830, typescripts in fd 6, box 160, Marquardt papers; Charles Anthon to E. D. Howe, 17 Feb. 1834, photocopy of holograph, fd 1, P 12, Paul M. Hanson Collection, RLDS library-archives; Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 270-71.

300. The Harris 1828 reference to "these spectacles were so large," in Charles Anthon to Eber D. Howe, 17 Feb. 1831, in Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 272; stated as "for convenience he then used the seer stone," in Edward Stevenson, "One of the Three Witnesses: Incidents in the Life of Martin Harris," *Deseret Evening News*, 13 Dec. 1881, [4], reprinted in *Latter-Day Saints' Millennial Star* 44 (6 Feb. 1882): 86-87; also "William Smith Interview With J. W. Peterson and W. S. Pender, 1890," in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:508.

301. "The Mormonites," *New Hampshire Gazette* (Portsmouth, NH), 25 Oct. 1831, typescript, fd 6, box 46, McQuown papers, Marriott Library.

302. Jessee, "Joseph Knight's Recollection," 35. These early references do not support Richard P. Howard's view that 1835 was the earliest occasion that Joseph Smith decided "to call the [Book of Mormon's] translating media by the biblical terms, Urim and Thummim." See Howard, "Latter Day Saint Scriptures and the Doctrine of Propositional Revelation," in Dan Vogel, ed., *The Word of God: Essays on Mormon Scripture* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1990), 9; also Howard, *Restoration Scriptures: A Study of Their Textual Development*, 2d ed., rev. and enl. (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1995), 152-53.

As shown in subsequent quotes in this chapter, other believing witnesses echoed Knight's 1833 description of an automatic process of translation. However, twenty-five years ago I stated my preference for the perspective of a Protestant minister who had made inquiries with the Whitmers, his parishioners in Fayette, New York. According to information provided by these Book of Mormon witnesses, their pastor wrote in June 1830: "by using these spectacles, he (Smith) would be in a position to read these ancient languages, which he had never studied, and that the Holy Ghost would reveal to him the translation in the English language." I still maintain the view I expressed about this 1830 statement: "Thus, the English translation with all its awkwardness and grammatical chaos, was according to contemporary reports, a product of spiritual impressions to Joseph Smith rather than an automatic appearance of the English words. This would make Joseph Smith, despite his grammatical limitations, a translator in fact rather than a mere transcriber of the handwriting of God." See D. Michael Quinn, trans. and ed., "The First Months of Mormonism: A Contemporary View by Reverend Diedrich Willers," *New York History* 54 (July 1973): 326, 321.

Although any statement about automatically appearing words seems to contradict my preferred view of Smith as translator, as a historian I must acknowledge that evidence. In resolution of that conflict, I agree with the assessment of Stephen D. Ricks: "The accounts of the Three Witnesses speak of words appearing on the seerstone or 'translators.' But at what point in the translation process did they appear? I believe that it was after Joseph [Smith] had formulated in his mind a translation that represented with sufficient accuracy the ideas found on the original. Was there only one correct translation for the ideas found on the plates? I do not believe so." See Ricks, "Translation of the Book of Mormon: Interpreting the Evidence," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies: Foundation for Ancient Research & Mormon Studies* 2 (Fall 1993): 205.

303. Smith, "Old Soldier's Testimony," 644; also William B. Smith, *William Smith on Mormonism* (Lamoni, IA: Herald House, 1883), 10; Kirkham, *New Witness*, 2:417; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:506, 497.

304. "Divination," in Cecil Roth, ed., *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 16 vols. (Jerusalem: Macmillan/Keter Publishing, 1971-72), 6:112; also John A. Tvedtnes, "Glowing Stones in

Ancient and Medieval Lore," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies: Foundation for Ancient Research & Mormon Studies* 6 (1997), no. 2:105-108.

305. Jahn, *Jahn's Biblical Archaeology*, 466, sect. 370, sub-sect. III, 4th para.; *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 276:156; "BOOKS," *Times and Seasons* 3 (1 Sept. 1842): 908, with Smith as sole editor on 910; "From Jahn's Biblical Archaeology," *Times and Seasons* 3 (15 Sept. 1842): 918, with Smith as sole editor on 926.

306. J. Newton Brown, ed., *Fessenden & Co.'s Encyclopedio of Religious Knowledge* .. (Brattleboro, VT: Fessenden and Co.; Boston: Shattuck & Co., 1835), 1139. Brown's encyclopedia had five reprints during Joseph Smith's life, and afterwards had multiple printings by Philadelphia publisher Lippincott.

307. Matthew Roper, "Revelation and the Urim and Thummim," in FARMS, *Insights: An Ancient Window* (Dec. 1995): 2; Cornelius Van Dam, *The Urim and Thummim: A Means of Revelation in Ancient Israel* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1997), 4, 209, 215-32.

308. "Mormonites," *The Sun* (Philadelphia), 18 Aug. 1831, [1], original in library of Congress, "Newspaper Articles About Mormonism, 1830-1844," microfilm, LDS archives. Unaware of Harris's statements, FARMS reviewer Royal Skousen wrote: "Given the general lack of knowledge even today about what the italics mean in the King James Bible, one might surely wonder if Joseph Smith himself knew this, especially in those early years when he was translating the Book of Mormon." See Skousen, "Critical Methodology and the Text of the Book of Mormon," *Reviews of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 6 (1994), no. 1:127. Skousen was specifically responding to Stan Larson, "The Historicity of the Matthean Sermon on the Mount in 3 Nephi," in Brent Lee Metcalfe, ed., *New Approaches to the Book of Mormon: Explorations in Critical Methodology* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1993), 130, who stated: "When Smith came to KJV italics in the Sermon on the Mount, which he knew indicated that whatever was printed in italics was not in the original Greek, he would often either drop the word or revise it." Also unaware of this 1831 Harris statement, Larson simply asserted that the Mormon prophet knew the meaning of KJV italics, without citing any evidence to support this assertion. As it turns out, Larson was correct about Smith's knowledge of KJV italics, but I do not share Larson's conclusions about the *Book of Mormon*.

309. Emma Smith Bidamon to Emma S. Pilgrim, 27 Mar. 1876, RLDS library-archives, also published in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:532, with bracketed phrasing different from mine; also James E. Lancaster, "The Gift and Power of God: The Method of Translation of the Book of Mormon," *Saints' Herald* 109 (15 Nov. 1962): 15, reprinted in *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 3 (1983), in Vogel, *Word of God*.

310. J. Mitchell and John Dickie, *The Philosophy of Witchcraft* (Glasgow: Paisley, 1839). 392.

311. George H. Harris, "Myths of Onanda, or Treasure Hunters of the Genesee," 1a, manuscript (22 Mar. 1886), Harris papers, Rochester Public Library, Rochester, New York; Spafford, *Gazetteer of the State of New-York*, 401, for distance between Palmyra and Rochester.

312. Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith*, 101 (emphasis added); Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:328-29.

313. Martin Harris interview (1859), in Tiffany, "MORMONISM—No. II," 166; Kirkham, *New Witness*, 2:378; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

314. Emma Smith Bidamon interview (1879), reprinted in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:541, also references in 31, 31n14, 530-31, 538, 539; Bushman, *Joseph Smith*, 86, 95-96; Welch and Rathbone, *Translation of the Book of Mormon*, 7-8, 14, 16; Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:287-303; Welch and Rathbone, "Book of Mormon Translation by Joseph Smith," in Ludlow, *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 1:210; Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:286.

315. David Whitmer interview in *The Omaha Herald* (17 Oct. 1886), reprinted in Cook, *David Whitmer Interviews*, 200; verbatim (with slight punctuation changes) in Whitmer

interview, *Chicago Inter-Ocean* (17 Oct. 1886), reprinted in *Saints' Herald* 33 (13 Nov. 1886): 707; also Whitmer interview by Zenos H. Gurley (14 Jan. 1885), no. 20, no. 25, LDS archives, reprinted in Cook, *David Whitmer Interviews*, 156, 157-58; J. L. Traugbner, Jr. letter (13 Oct. 1879), in "TESTIMONY OF DAVID WHITMER, IS IT TRUE OR FALSE?" *Saints' Herald* 26 (15 Nov. 1879): 341.

316. Elizabeth Ann Whitmer Cowdery affidavit (15 Feb. 1870), in William E. McLellin to "My Dear Friends," Feb. 1870, fd 191, P 13, RLDS library-archives.

317. *History of the Church*, 1:32-39, 48-49, 59, 71; Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:287-303; Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith*, 131-37; Jenson, *Church Chronology*, entries for 5-7 April 1829; Welch and Rathbone, *Translation of the Book of Mormon*, 17-23, 26; Bushman, *Joseph Smith*, 96-101, 103-104; Welch and Rathbone, "Book of Mormon Translation by Joseph Smith," in Ludlow, *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 1:210, 212; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:31, 74-75, 381, 541-42.

318. Bushman, "Recovery of the Book of Mormon," 23.

319. Ezra Booth, "LETTER III," *Ohio Star* (Ravenna, OH), 27 Oct. 1831, [3]; Jessee, "Joseph Knight's Recollection," 31; also Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 187; Richard Lloyd Anderson, "The Mature Joseph Smith and Treasure Searching," *BYUS* 24 (Fall 1984): 498.

320. Willard Chase affidavit (1833).

321. Hiel Lewis, "Review of Mormonism: Rejoinder to Elder Cadwell," *Amboy Journal* (Amboy, IL), 4 June 1879, [1], photocopy in fd 8, box 149, Marquardt papers, Marriott Library.

322. William W. Blair letter to "Editors, Herald," 22 May 1879, in *Saints' Herald* 26 (15 June 1879): 190-91; based on the account of Morse's statement in Blair diary, 8 May 1879, RLDS library-archives.

323. Joseph Fielding Smith, *Doctrines of Salvation*, comp. Bruce R. McConkie, 3 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1954-56), 3:226, in section titled "Seer Stone Not Used in Book of Mormon Translation"; also Church Educational System, *Church History in the Fulness of Times* ... (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1989), 58, which did not mention the seer stone in its section titled, "Process of Translation."

324. Cannon, *Life of Joseph Smith*, 56.

325. B. H. Roberts, *Defense of the Faith and the Saints*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1907-12), 1:257; B. H. Roberts, *New Witnesses for God*, 3 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1909), 2:108; B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of The Church* ..., 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1930), 1:129; John A. Widtsoe, *Joseph Smith: Seeker After Truth, Prophet of God* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1951), 260.

326. Anderson, "The Mature Joseph Smith and Treasure Searching," 537; contrast Kirkham, *New Witness*, 1:469; Hugh W. Nibley, *The Myth Makers* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1961), 116-28; Sidney B. Sperry, *Problems of the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1964), 184.

327. "Wonderful Discovery," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 27 Dec. 1825, [2], quoting from the *Orleans Advocate*; a title-search of all pre-1826 publications in WorldCat found that the only newspaper by that name was published in Albion, Orleans County, New York.

328. "IMPOSITION AND BLASPHEMY!!—MONEY-DIGGERS, &c.," *The Gem: A Literary and Miscellaneous Journal* (Rochester, NY), 15 May 1830, 15, regarding a treasure-seer in Rochester; Harris, "Myths of Onanda, or Treasure Hunters of the Genesee," 4; D. P. Thompson, *May Martin; or, The Money Diggers. A Green Mountain Tale* (Montpelier, VT: E. P. Walton, 1835), 10n. For Sally Chase's use of a hat with her stone, see Mrs. S. F. Anderick affidavit (24 June 1887), in *Naked Truths About Mormonism* 1 (Jan. 1888): 2, reprinted in Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined*, 153; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

329. William Stafford affidavit (1833); Henry Harris affidavit (1833); Joseph Capron affidavit (8 Nov. 1833) and Alva Hale statement (ca. 1834), in Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*,

251, 268; Jesse Townsend to Phineas Stiles, 24 Dec. 1833, in Tucker, *Origin, Rise, and Progress of Mormonism*, 288, also 20-21 (for Tucker's own account); Isaac Hale affidavit (1834); Clark, "GLEANINGS BY THE WAY. No. VI" (1840), 94; John W. Barber and Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of the State of New York* (New York: S. Tuttle, 1841), 580-81; Clark, *Gleanings By the Way*, 225; William D. Purple, "Joseph Smith, the Originator of Mormonism: Historical Reminiscences of the Town of Afton," *Chenango Union* (Norwich, NY), 2 May 1877, [3]; McIntosh, *History of Wayne County*, 150; Kennedy, *Early Days of Mormonism*, 20; Lewis and Lewis, "MORMON HISTORY," reprinted in Wyl, pseud. [Wymetal], *Mormon Portraits*, 80; Mather, "Early Days of Mormonism," 199; Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined*, 143, 131, 118, 149, 126; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming). The first-page masthead of *Chenango Union* gave the wrong date of "May 3," which was corrected on page 3.

330. David Whitmer, *An Address to All Believers in Christ* (Richmond, MO: By the author, 1887), 3, 37; also David Whitmer interview (June 1881), in *Saints' Herald* 28 (1 July 1881): 198; Cook, *David Whitmer Interviews*, 62, 72, 108, 115, 123-24, 157-58, 174, 192, 199-200, 210, 230; Welch and Rathbone, "Book of Mormon Translation by Joseph Smith," in Ludlow, *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 1:212.

331. Zenas H. Gurley, "Synopsis of A Discourse," *Saints' Herald* 26 (15 Dec. 1879): 370.

332. *History of the Church*, 1:48-49, 51-52; Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:293-300; Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith*, 135-37; Jenson, *Church Chronology*, entry for June 1829; Welch and Rathbone, *Translation of the Book of Mormon*, 23-25; Bushman, *Joseph Smith*, 102-104, 107; Welch and Rathbone, "Book of Mormon Translation by Joseph Smith," in Ludlow, *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 1:212; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:79-90.

333. "One of the Three Witnesses: Incidents in the Life of Martin Harris," *Deseret Evening News*, 13 Dec. 1881, [4], reprinted in *Latter-Day Saints' Millennial Star* 44 (6 Feb. 1882): 86.

334. Jessee, "Joseph Knight's Recollection," 35. Richard Lloyd Anderson, "By the Gift and Power of God," *Ensign* 7 (Sept. 1977): 81-82, did not refer to Knight's already-published history in his discussion of Whitmer's statements about this matter. Nor did Anderson refer to the similar statement by Harris, despite quoting and citing from the interview (80, 85n4).

335. John A. Tvedtnes untitled review, *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 6 (1994), no. 1:33-34, conflated the very similar accounts by various believers who were present during the translation process and attributed them only to Martin Harris: "I totally disagree with the concept, reported by Martin Harris and mentioned by [Edward H.] Ashment, that Joseph Smith claimed to have seen English words translated from the plates whenever he looked into the stone(s) and that these words disappeared only after they had been written down correctly. ... the Harris story is probably untrue, no matter how many Latter-day Saints may believe it." Rather than simply dismissing as "untrue" such descriptions (which Harris and the others regarded as faith-promoting in their time), I prefer the interpretation by Stephen D. Ricks (see previous note 302).

336. John Gee, "La Trahison des Clercs: On the Language and Translation of the Book of Mormon," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 6 (1994), no. 1:84n104; also Paul R. Cheesman, *The Keystone of Mormonism: Little Known Truths about the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1973), 40-51; Royal Skousen, "Translating the Book of Mormon: Evidences from the Original Manuscript," in Reynolds, *Book of Mormon Authorship Revisited*, 62-65; Skousen, "Towards a Critical Edition of the Book of Mormon," *BYU Studies* 30 (Winter 1990): 50-55. Skousen was apparently the first to use the helpful terms of "tight control" and "loose control" regarding the translation.

337. Ezra Booth, "LETTER III," in *Ohio Star* (Ravenna, OH), 27 Oct. 1831, [3]; also Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 187; Isaac Hale affidavit (1834); Michael Morse statement in William W. Blair diary and letter (1879); Mather, "Early Days of Mormonism," 201, 201n;

William Riley Hine affidavit (1884-5); Rhamanthus M. Stocker, *Centennial History of Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: R. T. Peck, 1887), 556.

338. Lancaster, "The Gift and Power of God"; Richard Van Wagoner and Steven Walker, "Joseph Smith: The Gift of Seeing," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 15 (Summer 1982): 48-68.

339. *Journal of Discourses*, 16:156 (O. Pratt/1873); compare Bruce R. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine*, 2d ed., rev. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1966), 308. Pratt referred to D&C 78:9 and 82:11.

340. George Reynolds, *A Complete Concordance to the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: By the author, 1900), 249.

341. Rossiter W. Raymond, "The Divining Rod," *Transactions of the American Institute of Mining Engineers* 11 (Feb. 1883): 419.

342. Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Parley P. Pratt, "Index," in *The Book of Mormon*, 1st European ed. (Liverpool: J. Thompkins, 1841), 640; Grant Underwood, "The Earliest Reference Guides to the Book of Mormon: Windows into the Past," *Journal of Mormon History* 12 (1985): 69-89.

343. Wilford Woodruff statement during meeting with James E. Talmage (22 Feb. 1893), typescript [apparently based on an entry in LDS First Presidency's office journal], fd 26, box 174, George A. Smith Family Collection, Marriott Library; also James E. Talmage diary (22 Feb. 1893, Lee Library) demonstrates that he discussed seer stones at length with Woodruff on this date. Woodruff's only diary entry for that date was "I wrote to G. Q. Cannon[,] Clawson & Trumbo. Invited them to My Birth day Party," in Scott G. Kenney, ed., *Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833-1898: Typescript*, 9 vols. (Midvale, UT: Signature Books, 1983-85), 9 (22 Feb. 1893): 241.

In view of the fact that my recently published first edition cited Talmage's diary for Woodruff's discussion of seer stones in this typescript, Richard L. Anderson's argument against the authenticity of this quote is noteworthy. Because this typescript describes Woodruff as "Our late President," Anderson, "Alvin Smith Story," 65, observed that this "was written after President Woodruff's death in 1898 and therefore is not a contemporary journal note." Anderson added (72n38) that "BYU typewriter specialist Guy Farley estimates the typeface as not much earlier than 1940." However, the age of the typewriter and typescript has no bearing on the date of the original statement/document. Anderson himself has used twentieth-century typewriters to make summaries or exact transcriptions from original documents created a century before his typescripts. Significantly, his article did not state that Anderson even asked the current First Presidency's secretary to check the First Presidency's office journal for 22 February 1893.

The existence of this typescript in the Smith Family Collection is also significant, because most of those papers were assembled by George Albert Smith who married Wilford Woodruff's granddaughter. An apostle since 1903, in 1945 Smith became church president, with complete access to earlier documents of the First Presidency. An avid genealogist and history buff, George Albert Smith was undoubtedly the person responsible for making the later typescript and summary of Wilford Woodruff's 1893 statement. This typescript's reference to Woodruff as "Our late President" shows the post-1898 dating of the summary, but has no bearing on the accuracy of its report of Woodruff's statements on 22 February 1893.

Since this long description of the Woodruff-Talmage meeting was not based on either of their diaries, its source was undoubtedly the First Presidency's office journal. Anderson's article did not even acknowledge the existence of that source. The verbatim transcriptions of conversations in the First Presidency office journal are evident in the excerpts I have examined and cited elsewhere. See D. Michael Quinn, "LDS Church Authority and New Plural Marriages, 1890-1904," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18 (Spring 1985): 32n102, 35nn116-17, 36n118, 37n123, 38n127, 42n141, 45n153, 47n161, 49n171, 50n174,

51n176, 66nn224-25, 72n251, 75n267, 83n293; Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books/Smith Research Associates, 1997), 424n104, 429n182, 430n197.

344. Whitmer, *Address to All Believers in Christ*, 49, 53-56; David Whitmer, *An Address to All Believers in the Book of Mormon* (Richmond, MO: By the author, 1887), 3.

345. Hiram Page to William [E. McLellin], 2 Feb. 1848, typescript, RLDS library-archives and LDS archives; Whitmer, *Address to All Believers in Christ*, 30-31; Robertis, *Comprehensive History of the Church*, 1:162-63; Bruce G. Stewart, "Hiram Page: An Historical and Sociological Analysis of an Early Mormon Prototype," M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1987, 28, 143-44. For Smith's obtaining the U.S. copyright in June 1829, see Miriam A. Smith and John W. Welch, "Joseph Smith: Author and Proprietor," in Welch, *Reexploring the Book of Mormon*, 154-57.

346. Howard, *Restoration Scriptures* (1995), 24, 152-53.

347. Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:233, 234-35, 236; *The Doctrine and Covenants ...* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1921), 4 (sec. 3), 9 (sec. 6), 11 (sec. 7), 18 (sec. 11), 21 (sec. 14), 23 (sec. 17); compare lack of references to Urim and Thummim in headings of previous edition, *The Doctrine and Covenants ...* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1918), 81 (sec. 3), 89 (sec. 6), 93 (sec. 7), 104 (sec. 11), 108 (sec. 14), 111 (sec. 17).

348. *A Book of Commandments, For the Government of the Church of Christ, Organized According to Law, on the 6th of April, 1830* ("Zion" [Independence, MO]: W. W. Phelps & Co., 1833), 7, 9, 10, 14, 18, 19, 20, 22, 28, 31, 32, 33, 34, 39, 43-45, 47, 55, 58-61, 67, 69-72, 74 (this last being the revelation to Orson Pratt in November 1830, which by his statement, was given through the seer stone); *Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of the Latter Day Saints ...* (Kirtland, OH: F. G. Williams & Co., 1835), 109, 111-12, 156, 158, 160-63, 167, 169-72, 174, 176-79, 181-85; *The Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 2d ed. (Nauvoo, IL: John Taylor, 1844), 146, 150, 152, 229, 231, 232, 236-37, 239-40, 247 (should read "1829"), 250-51, 253-54, 256, 260, 264-65, 267, 269, 270, 272, 274-75, 277-78, 280 (this last being the revelation to Orson Pratt in November 1830, which by his statement, was given through the seer stone).

349. Manuscript of *Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. 3, July 1828, fd 3, Revelations Collection, microfilm, Special Collections, Lee Library, and Marriott Library; also quoted in Robert J. Woodford, "The Historical Development of the Doctrine and Covenants," 3 vols., Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1974, 1:134.

350. Orson Pratt, *A Series of Pamphlets* (Liverpool, Eng.: Franklin D. Richards, 1852), 72; reprinted in N. B. Lundwall, ed., *Masterful Discourses and Writings of Orson Pratt* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1962), 583; in Jerry Burnett and Charles Pope, *Orson Pratt: Writings of an Apostle* (Salt Lake City: Mormon Heritage Publishers, 1976), individually-paged facsimile reprints (72); in *Pamphlets By Orson Pratt: Photomechanical Reprint of Eight Pamphlets By Orson Pratt* (Salt Lake City: Modern Microfilm, n.d.), 72.

351. Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:233n1, noted the substitution of terms regarding the source of these revelations.

352. C. Houtman, "The Urim and Thummim: A New Suggestion," *Vetus Testamentum: Quarterly of the International Organization For the Study of the Old Testament* 40 (Apr. 1990): 230.

353. Peter Bauder, *The Kingdom and Gospel of Christ: Contrasted With That of Anti-Christ* (Canajoharie, NY: A. H. Calhoun, 1834), 26 (for length of interview) 27 (for translation). Although he used the singular "plate," Bauder wrote that "the angel took them and carried them into parts unknown" (27).

354. Jessee, "Joseph Knight's Recollection," 31.

355. Whitmer, *Address to All Believers in Christ*, 49, 53-56; Whitmer, *Address to All Believers in the Book of Mormon*, 3. Without reference to Whitmer's statement or to the early

practice of using "Urim and Thummim" for Smith's seer stone, Lyndon W. Cook, *The Revelations of the Prophet Joseph Smith: A Historical and Biographical Commentary of the Doctrine and Covenants* (Provo, UT: Seventy's Mission Bookstore, 1981), 15, 19, referred to revelations received in 1829 "through the Urim and Thummim." Jesse, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:233n1, noted the substitution of terms regarding the source of these revelations.

356. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine* (1966), 818.

357. Novak, "The Most Convenient Form of Error," 165n91.

358. *History of the Church*, 1:52-71; "The Book of Mormon," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 26 Mar. 1830, [3]; Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith*, 138-51; Richard Lloyd Anderson, "The Scribe as a Witness," *Improvement Era* 72 (Jan. 1969): 53-59; Anderson, "The Certainty of the Skeptical Witness," *Improvement Era* 72 (Mar. 1969): 62-67; Anderson, "The Most Interviewed Witness," *Improvement Era* 72 (May 1969): 76-83; Anderson, "Five Who Handled the Plates," *Improvement Era* 72 (July 1969): 38-47; Anderson, "The Smiths Who Handled the Plates," *Improvement Era* 72 (July 1969): 28-34; Anderson, *Investigating the Book of Mormon Witnesses* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1981); Bushman, *Joseph Smith*, 104-13; Welch and Rathbone, *Translation of the Book of Mormon*, 27-32; Jesse, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:295-300; Anderson, "Book of Mormon Witnesses," in Ludlow, *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 1:214-15; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:82, 86, 393-96.

Also, Paul Thomas Smith ("C.E.S. Director of Libraries and Academic Research") wrote: "Sometime after the translation was completed in Fayette, New York (about 1 July 1829), Joseph and Oliver Cowdery returned to the hill with the plates. They could not return the plates to the stone box, as it had been discovered by local residents who later dug it out. They had employed mineral rods, peep-stones, and other supernatural means in treasure-seeking on and around the hill." This was the introduction (unnumbered page 1) to his "A Preliminary Draft of the Hill Cumorah Cave Story, Utilizing Seven Secondary Accounts and Other Historical Witnesses," typescript (March 1980), fd 8, box 156, Marquardt papers, Marriott Library.

359. Jenson, *Church Chronology*, entry for 6 April 1830.

360. Aubrey, *Miscellanies*, 2, 4; also mentioned as a common belief in Cora Linn Daniels and C. M. Stevans, *Encyclopedia of Superstitions, Folklore and the Occult Sciences of the World*, 3 vols. (Chicago: J. H. Yendele and Sons, 1903), 3:1561.

361. Oliver Loud, *The Farmer's Diary, or Ontario Almanac, For the Year of Our Lord, 1830 ...* (Canandaigua, NY: Bemis & Ward, [1829]), cover-title (for sale in Palmyra), calendars for January-March (for lack of any reference to Jupiter by name or symbol), calendar for April 1830 (entry for 6 April, which used the symbols for Jupiter and the sun as printed on the almanac's inside front cover); also compare the symbol of "quadrature" on 6 April with my fig. 20b.

362. Backman, *Joseph Smith's First Vision*, 122; James B. Allen, "The Significance of Joseph Smith's 'First Vision' in Mormon Thought," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 1 (Autumn 1966): 29-45, reprinted in D. Michael Quinn, ed., *The New Mormon History: Revisionist Essays on the Past* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992); James B. Allen, "Emergence of a Fundamental: The Expanding Role of Joseph Smith's First Vision in Mormon Religious Thought," *Journal of Mormon History* 7 (1980): 43-61. For that reason Brodie, *No Man Knows My History*, 22-25, dismissed Smith's visionary claims as "sheer invention."

363. "Remarkable VISION and REVELATION; as seen and received by Asa Wild, of Amsterdam, (N.Y.)," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 22 Oct. 1823, [4]; "SWEDENBORGIANS," *The Reflector* (Palmyra, NY), 16 Mar. 1830, 87.

364. Allen and Leonard, *Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 35, commented: "It may seem strange that Joseph Smith should be so criticized when, in the extensive revivalistic atmosphere of the time, many people claimed to have received personal spiritual manifestations, including visions ..." They explained that this ridicule by Palmyra's residents resulted

from Smith's claim that all ministers and religion were wrong. However, that was the exact claim of New York visionary Asa Wild, as reported by Palmyra's newspaper in 1823 (see my previous discussion). LDS historians have difficulty acknowledging that it was Joseph Smith's years as a treasure-seer that made his visionary claims ripe for ridicule by Palmyra's residents.

365. Despite my extensive discussion here (as in the first edition), one polemicist announced: "The First Vision is reduced to relative insignificance in his [Quinn's] work." See C. Wilford Griggs, "The New Testament of Faith," in Church Educational System, *NEW TESTAMENT SYMPOSIUM SPEECHES*, 1988: *Delivered at a Symposium on 10-12 August 1988, Brigham Young University* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1988), 3. Griggs should have been aware of the publication twenty-two years earlier of Allen's "Significance of Joseph Smith's 'First Vision' in Mormon Thought," which demonstrated that this first vision was reduced to relative insignificance in the first decades of LDS proselytizing tracts.

366. Neal E. Lambert and Richard H. Cracroft, "Literary Form and Historical Understanding: Joseph Smith's First Vision," *Journal of Mormon History* 7 (1980): 33-35; Bushman, *Joseph Smith*, 56-59; Allen and Leonard, *Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 35; Bushman, "Visionary World of Joseph Smith," 183-204.

367. "Mrs. Palmer" statement, quoted in part by Truman G. Madsen, "Guest Editor's Prologue," *BYU Studies* 9 (Spring 1969): 235, and in full by Hyrum L. Andrus and Helen Mae Andrus, comps., *They Knew the Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1974), 1.

368. Mormon apologists have criticized any use of "mystic" or "mysticism" to describe Joseph Smith. Based on traditional use of "mysticism" to describe medieval Christians who had ineffable (beyond description) epiphanies with no specific content or instructions, these LDS writers claim that Smith was not a mystic because (1) he described his visions and (2) his revelations had specific informational content. For example, see "Prophets and Mystics," in Hugh Nibley, *The World and the Prophets* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1954), 93, "There is nothing in the mystical experience that can be communicated to others."

In attacking various authors, FARMS polemicists have repeatedly cited Nibley's essay as the final word on mysticism. See Louis Midgley, "The Challenge of Historical Consciousness: Mormon History and the Encounter with Secular Modernity," in John M. Lundquist and Stephen D. Ricks, eds., *By Study and Also By Faith*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1990), 532n56; Daniel C. Peterson untitled review, *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 5 (1993): 115, 115n1; Gary F. Novak, "Examining the Environmental Explanation of the Book of Mormon," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 7 (1995), no. 1:148n14 (which did not acknowledge Nibley as the obvious source of Novak's statements about mysticism); Midgley, "The Shippo Odyssey in Retrospect," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 7 (1995), no. 2:242-46; Hamblin, "Everything Is Everything," 273n67. Among the objects of this attack were Paul M. Edwards, "The Secular Smiths," *Journal of Mormon History* 4 (1977): 4, 5, 8; Max Nolan, "Joseph Smith and Mysticism," *Journal of Mormon History* 10 (1983): 105-16 (esp. 114).

However, in trying to make Joseph Smith unique in post-biblical experience, LDS apologists and polemicists have created a false dichotomy about mysticism. Ineffable religious ecstasy is not equivalent with mysticism, as explained in Paul E. Szarmach, *An Introduction to the Medieval Mystics of Europe* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984), 2. In direct refutation of Nibley's unconditional claim, some medieval mystics referred to their ineffable union with God and also wrote detailed descriptions of the revelations they obtained through this mystical union. For example, Hildegard of Bingen (1098-1179) wrote descriptions of her twenty-six visions because "I again heard a voice from heaven, saying to me: Speak of these marvels and write down what you have learned." See Valerie M. Lagorio,

"The Medieval Continental Women Mystics: An Introduction," in Szarmach, *Introduction to the Medieval Mystics of Europe*, 164; also Jacques Le Goff, "The Learned and Popular Dimensions of Journeys in the Otherworld in the Middle Ages," in Stephen L. Kaplan, ed., *Understanding Popular Culture: Europe from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century* (Berlin: Mouton Publishers, 1984), 22-37, for seventeen visions by medieval mystics; Colleen McDannell and Bernhard Lang, *Heaven: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 100-101, for description of God's three heavens by German mystic Mechthild (ca. 1207-82); Rosemary Drage Hale, "'Taste and See, For God Is Sweet': Sensory Perception and Memory in Medieval Christian Mystical Experience," in Anne Clark Bartlett, ed., *Vox Mystica: Essays on Medieval Mysticism in Honor of Professor Valerie M. Lagorio* (Cambridge, Eng.: D. S. Brewer, 1995), 3-14.

Likewise, many early Americans described their revelations of God as both ineffable and content-based. For example, in *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 22 Oct. 1823, [4], Asa Wild said Christ "then spake to the following purport; and in such a manner as I could not describe if I should attempt" (emphasis in original). Wild next devoted several paragraphs to giving the specific content of this indescribable revelation. Visionaries typically express an inability to adequately describe their experience, even as they describe it. For example, in referring to the appearance of Moroni, Joseph Smith said he was "clothed with purity inexpressible," yet also described the angel's clothing and features (Faulring, *American Prophet's Record*, 51; Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:127, 276-77; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:44, 63).

Likewise, most writers define Emanuel Swedenborg as a mystic, yet he described his visions and he announced revelations with specific content (see text above and ch. 6). Significantly, Nibley omitted the well-known Swedenborg from his list of mystics whose experience was "ineffable and incommunicable" (94).

LDS apologists and FARMS polemicists cannot have it both ways: they cannot regard visionaries like Hildegard, Mechthild, Swedenborg, and Wild as "mystics" yet also deny that description to Smith. To assert Smith's uniqueness in that respect, Nibley's book needed a section on "Prophets and Visionaries," to match his dichotomous comparison of Joseph Smith and mystics. If the category of "prophet" is distinct from a visionary who announces content-based revelations, then LDS apologists need to explain how the categories are mutually exclusive or unique.

369. Philip L. Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible: The Place of the Latter-day Saints in American Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 20-21.

370. William E. McLellin diary, 3 May 1833, in Jan Shipps and John W. Welch, eds., *The Journals of William E. McLellin, 1831-1836* (Provo, UT: BYU Studies, Brigham Young University; Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 119; also ch. 7.

371. Dean L. May, "Mormons," in Stephan Thernstrom, ed., *The Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press/Harvard University Press, 1980), 720-31; "Soaring with the Gods: Early Mormons and the Eclipse of Religious Pluralism," in Richard T. Hughes and C. Leonard Allen, *Illusions of Innocence: Protestant Primitivism in America, 1630-1875* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 138; Jan Shipps, "The Reality of the Restoration and the Restoration Ideal in the Mormon Tradition," in Richard T. Hughes, ed., *The American Quest for the Primitive Church* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 181-95; Armand Mauss, "Mormons as Ethnics: Variable Historical and International Implications of an Appealing Concept," and Keith Parry, "Mormons as Ethnics: A Canadian Perspective," in Brigham Young Card, Herbert C. Northcott, and John E. Foster, eds., *The Mormon Presence in Canada* (Edmonton, Can.: The University of Alberta Press, 1987; re-issue Logan: Utah State University Press, 1990), 332-52, 353-65.

Notes to Chapter Six

1. Howard Clark Kee, *Miracle in the Early Christian World: A Study in Sociohistorical Method* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 3 (emphasis added).

2. *The Book of Mormon*, published at Salt Lake City in various editions, with verse citations (similar to the Bible) according to the names of its constituent books.

3. C. Grant Loomis, *White Magic: An Introduction to the Folklore of Christian Legend* (Cambridge, MA: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1948), 5; K. M. Briggs, "Some Seventeenth-Century Books of Magic," *Folk-Lore: Transactions of the Folk-Lore Society* 64 (Dec. 1953): 445; Briggs, *Pale Hecate's Team: An Examination of the Beliefs on Witchcraft and Magic among Shakespeare's Contemporaries and His Immediate Successors* (New York: The Humanities Press, 1962), 57; Daniel Lawrence O'Keeffe, *Stolen Lightning: The Social Theory of Magic* (1982; New York: Vintage Books, 1983), 525-26.

4. Joseph Sr. first moved to Palmyra, where the *Book of Mormon* was later published. In between those two events, the Smiths moved to adjacent Manchester. For convenience, I often use Palmyra generically to refer to residents and events there and in Manchester, New York.

5. Gary F. Novak untitled review, *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 5 (1993): 238 (for first quote); Novak, "Examining the Environmental Explanation of the Book of Mormon," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 7 (1995), no. 1:149n21, in full: "How large was the library to which Joseph had access and how did he manage to spend so much time burning the midnight oil while his family was desperately poor? I occasionally joke to friends that I intend to write a book titled, *Joseph Smith's Lost Years in the British Museum*, since that would seem to be the most likely location for all the obscure books he would need in order to fabricate the Book of Mormon." As I repeatedly stated in the 1987 edition, this book does not assume nor imply such fabrication.

6. C. Wilford Griggs, "The New Testament of Faith," in Church Educational System, *NEW TESTAMENT SYMPOSIUM SPEECHES, 1988: Delivered at a Symposium on 10-12 August 1988, Brigham Young University* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1988), 3. Griggs used introductory comments about Morton Smith's *Jesus the Magician* as the means for including his attack on *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View* in this symposium on the New Testament. If Griggs actually read my book, he knew the following guilt-by-association statement was a false statement about the book from its introduction to its conclusion: "Both [Morton Smith and Quinn] then repudiate magic or miraculous events as a manifestation of ignorance and superstition" (4). For meaning of polemics, see Preface.

7. Robert Paul, "Joseph Smith and the Manchester (New York) Library," *BYU Studies* 22 (Summer 1982): 340; Horatio G. Spafford, *A Gazetteer of the State of New-York* (Albany: E. D. Packard, 1824), 400, gave the Palmyra township's total population as 3,724, with "748 [adult] persons engaged in agriculture, 190 in manufactures, and 18 in commerce." He listed the population of Palmyra "village" as "about 1000."

8. "New Bookstore," *Palmyra Herald & Canal Advertiser* (Palmyra, NY), 11 Dec. 1822, [4]; "PALMYRA Book Store," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 5 May 1824, [3].

9. [Orsamus Turner], "ORIGIN OF THE MORMON IMPOSTURE," *Littell's Living Age* 30 (July-Sept. 1851): 429; Turner, *History of the Pioneer Settlement of Phelps and Gorham's Purchase, and Morris's Reserve* (Rochester, NY: Erastus Darrow, 1851), 214; Milton V. Backman, Jr., "Awakenings in the Burned-over District: New Light on the Historical Setting of the First Vision," *BYU Studies* 9 (Spring 1969): 316, for his unqualified acceptance of Turner's statement; also Backman, *Joseph Smith's First Vision: Confirming Evidences and Contemporary Accounts*, 2d ed., rev. and enl. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980), 88-89, which made same conclusion without citing Turner.

10. "History of Free Masonry," *Anti-Masonic Review and Monthly Magazine* 1 (1828): 340-41; also Erika Bourguignon, "Necromancy," in Mircea Eliade, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, 16 vols. (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1987), 10:344-47;

11. "BOOKS," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 7 Oct. 1823, [4], for quote about twelve volumes and also advertisement of a ten-volume edition; "NEW BOOKS," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 4 Feb. 1823, [3], for editions of one, three, and eight volumes; compare *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 754 vols. (London: Mansell, 1968-81), 561:73-80. There was a periodical titled *New York Spectator* (1797-1804), but it was not sold in multi-volume editions. There was no other periodical titled *Spectator* until 1828, five years after these advertisements in *Ontario Repository*. See *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 561:87, 89.

12. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet and His Progenitors for Many Generations* (Liverpool: S. W. Richards, 1853), 96, reprinted in Dan Vogel, comp. and ed., *Early Mormon Documents*, 1+ vols. (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996-), 1:318. Spafford, *Gazetteer of the State of New-York*, 302, gave the distance as ten miles between Canandaigua and the town of Manchester itself, rather than to the Smith's farm on the outskirts of Manchester. In preparing the first edition I forgot about Lucy's statement and conservatively estimated the distance as twelve miles, so as not to overstate their closeness.

13. Paul, "Joseph Smith and the Manchester (New York) Library," 344.

14. Marsha Keith Schuchard, "Swedenborg, Jacobitism, and Freemasonry," in Erland J. Brock, ed., *Swedenborg and His Influence* (Bryn Athyn, PA: Academy of the New Church, 1988), 365; also ch. 4 for Rosicrucianism's greater importance as a way of thinking, rather than as a formal organization; compare with pages 372 (note 151), 373 (note 156), and 445 (note 135), for BYU historian and FARMS polemicist William J. Hamblin's denial of Rosicrucian ideas in early nineteenth-century America.

15. "Ontario Book-Store REPLENISHED," *Ontario Messenger* (Canandaigua, NY), 14 Mar. 1815, [3], which was a competitor of the town's *Repository* (the source of newspaper ads in the following notes); Spafford, *Gazetteer of the State of New-York*, 54 (for the distance), which included West Bloomfield in the main entry for Bloomfield.

16. "ONTARIO BOOKSTORE ENLARGED," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 24 Oct. 1815, [3]; "NEW BOOKS ... Just received at the ONTARIO BOOK STORE, (West Bloomfield)," and "CANANDAIGUA BOOKSTORE J. D. Bemis," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 30 July 1816, [1], [2]; "ONTARIO BOOK-STORE, At Canandaigua, NEW ESTABLISHMENT," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 24 Dec. 1816, [3]; also post-1815 book lists (some filling both sides of an inserted advertising page) for the competing Canandaigua Bookstore. In direct opposition to Bemis, Canandaigua's competing newspaper, *Ontario Messenger*, in December 1816 began publishing a long list of Bloomfield's books. However, the titles are unreadable on the badly blurred microfilm at Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, whose last issue for the *Messenger* is 31 December 1816. Bemis allowed the competing Bloomfield bookstore to advertise a long list of books in his *Ontario Repository* of 8 July 1817, [3], but this was an exception.

17. Chart of town populations, 1820 manuscript census (federal) for Ontario County, New York, 33, microfilm, Family History Library, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

18. "ONTARIO BOOK-STORE, At Canandaigua, NEW ESTABLISHMENT," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 24 Dec. 1816, [3].

19. "NEW BOOKS. H. TYLER is Receiving, (At the Ontario Book-Store, Canandaigua)," dated 27 Oct. 1817, in *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 4 Nov. 1817, [3]; "CHEAP BOOK SALE!" *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 11 Nov. 1817, [3]; and "H. Tyler, at the Ontario Book-Store," *Palmyra Register* (Palmyra, NY), 28 Jan. 1818, [4], its last advertisement.

20. Spafford, *Gazetteer of the State of New-York*, 81.

21. "NEW BOOKSTORE," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 12 Sept. 1827, [3]; [Morse & Harvey's], "School Books & Stationary" [sic] and [Bemis & Ward's], "Books on Theology," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 30 Mar. 1831. There is a gap for 1828-31 in the microfilm available to me, but these two issues demonstrate the continued competition of two bookstores in the small town of Canandaigua during that period.

22. "T. C. Strong, Book-Seller & Printer," *Palmyra Register* (Palmyra, NY), 15 Sept. 1818, [3]; "BOOKS," *Palmyra Register* (Palmyra, NY), 27 Oct. 1819, [4]; "BOOKS," *Palmyra Register* (Palmyra, NY), 24 May 1820, [4]; "Just received at the Rochester Book-Store," *Palmyra Herald & Canal Advertiser* (Palmyra, NY), 31 July 1822, [3]; "New Bookstore," *Palmyra Herald & Canal Advertiser* (Palmyra, NY), 11 Dec. 1822, [4]; "PALMYRA Book Store," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 5 May 1824, [3]; "Just Received At the Wayne Bookstore," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 4 Oct. 1825, [4]; "NEW BOOKS at the Palmyra Book Store," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 1 Dec. 1826, [3]; "NEW BOOKS," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 19 Dec. 1828, [3], which also referred to selling "Chap Books"; "New Books," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 11 Dec. 1829, [3]; "New Books," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 4 June 1830, [4]; relevant entries in *National Union Catalog of Pre 1956 Imprints*. For the chapbooks (often sold for one penny), compare the previous ads with Charles Welsh and William H. Tillinghast, comps., *Catalogue of English and American Chapbooks in Harvard College Library* (1905; Detroit: Singing Tree Press/Book Tower, 1968).

23. "Our Village," *Western Farmer* (Palmyra, NY), 17 Oct. 1821, [3]; "Palmyra Village," *Palmyra Herald, and Canal Advertiser* (Palmyra, NY), 19 June 1822, [2]; "Village Incorporation," *Palmyra Herald, and Canal Advertiser* (Palmyra, NY), 18 Dec. 1822, [3]; and following headlines in *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY): "VILLAGE RECORD," 24 Nov. 1826, [4]; "Village Notice," 15 Feb. 1828, [3]; "Village Meeting," 2 May 1828, [3]; "Village Notices," 1 Aug. 1828, [3]; "Village Lots," 19 Sept. 1829, [4].

24. Turner, *History of the Pioneer Settlement of Phelps and Gorham's Purchase*, 214.

25. William Paley, *The Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy*, 10th Am. ed. (Canandaigua, NY: J. D. Bemis & Co., 1822); Paul, "Joseph Smith and the Manchester (New York) Library," 315, no. 269.

26. Donald Q. Cannon, "Palmyra, New York: 1820-1830," in Larry C. Porter, Milton V. Backman, Jr., and Susan Easton Black, eds., *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint History: New York* (Provo, UT: Department of Church History and Doctrine, Brigham Young University, 1992), 7-8, which cited *Wayne Sentinel*, 22 Oct. 1823, as the source. In the 1820s "common school" was the term for what twentieth-century Americans call "elementary school."

27. "BOOK-STORE In Canandaigua," *Western Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 20 Mar. 1804, [3]; "BOOK & STATIONARY STORE," [sic] *Western Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 15 Jan. 1805, [1]; and the following advertisements in the *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY): "BOOK STORE: JAMES D. BEMIS," 5 Feb. 1811, [1]; "BOOKS," 22 June 1813, [2]; "New Publications," 5 Oct. 1813, [4]; "Bemis & Beach," 7 Feb. 1815, [1]; "Canandaigua BOOK-STORE," 23 May 1815, [4], insert; "CANANDAIGUA BOOKSTORE J.D. Bemis," 30 July 1816, [2]; "Canandaigua Bookstore," 17 Sept. 1816, [1]; "NEW BOOKS," 3 June 1817, [3]; "Canandaigua Bookstore," 11 Nov. 1817, [3]; "NEW PUBLICATIONS Lately Received at the Canandaigua Book-Store," 10 Mar. 1818, [1]; "NEW BOOKS," 15 June 1819, [1]; "BOOKS IN DIVINITY, For Sale at the Canandaigua Bookstore," 20 June 1820, [1]; "NEW BOOKS," 4 Sept. 1821, [3]; "NEW BOOKS" and "NEW BOOKS, Just Received at the Canandaigua Bookstore," 25 Sept. 1821, [3], [4]; "J.D. BEMIS & CO.," 26 Mar. 1822, [1]; "NEW BOOKS," 4 Feb. 1823, [3]; "BOOKS," 7 Oct. 1823, [4]; "BOOKS, AMONG the STANDARD WORKS Kept for Sale by J.D. Bemis & Co.," 11 Nov. 1823, [4]; "Canandaigua Bookstore Lately Received," 4 Aug. 1824, [1]; "NEW BOOKS," 16 Feb. 1825, [3]; "Canandaigua BOOK STORE," 9 Aug. 1826, [3]; "MORE NEW BOOKS," 30 Aug. 1826, [3]; "More

- NEW BOOKS," 8 Nov. 1826, [1]; "NEW BOOKS," 22 Aug. 1827, [4]; "FALL SUPPLY," 28 Nov. 1827, [1]; "FALL SUPPLY," 9 Jan. 1828, [4].
28. Paul, "Joseph Smith and the Manchester (New York) Library," 343-52, for Voltaire, Lewis-and-Clark, Cowper, Jefferson, Pope, Cook, Clark[e], Locke, Humboldt, Josephus, Cervantes, Goldsmith, Hume-and-Smollett, and Paley.
29. "NEW BOOKS," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 25 Sept. 1821, [3]; *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 506:663, 507:16.
30. "Reviews, &c.," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 4 Mar. 1817, [3]; "American Monthly Magazine and Critical Review," *Palmyra Register* (Palmyra, NY), 5 May 1818, [4]; "NEW BOOKS," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 12 Dec. 1820, [3]; "Periodical Literature," *Palmyra Herald, and Canal Advertiser* (Palmyra, NY), 19 Feb. 1823, [3]; "NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 15 Apr. 1823, [3]; "MUSEUM OF FOREIGN LITERATURE AND SCIENCE," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 1 June 1825, [1]; "Periodical Literature," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 15 Mar. 1826, [4]; "MUSEUM OF FOREIGN LITERATURE AND SCIENCE," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 24 Mar. 1826, [3]; "Periodical Works," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 21 Mar. 1827, [1]; "MUSEUM OF FOREIGN LITERATURE AND SCIENCE," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 7 Sept. 1827, [3]; "NEW BOOKS," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 9 Jan. 1828, [3]; "MUSEUM OF FOREIGN LITERATURE AND SCIENCE," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 21 May 1830, [3].
31. "Just received at the Rochester Book-Store," *Palmyra Herald & Canal Advertiser* (Palmyra, NY), 31 July 1822, [3].
32. "NEW BOOKS," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 13 June 1820, [1].
33. "NEW BOOKS, Just Received at the Canandaigua Bookstore," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 25 Sept. 1821, [4]. This advertisement's other finely-bound sets were ten volumes for \$15 (\$1.50 each), six volumes for \$16 (\$2.67 each), six volumes for \$18 (\$3.00 each), two volumes for \$5.00 (\$2.50 each), eight volumes for \$24 (\$3.00 each), six volumes for \$9 (\$1.50 each), nine volumes for \$25 (\$2.78 each).
34. "BOOKS, Cheap for Cash!!," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 5 Nov. 1823, [1]; Spafford, *Gazetteer of the State of New-York*, 401, for distance between Palmyra and Rochester.
35. "Lyons Bookstore, H. T. Day," "NEW BOOKS, J. D. BEMIS & CO.," and "NEW AND CHEAP BOOKS, At the Geneva Book Store," *Lyons Advertiser* (Lyons, NY), 24 Dec. 1824, [3]; *ATLAS OF WAYNE CO., NEW YORK: From actual Surveys and Official Records* (Philadelphia: D. C. Beers & Co., 1874), 4, for distance between Palmyra and Lyons; Spafford, *Gazetteer of the State of New-York*, 295, 296, 401, for the distances from Geneva to Lyons and to Palmyra Village; *ATLAS OF ONTARIO COUNTY, NEW YORK: From actual Surveys...* (Philadelphia: Pomeroy, Whitman & Co., 1874), 11, for the Manchester-Geneva distance.
36. "H. Tyler, at the Ontario Book-Store," "J. Bogert, Has on hand for sale, at the Geneva BOOK-STORE," "Canandaigua Book-Store, J. D. Bemis," and "Palmyra Book-Store, T. C. Strong," *Palmyra Register* (Palmyra, NY), 24 Dec. 1817, [1], [3]; "School Books, J. D. Everghim & Co. [Palmyra]," "Canandaigua BOOK-STORE, J. D. Bemis & Co.," "New Bookstore, E. F. Marshall [Rochester]," "School Books, at Reduced Price, E. Peck & Co. [Rochester]," *Palmyra Herald, and Canal Advertiser* (Palmyra, NY), 3 Oct. 1822, [1], [2], [4].
37. Paul, "Joseph Smith and the Manchester (New York) Library," 334, 340.
38. Matthew Roper untitled review, *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 4 (1992), 177.
39. Paul, "Joseph Smith and the Manchester (New York) Library," 340-41.
40. Ontario County Clerk's miscellaneous record books, vol. A (1790-1803), 56, vol. B (1804-14), 19, 36, 41, 43, 52, 189, 90-91, 216, 219, vol. C (1813-28), 15, 21, 22, 84, 128, 143, 178, 259, 285, 316, 324, 438-39, 499, 502, for Geneva "public library" (1799).

Charleston subscription library (1805), Geneseo subscription library (1806), Vernon subscription library (1806), Hartford "public library" (1806), Phelps "public library"/farmer's library (1806), Canandaigua "public library" (1811), Bloomfield "public library" (1811), Benton subscription library (1812), Lima subscription library (1812), Vienna subscription library (1814), Gorham "public library" (1814), Lyons "public library" (1814), Mendon subscription library (1815), Bristol subscription library (1816), Victor subscription library (1816), Manchester "public library" (1817), Bellona/Benton "public library" (1818), Geneseo "public library" (1818), Canandaigua "public library" (1820), Richmond "public library" (1820), Sodus "public library" (1823), Canandaigua's "Merchant's Clerk's Library" (subscription library, 1826), Bristol "public library" (1826). From the first library incorporation in 1799 to 1823, parts of Ontario County went into newly formed counties and towns changed their names. I have not had access to similar records for Wayne County.

41. "BOOKS TO LOAN," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 4 Feb. 1824, [3].

42. "PALMYRA Book Store," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 5 May 1824, [3]; compare "BOOKS, AMONG the STANDARD WORKS Kept for Sale by J.D. Bemis & Co.," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 11 Nov. 1823, [4].

43. "Wayne Bookstore: NEW BOOKS," and "James D. Bemis & Co.," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 17 Nov. 1824, [3], for first quote, and [4], for second quote; also "MEDICAL BOOKS," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 30 June 1824, [4], for statement: "the following for sale at the Canandaigua Book Store, any of which will be furnished by P. TUCKER, Palmyra."

44. "CANANDAIGUA BOOK STORE," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 8 Sept. 1826, [3].

45. Spafford, *Gazetteer of the State of New-York*, 400, with 3,724 living in the entire township of Palmyra.

46. Paul, "Joseph Smith and the Manchester (New York) Library," 340-41.

47. "Palmyra Book Store" and "Book Bindery and Circulating Library," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 27 June 1828, [1], [3].

48. J. R. Dolan, *The Yankee Peddlers of Early America* (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, 1964), 81.

49. "Auction ... Public Vendue, a variety of interesting and Useful Books," *Palmyra Register* (Palmyra, NY), 16 June 1819, [3], for first quote; "BOOKS AT AUCTION, AT PALMYRA," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 30 Aug. 1825, [3], for second quote.

50. "Books! Books!," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 28 Jan. 1824, [3]; "Books Lost—Books Lent—Books Stolen!," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 4 May 1825, [3].

51. Ontario County Clerk's miscellaneous record book C, 499.

52. David T. Alexander, ed., *Coin World Comprehensive Catalog & Encyclopedia of United States Coins* (New York: World Almanac/Pharos Books/Scripps Howard, 1990), 98-100, for minting of half-cents until 1857.

53. Paul, "Joseph Smith and the Manchester (New York) Library," 336, also 343 (the first page of the inventory for such separately numbered volumes of a single title as nos. 4-5, 6-7).

54. William J. Hamblin, "An Apologist for the Critics: Brent Lee Metcalfe's Assumptions and Methodologies," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 6 (1994), no. 1:469n74. Hamblin's various FARMS reviews claim he read the first edition of my book, and it discussed the significance of this 14,000 book-inventory in the Palmyra area.

55. William J. Hamblin, "'Everything Is Everything': Was Joseph Smith Influenced by Kabbalah?," *FARMS Review of Books: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 8 (1996), no. 2:268, for his statement and his quote from Brian P. Copenhaver, *Hermetica: The Greek CORPUS HERMETICUM and the Latin ASCLEPIUS in a New English Translation, with Notes and Introduction* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 1, in which Hamblin deleted Copenhaver's next sentence which challenged Hamblin's argument.

56. *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 242:324, 325, 327. Prior to the twentieth century, publications sometimes spelled the name "Trismegistes," which I used in the first edition. Aside from citing that spelling in titles and quotes, this revision follows the current spelling, *Hermes Trismegistus*.

57. WorldCat (a computer-catalog of 38 million different titles) shows Nicholas Lenglet Dufresnoy, *Historie de la Philosophie Hermetique ...*, 3 vols. (Paris: Constelier, 1742) [reprinted in full by a different publisher in 1744]; *La Clavicule de la Science Hermetique ...* (Amsterdam: P. Mortier, 1751); *Clavicula Hermeticae Scientiae, ou la Clavicule de la Science Hermetique* (N.p., 1786); also Thomas Vaughn, *L'Art Hermetique a Decouvert, ou Nouvelle Luminere Magique ...* (N.p., 1787).

58. WorldCat for William Salmon, *Clavis Alchymiae; or Hermes Trismegistes ...* (London: Harris, 1692), and Salmon, *Medicina Practica; or, The Practical Physician ... To Which Is Added the Chymical Works of Hermes Trismegistus ...* (London: Edmund Curll, 1707).

59. Isaac Preston Cory, *The Ancient Fragments: Containing What Remains of the Writings of Sanchroniatho, Berossus, Abydenus, Megasthenes, and Manetho also the Hermetic Creed, the Old Chronicle, the Laterculus of Eralosthenes, the Tyrian Annals, the Oracles of Zoroaster and the Periplus of Hanno* (London: W. Pickering, 1828); *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 124:48.

60. Francis Barrett, *The Lives of Alchemystical Philosophy ... and a Selection of the Most Celebrated Treatises on the Theory and Practice of the Hermetic Art* (London: Lackington, Allen, 1815).

61. *A Short Enquiry Concerning the Hermetic Art By a Lover of Philalethes, To Which Is Annexed a Collection From KABBALA DENUATA and Translation of the Chemical-Cabbalistic Treatise Entitled AESCH-MEZAREPH, or Purifying Fire*, 2 pts. in 1 vol. (London: N.p., 1714), in *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 544:419; William Jones, *A Full Answer to the Essay on Spirit ... With a Particular Explanation of the Hermetic, Pythagorean, and Platonic Trinities ...* (London: Robinson, Roberts, and Folingsby, 1770), in WorldCat.

62. Paul, "Joseph Smith and the Manchester (New York) Library," 346; John L. Brooke, *The Refiner's Fire: The Making of Mormon Cosmology, 1644-1844* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 9, 206.

63. D. P. Walker, *The Ancient Theology: Studies in Christian Platonism from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1972), 232, 242, 11, 245.

64. Antoine Faivre, "The Children of Hermes and the Science of Man," in Ingrid Merkel and Allen G. Debus, eds., *Hermeticism and the Renaissance: Intellectual History and the Occult in Early Modern Europe* (Washington, D.C.: Folger Books/The Folger Shakespeare Library; London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1988), 427, 428.

65. Antoine Faivre, *Access to Western Esotericism* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994), 8, 10.

66. David Stevenson, *The Origins of Freemasonry: Scotland's Century, 1590-1710* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 86.

67. Hamblin, "Everything Is Everything," 257n19, 267n46.

68. See page 336, note 52, to explain my choice of Cabala and cabalistic from among the various English transliterations of the Hebrew; also discussion in ch. 7.

69. Faivre, *Access To Western Esotericism*, 75; Hamblin, "Everything Is Everything," 267n46 (for citation), 268 (for assertion). Aside from the 1813 book Faivre cited, here are other German-language publications of this occult revival in Europe: Johann Christian Wiegand, *Historisch-kritische Untersuchung der Alchemie ...* (1777, also 1793); Wiegand, *Die natuerliche Magie* (1779, also 1782, 1786, 1791); Johann Nikolaus Martius, *Unterricht in der natuerlichen Magie ...*, 20 vols. (1779, also 1782 in 6 vols., 1786 in 3 vols., 1789 in 1 vol., 1789 in 20 vols., 1807 in 10 vols.); Martius, *Unterricht von der wunderbaren Magie ...*, 6 vols. (1782, also 1789, 1801); Christlieb Benedict Funk, *Natuerliche Magie ...* (1783, also 1806); Karl von Eckartshausen, *Aufschluesse zur Magie ...* (1783, also 1788, 1790, 1791); Johann

Samuel Halle, *Magie, oder, Die Zauberkraefte der Natur*, 4 vols. (1784, also 1785, 1788 in 13 vols., and 1789 in 12 vols.); Johannes Trithemius, *Wunder-Buch von der goettlichen Magie ...* (1800); Halle, *Neufortgesetzte Magie ...* (1802); *Taschenbuch der hoehern Magie ...* (1804); Georg Conrad Horst, *Daemonomagie ...* (1818); Horst, *Theurgie ...* (1820); Horst, *Von den alten und neuen Magie ...* (1820); Horst, *Zauber-Bibliothek*, 6 vols. (1821).

70. "BOOK-STORE, In Canandaigua," *Western Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 20 Mar. 1804, [3]; "New Publications," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 5 Oct. 1813, [4]; "Canandaigua BOOK-STORE," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 23 May 1815, [4]; "New Books," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 15 Aug. 1815, [3]; "CANANDAIGUA BOOKSTORE. J.D. Bemis," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 30 July 1816, [2]; "Canandaigua Bookstore NEW PUBLICATIONS," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 21 Oct. 1817, [3]; "NEW BOOKS, Just Received at the Canandaigua Bookstore," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 28 July 1818, [3]; "Also, JUST RECEIVED," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 28 Dec. 1819, [3]; "NEW BOOKS," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 12 Dec. 1820, [3].

71. "PALMYRA Book Store," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 5 May 1824, [3], advertisement of the book *Salem Witchcraft* is of special interest. That title does not appear as a pre-1825 publication in WorldCat (which computer-index can also be searched by keywords appearing anywhere in a title or subtitle). However, *Salem Witchcraft* appears as a title in Orville A. Roorbach, comp., *Bibliotheca Americana: Catalogue of American Publications, including Reprints and Original Works, From 1820 to 1852, Inclusive* (New York: Peter Smith, 1939), 477, as an 1821 publication by "Cushing and A.," which is identified (vi) as the publishing house of Cushing & Appleton in Salem, Massachusetts. WorldCat and *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 89:613, show that in 1796 Salem published the first American imprint of Robert Calef's 1700 *More Wonders of the Invisible World*, which documented the history and testimony of Salem's witch trials in 1692. The title page of this 1796 reprint stated that it was "sold at Cushing & Carlton's bookstore." Likewise, both catalogs show that in 1823 there was a Salem reprint of Calef's book "for Cushing and Appleton." Therefore, Roorbach's entry referred to a missing and otherwise-unknown 1821 reprint by Cushing of Calef's book under the title *Salem Witchcraft*. That was undoubtedly the book on sale in Palmyra in 1824. The only other possibility in WorldCat (also in *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 516:132) is *Salem Witchcraft; or the Adventures of Parson Handy from Punkapog Pond*, which both catalogs show only as a second edition in 1827 by a New York publisher. There is no record of its first edition, which was probably also issued by the same New York publisher. That leaves Calef's book (retitled only in its 1821 reprint—to show its main emphasis) as the explanation for Roorbach's identifying an otherwise-missing book printed in 1821 by Salem's publisher Cushing.

72. "Canandaigua BOOK-STORE," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 23 May 1815, [4]; "PALMYRA Book Store," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 5 May 1824, [3].

73. Thomas Percy, ed., *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, 3d ed., 3 vols. (London: J. Dodsley, 1775), 1:76. For its availability, see "PALMYRA Book Store," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 5 May 1824, [3]; "Wayne Bookstore," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 24 Nov. 1824, [3]; "Just Received At the Wayne Bookstore," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 4 Oct. 1825, [4]. These advertisements were for the first American edition of three volumes (*Ontario Repository*, 4 Feb. 1824, [3]), and I quote from the three-volume edition available to me.

74. Stephen Hobbhouse, *Selected Mystical Writings of William Law* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1948), 125, 290; "PALMYRA Book Store," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 5 May 1824, [3]; "NEW BOOKS at the Palmyra Book Store," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 1 Dec. 1826, [3].

75. John A. Tvedtnes untitled review, *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 6 (1994), no. 1:12. However, some of his FARMS colleagues probably felt puzzlement at the introductory portion of this quote: "While I had

no reason to doubt that Joseph Smith and many of his contemporaries were familiar with the magical beliefs and practices of the day. ... Throughout his review (8-50), Tvedtnes demonstrated repeatedly that he is an admirable LDS apologist. By that I mean more than simply a Mormon who conscientiously disagrees with writers about the most fundamental issues of faith. Like Tvedtnes in this review, admirable apologists also maintain civility to those regarded as opponents. Like Tvedtnes in this essay, admirable apologists demonstrate willingness to state agreement with an opponent on significant matters, while openly withholding judgment on other topics in dispute (esp. 16, 20, 23, 31, 33, 35, 36-37, 39, 40-41). May his tribe increase!

76. Griggs, "The New Testament of Faith," 4 (for quote), 4-6 (for citations from Smith's diary).

77. Smith cited or gave "extracts" from the following: *Book of Jasher* (only one edition, U.S., in 1840); Charles Buck, *A Theological Dictionary ...* (twenty-three U.S. printings 1807-42); Ridley H. Herschell, *A Brief Sketch of the Present State and Future Expectations of the Jews ...* (six British printings 1834-42); Johann Jahn, *Jahn's Biblical Archaeology ...* (six separate U.S. printings 1823-39); Herman Merivale, *Introduction to a Course of Lectures on Colonization and Colonies ...* (only one edition, British, in 1839); Josiah Priest, *American Antiquities, and Discoveries in the West ...* (eight U.S. printings 1833-42); Edward Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai and Arabia Petraea ...* (only one edition, U.S., in 1841); John L. Stephens, *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan* (ten British printings and two U.S. printings 1841-42); see author-entries in *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*. Smith also quoted from the following newspapers: *Alton Telegraph and Review* [Alton, IL], *Antigua Herald*, *Baptist Advocate* [Cincinnati], *Boston Investigator*, *Bostonian*, *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser*, *Chicago Democrat*, *Cleveland Herald*, *Columbus Advocate*, *Dollar Weekly Bostonian*, *Essex County Washingtonian* [Salem, MA], *Galignani's Messenger* [Paris, English-language], *Genius of Liberty* [Lowell, IL], *Jewish Intelligencer* [London], *Liverpool Albion*, *London Despatch*, *London Sun*, *Morning Paper* [possibly London's *Morning Post* or New York City's *Morning Courier*], *Neue Zeitung* [Hamburg], *New York Evangelist*, *New York Herald*, *New York State Mechanic*, *North Staffordshire Mercury*, *Olive Branch* [Boston], *Le Patriote* [Port au Prince], *Pittsburgh Saturday Evening Visitor*, *Preston Pilot*, *Quincy Whig*, *St. Louis Gazette*, *St. Louis Picket Guard*, *St. Louis Western Atlas*, *Sangamo Journal* [Springfield, IL], *The Warrier*, *Western Messenger* [Cincinnati], *Western Reserve Cabinet and Family Visitor* [Ravenna, OH]. Often signed as "[Ed.]," these excerpts appeared during Smith's sole editorship of *Times and Seasons* 3 (15 Feb. 1842): 691, 692, (15 Mar. 1842): 711, 722-23, 725-26, (1 Apr. 1842): 745, 749, (15 Apr. 1842): 754-55, 758, (2 May 1842): 773, 775, 780-81, 782, plus extensive quote (781-82) from unnamed book (actually Priest), (16 May 1842): 784, 785, 790, 796-97, (1 June 1842): 805, 806, 810-11, 813, 822, 829, plus extensive quote (818-19) from unnamed book (actually Priest's third edition), (1 July 1842): 834, 835, 836, 838, (15 July 1842): 855, 858-59, 862, (1 Aug. 1842): 863, 865, 875, 877, (15 Aug. 1842): 886, 893, (1 Sept. 1842): 899, 901, 902, 905, 908, (15 Sept. 1842): 911, 917-18, 925-26, (1 Oct. 1842): 927, 931, 933, 940, 941, 942, (15 Oct. 1842): 947, 948, 956, 957, 958, plus two extensive "EXTRACTS" (945-46) from unnamed book(s) about Sinai and Mount Ararat (neither of which passages were in Jahn or Robinson).

There is one reference to *Sangamo Journal* in Scott H. Faulring, ed., *An American Prophet's Record: The Diaries and Journals of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books/Smith Research Associates, 1987), 286, but it was the editor's addition. Likewise, the comparison for the above "excerpts" should not be with the published *History of the Church*, in which later editors introduced numerous quotes from books and newspapers as if Smith recorded these in his original diary. See Dean C. Jessee, "The Writing of Joseph Smith's History," *BYU Studies* 11 (Summer 1971):439-73; Jessee, "The Reliability of Joseph Smith's

History," *Journal of Mormon History* 3 (1976): 23-46; Jessee, "Authorship of the History of Joseph Smith: A Review Essay," *BYU Studies* 21 (Winter 1981): 101-22.

Until recently, Smith's 1841-42 diary was missing (sequestered in the LDS First Presidency's vault), but it has been published in Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2+ vols., with a different subtitle for each volume (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989-92+), 2:335-487 (13 Dec. 1841-15 Oct. 1842). The diary contains no references to Smith reading any of the publications he noted in *Times and Seasons*, but there are passing references to non-Mormon publications in correspondence copied into the diary. In a letter Smith mentioned "James Gordon Bennett of the [New York] Herald," but this entry did not imply that Smith actually read that newspaper (as the above excerpts show he, in fact, did). The only other references to non-LDS newspapers or books occurred in the manuscript diary's copies of letters from James Arlington Bennet to Smith. These show what Bennet, not Smith, had read. See Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2:460, 463, 481.

78. "The Joseph Smith [book] donation list by courtesy of the Church Librarian." in Kenneth W. Godfrey, "A Note On the Nauvoo Library and Literary Institute," *BYU Studies* 14 (Spring 1974): 387, which list had a duplicate entry for "Whelpleys Compend[ium]." I identified the books through a key-word title-search of all pre-1844 publications in WorldCat. The donation-list included the number of volumes, which sometimes helps to limit the possible imprints of popular works.

Excluding three Mormon publications—the *Book of Mormon*, the *Times and Seasons*, and Parley P. Pratt's *Millennium and Other Poems*—these are the thirty-four non-Mormon books Smith donated in January 1844 according to their order in the above list: Henry Philip Tappan, *A Review of Edwards's "Inquiry Into the Freedom of the Will"* ... (only one edition, U.S., in 1839); Benjamin Drake, *The Life of Tecumseh, and His Brother the Prophet* (only one edition, U.S., in 1841); Samuel Whelpley, *A Compendium of History, From the Earliest Times* ... (fifteen U.S. editions 1808-41); Walter Scott, *Poetical Works* (published since 1811, but the "5 vols" in Smith's donation matches only three editions, U.S., 1813-28); Hiram Gillmore, *Lectures on Christianity* (only one edition, U.S., in 1837); "Merrills Harmony" or "Merritts Harmony," whose only possible match is Merrit N. Woodruff, *Devotional Harmony* (only one edition, U.S., in 1810); "Epicureo," whose only match is [Alexander Olleris], *De Phaedro Epicureo* (only one edition, Paris, in 1841); "Krummachers Works," which referred to religious books in English translation since 1824 of Friedrich A. Krummacker (1767-1845); *Catholic Piety; or the Layman's Companion, for Sundays and Festivals Throughout the Year: With Prayers At, Before, and After Mass, Confession, and Communion, etc.* (only one edition, British, 1800—only in WorldCat); Samuel Wilcox, *The Home Physician; or, A Treatise upon the Cure of Diseases By the Botanical System of Medicine* (only one edition, U.S., in 1832); "Apocryphal Testament," which was either *Apocrypha: The Apocryphal Books of the Old Testament* (seven British editions 1763-1816 and one in 1835) or *Apocryphal New Testament* (three British editions 1820-29 and seven U.S. editions 1821-35); "Brun's Travels" which was one of only four possibilities: "Corneille le Brun" [Cornelis de Bruyn], *A Voyage to the Levant: or, Travels in the Principal Parts of Asia Minor, the Island of Scio, Rhodes, Cyprus, etc. With an Account of the Most Considerable Cities of Egypt, Syria and the Holy Land* ... By M. Corneille le Brun (London, 1702), or *An Abstract of Mr. C. Le Brun's Travels Through Russia and Persia to the East Indies* ... (London, 1722), or *Travels into Muscovy, Persia, and Parts of the East Indies* ... (London, 1737), or *A New and More Correct Translation than Has Hitherto Appeared in Public, of Mr. Cornelius Le Brun's Travels Into Moscovy, Persia, and Divers Parts of the East-Indies* ... (London, 1759); "Babel & other Travels," whose only match is Robert Mignan, *Travels in Chaldea, Including ... Observations on the Sites and Remains of Babel, Seleucia, Ctesiphon* (only one edition, Britain, in 1829); James Brown, *An Appeal From the British System of Grammar* (only one edition, U.S., in 1836); James Brown, *An English Syntascope* ... (two U.S. editions, 1839-40); A. B. Cleveland, *Studies in Poetry and Prose* (only one edition, U.S., in 1832); Orville Dewey, *The Old World and the New* ... (only one edition,

U.S., in 1836); John F. Dennett, *The Voyages and Travels of Captains Ross, Perry, Franklin, and Mr. Belzoni* (published since 1826, but only three editions, British, 1835-39 with title in order of 1844 list's "Ross Perry"); James Arlington Bennet, *The American System of Practical Book-Keeping ...* (twenty-two U.S. editions 1820-43); John L. Stephens, *Incidents of Travel in Yucatan* (one British edition, one U.S. edition, both in 1843); John L. Stephens, *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan* (eleven British and three U.S. printings 1841-43); John Lawrence [Johann Lorenz] Mosheim, *Ecclesiastical History* (published in English since 1756, but the "1 Vol" in 1844 list was an abridgement published only in 1833, simultaneously in Britain and U.S.); Thomas Dick, *Philosophy of a Future State* (one British edition in 1827, and eleven U.S. printings 1829-43); William Beaumont, *Experiments and Observations on the Gastric Juice* (two U.S. editions 1833-34 and one British imprint in 1838); John Brown, *A Dictionary of the Holy Bible* (ten British imprints 1759-1836 and ten U.S. imprints 1798-1839); Joel Parker, *Lectures on Universalism* (three U.S. editions 1830-41); Daniel Clarke Sanders, *A Discourse* (eleven U.S. editions 1800-24); *Metropolitan: A Monthly Journal of Literature, Science, and the Fine Arts* (apparently only one donated volume of this London periodical which began in 1831); Charles A. Goodrich, *A History of the United States of America* (more than 100 U.S. editions 1822-43); Philip Doddridge, "Sermons" in one volume, which was either his *Sermons to Young Persons* (five British imprints 1737-73 and five U.S. imprints 1793-1832) or his *Sermons on the Religious Education of Children* (four British imprints 1732-90 and ten U.S. imprints 1763-1810); *The Catholic Manual, Containing a Selection of Prayers and Devotional Exercises, for the Use of Christians in Every State of Life* (only one edition, U.S., 1825?); James Hervey, *Meditations and Contemplations* (sixty-three British imprints 1706-1840 and twenty-nine U.S. imprints 1750-1836); Francois M. A. Voltaire, *Historie de Charles XII* (dozens of French-language printings in Europe since 1731 and fourteen U.S. printings in French, 1800-42); Charles Rollin, *The Ancient History of the Egyptians, Carthaginians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes and Persians, Macedonians and Grecians* (published since 1789, but the "2 Vol" in 1844 list was an abridgement published once in Britain in 1826 and as nine U.S. imprints 1823-43); see entries in *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, *WorldCat*, and *British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books: Photolithographic Edition to 1955*, 263 vols. (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1960-66).

79. *The Guide to American Law: Everyone's Legal Encyclopedia*, 12 vols. (St. Paul, MN: West Publishing, 1983-85), 2:76.

80. Godfrey, "Note On the Nauvoo Library and Literary Institute," 388.

81. Gerald E. Jones, "Apocryphal Literature and the Latter-day Saints," in C. Wilford Griggs, ed., *Apocryphal Writings and the Latter-day Saints* (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1986), 26, also 19-20, 22; also *The Doctrine and Covenants of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, published at Salt Lake City in various editions, sec. 91:1-3, hereafter D&C with numbers of section and verse(s).

82. *Times and Seasons* 3 (15 Sept. 1842): 911-14, (1 Oct 1842): 927-28.

83. "SECTION X" (introduced as a "chapter from 'Dick's philosophy of a future state'"), *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* 3 (Dec. 1836): 423-25; "THE PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION" (not identified as a book-quote), *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* 3 (Feb. 1837): 461-63; "THE PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION (Concluded from our last.)" (identified as written by Thomas Dick), *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* 3 (Mar. 1837): 468-69; also see Edward T. Jones, "The Theology of Thomas Dick and Its Possible Relationship To That of Joseph Smith," M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1969; Erich Robert Paul, *Science, Religion, and Mormon Cosmology* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 90.

84. Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith the Mormon Prophet* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945), 111 (second note), 173 (first note), cited James Gray, *Mediatorial Reign of the Son of God* (Baltimore, 1821) and Thomas T. Smiley, *Sacred*

Geography (Philadelphia, 1824), both of which "may be seen in the library of the Reorganized Church," with Smith's autograph as their owner. In a telephone conversation with me on 25 June 1998, Suzanne McDonald (director of the Library, Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints) reported that Smiley's book (with Smith's autograph) is still in the library's vault, but Gray's book is not currently among the RLDS library's holdings.

85. "Inventory of Goods, Chattels, and Furniture of Joseph Smith deceased, as appraised by Reynolds Cahoon, Alpheus Cutler and Wm Clayton August 10th 1844," with annexed statement by Emma Smith of "a true and perfect inventory of all the personal property belonging to the estate of Joseph Smith deceased so far as has come to my hands or knowledge," photocopy, fd 14, box 132, H. Michael Marquardt papers, Marriott Library.

86. Buddy Youngreen, "From the Prophet's Life: A Photo Essay," *Ensign* 14 (Jan. 1984): [33], for photograph of Smith's "Family Record" in lower right of page, also printed in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:581-84; compare with previous note.

87. Paul, "Joseph Smith and the Manchester (New York) Library," 342.

88. Previous note 78 for titles; *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 81:266-67; WorldCat; *British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books, Photolithographic Edition to 1955*, 28:382-83. A Russian edition, the first in any language since 1759, was published decades after Smith's death. WorldCat and *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints* verify that there was no other book with "Travels" in its title by existing authors named Bron, Bruen, Bruene, Brun, Brunn, Brunne, Bruun, Bruyn, La Brune, Le Brun.

89. "PALMYRA Book Store," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 5 May 1824, [3].

90. By author, short-title, or both, Palmyra's newspaper advertised the donated books (see previous note 78) by Bennet, Goodrich, Hervey, Rollin, Scott, Voltaire (possibly in French), and Whelpley. See "BOOKS," *Palmyra Register* (Palmyra, NY), 27 Oct. 1819, [4], "New Bookstore," *Palmyra Herald & Canal Advertiser* (Palmyra, NY), 11 Dec. 1822, [4]; "PALMYRA Book Store," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 5 May 1824, [3]; "NEW BOOKS at the Palmyra Book Store," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 1 Dec. 1826, [3]. The May 1824 listing for Voltaire's book on Charles XII may have been for an English translation, but Canandaigua's newspaper specifically advertised the French version that Smith donated (see next note).

91. Aside from also advertising Goodrich, Hervey, Rollin, Scott, Voltaire, and Whelpley, Canandaigua's bookstore advertised Brown (Dictionary), Doddridge, Mosheim, and Woodruff (by title only) from Smith's list of donated books. See previous notes 27, 78, and following advertisements in *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY): "Canandaigua Bookstore," 11 Nov. 1817, [3]; "NEW BOOKS," 13 June 1820, [1]; "BOOKS IN DIVINITY, For Sale at the Canandaigua Bookstore," 20 June 1820, [1]; "NEW BOOKS, Just Received at the Canandaigua Bookstore," 25 Sept. 1821, [4]; "J.D. BEMIS & CO.," 26 Mar. 1822, [1]; "BOOKS," 7 Oct. 1823, [4]; "CHURCH MUSIC," 9 Feb. 1825, [3]; "New School Books," 5 Apr. 1826, [1]; "NEW BOOKS," 22 Aug. 1827, [4], including Voltaire's "Charles 12th in French"; "NEW & VALUABLE SCHOOL BOOKS," 9 Jan. 1828, [4].

92. See *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), for the following: "New Publications," 5 Oct. 1813, [4], for Scott's Bible; "CANANDAIGUA BOOKSTORE. J.D. Bemis," 30 July 1816, [2], for Scott's Bible; "BIBLES," 23 Nov. 1819, [3], for Carey's edition of the Bible; "SCOTT'S BIBLE," 19 Jan. 1825, [4]; "Canandaigua Bookstore," 5 Apr. 1826, [1], for Brown's Bible; compare with the Apocrypha's inclusion in the above editions as described in Margaret T. Hills, *The English Bible in America: A Bibliography of Editions of the Bible & the New Testament Published in America, 1777-1957* (New York: American Bible Society/New York Public Library, 1962), 39-40 (no. 232 for Scott's Bible in 1813), 60 (no. 373, for publisher Carey's Bible in 1819), 85 (no. 546 for Brown's Bible, ca. 1826).

93. Paul, "Joseph Smith and the Manchester (New York) Library," 350 (no. 244, Dick), also 343 (no. 1, Voltaire), 345 (nos. 52-59, Rollin), 349 (no. 170, Goodrich), 349 (no. 178,

"Harvey"—should be Hervey); also, the Palmyra newspaper excerpted an earlier version in "From Dick's Christian Philosopher," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 23 Mar. 1827, [4].

94. Previous note 30; "Periodical Literature," *Palmyra Herald, and Canal Advertiser* (Palmyra, NY), 19 Feb. 1823, [3]; "Parables; by Dr. F. A. Krummacher," *Museum of Foreign Literature and Science* 5 (1824): 519-22; "MUSEUM OF FOREIGN LITERATURE AND SCIENCE," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 1 June 1825, [1].

95. "PALMYRA Book Store," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 5 May 1824, [3]; "NEW BOOKS at the Palmyra Book Store," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 1 Dec. 1826, [3], regarding Buck's *Theological Dictionary*; see previous note 77.

96. John W. Welch, *Chiasmus in the Book of Mormon* [from a 1993 video-cassette of his lecture to a small group of people: "this transcript of the video lecture was prepared by the staff of the Portland Institute of Religion"] (Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1994), 18.

97. Stephen E. Robinson untitled review in *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 3 (1991): 316-17. For the FARMS-BYU relationship, see my Preface.

98. Hamblin, "Apologist for the Critics," 485n111; Todd Compton, "The Spirituality of the Outcast in the Book of Mormon," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies: Foundation for Ancient Research & Mormon Studies* 2 (Spring 1993): 144-45.

99. Robert E. Paul, "Joseph Smith and the Plurality of Worlds Idea," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 19 (Summer 1986): 28-29; Paul, *Science, Religion, and Mormon Cosmology*, 88-89, rendered the phrase as "his cultural environment."

100. Hugh Nibley, "A Strange Thing In the Land: The Return of the Book of Enoch, Part 2," *Ensign* 5 (Dec. 1975): 73; reprinted in Nibley, *Enoch the Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1986), 106 (for first quotes, and last quote), 105 (for next-to-last quote).

101. "E. Littell ... has in press, AN INTRODUCTION To the Critical Study and Knowledge of THE HOLY SCRIPTURES By Thomas Hartwell Horne, M.A.," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 6 Apr. 1825, [3], also same page in issues of 13 April and 20 April.

102. "BOOKS IN DIVINITY," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 20 June 1820, [1]; *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 55:161, 255:140.

103. See the following advertisements in *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY): "MORE NEW BOOKS," 30 Aug. 1826, [3]; "MORE NEW BOOKS," 17 Jan. 1827, 1; "Books on Theology," 30 Mar. 1831, [1]; *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 255:143.

104. Thomas Hartwell Horne, *An Introduction To the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures*, 1st Am. ed., 4 vols. (Philadelphia: E. Littell, 1825), 1:630-34.

105. Ibid.; Jones, "Apocryphal Literature and the Latter-day Saints," in Griggs, *Apocryphal Writings and the Latter-day Saints*, 26.

106. *British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books: Photolithographic Edition to 1955*, 67:266-67, did not mention an 1828 printing, and noted that only two of the next edition's books gave a publication date of 1832 while all others stated 1833. Volume 131:444, was for Laurence as author, but its entry directed readers to "See ENOCH, the PATRIARCH, pseud.," which was the entry in volume 67. Both of these catalog-volumes were published a decade before Nibley's article.

107. *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 55:313. However, this catalog-volume had been in the general-reference section of BYU's library for six years when FARMS and its BYU faculty-directors reprinted Nibley's previous assertion that there was no printing of Laurence's *Book of Enoch* between 1821 and 1833.

108. As a graduate student at Brigham Young University in the late-1960s John W. Welch made the extraordinarily important discovery that there are many examples in the *Book of Mormon* text of a complex pattern of poetic parallelism which also occurs in the

Hebrew Bible. Known as *chiasmus* to modern scholars, this ancient poetic method states a series of ideas (A-B-C ...) and then immediately rephrases them in reverse order (... C-B-A).

As Welch noted in his early writings about *chiasmus* (see below), Anglican bishop Robert Lowth discovered (and first published in Latin) that textual parallelism was an essential characteristic of the Hebrew Bible. The *British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books: Photolithographic Edition to 1955*, 145:558, showed that Lowth's study of biblical parallelism first appeared in English in 1787 as his two-volume *Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews* and again in 1816 (both editions at London). Volume 107:138 showed that Thomas Hartwell Horne's *Introduction To the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures* had its first London edition in 1818 and its "Third American edition" in 1827. These two volumes of the British Museum's author-title catalog were in BYU's library shortly after their publication in 1961-62. The *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 343:550, also showed that in 1815 there was a one-volume American edition of Lowth's *Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews*, which was popular enough to have a second American edition in 1829. As indicated in this chapter's narrative, Lowth's scholarly study of the Book of Isaiah was on sale in 1820 by the Canandaigua Bookstore, only nine miles from Joseph Smith's home. This American-based National Union author-title catalog-volume was in BYU's library shortly after its publication in 1974. The presence of these standard bibliographic sources in BYU's library (first in 1961-62 and second in 1974) is crucial for evaluating what John W. Welch claimed in publications from 1969 onward. In 1969 Welch was a BYU graduate student, and later became a professor in BYU's law school and founder of the Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies (FARMS).

Advertised for sale in Joseph Smith's neighborhood, Horne's 1825 *Introduction To the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures* emphasized (2:449): "The grand, and indeed, the sole characteristic of Hebrew Poetry, is what Bishop Lowth entitles *Parallelism*, that is, a certain equality, resemblance, or relationship, between the members of each period; so that in two lines, or members of the same period, things shall answer to things, and words to words, as if fitted to each other by a kind of rule or measure. This is the general strain of the Hebrew poetry; instances of which occur in almost every part of the Old Testament ..." (emphasis in original). Horne further explained (2:519-20) that these "*Parallel constructions and figures*" referred to "those passages in which the same sentence is expressed not precisely in the same words, but in *similar* words, more full as well as more perspicuous, and concerning the force and meaning of which there can be no doubt. Such are the parallelisms of the sacred poets; which, from the light they throw on the poetical books of the Scriptures, demand a distinct consideration" (emphasis in original). Aside from Palmyra's advertising of Horne's 1825 American edition, the 1818 London edition was on sale in 1820 by the Canandaigua Bookstore, only nine miles from Joseph Smith's home (see text discussion).

Horne's 1825 American edition said that such parallelism would be found in any ancient text written by Hebrews. He noted (2:451) that Anglican bishop Lowth did not think parallelism survived when Jews wrote in the Greek language, but "Bishop [John] Jebb, however, has demonstrated that this grand characteristic of Hebrew poetry pervades the New Testament as well as the Old." Horne observed (2:457, 458) that "the Hebraic parallelism occurs also, with much variety, in the Apocrypha," and that he would "expect a similar parallelism" in any ancient writing "by native Jews, Hebrews of the Hebrews,—by men whose minds were moulded in the form of their own sacred writings, and whose sole stock of literature (with the exception of Paul, and probably also of Luke and James) was comprised in those very writings. Now, it is improbable in the extreme, that such men, when they came to write such a work, should, without any assignable motive, and in direct opposition to all other religious teachers of their nation, have estranged themselves from a manner, so pervading the noblest parts of the Hebrew Scriptures, as the sententious parallelism."

Even Palmyra's 1825 advertisement mentioned this emphasis: "E. Littell ... has in press, AN INTRODUCTION To the Critical Study and Knowledge of THE HOLY SCRIPTURES By

Thomas Hartwell Horne, M.A. ... the Poetry of the Hebrews ..., "Wayne Sentinel (Palmyra, NY), 6 Apr. 1825, [3], emphasis in the original. For this four-volume study's continued sale near Smith's home, see "MORE NEW BOOKS," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 30 Aug. 1826, [3]; "MORE NEW BOOKS," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 17 Jan. 1827, 1.

In the 1825 American edition, Horne also gave (2:456-57) several diagrams of "Parallel Lines Introverted ... [including]

And it shall come to pass in that day;
The great trumpet shall be sounded:
And those shall come, who were perishing in the land of Assyria;
And who were dispersed in the land of Egypt;
And they shall bow themselves down before Jehovah;
In the holy mountain, in Jerusalem. Isaiah xxvii. 12, 13."

Horne later included (2:523) another diagram of "introverted parallelism.

Blessed is the man whose strength is in Thee:
The passengers, in whose heart are the ways,
In the valley of Baca make it a spring,
The rain also filleth the pools;
They go from strength to strength;

He shall appear before God in Zion. Psal. lxxxiv. 5-7" (emphasis in original).

Horne mentioned in his 1825 text and footnotes (2:448, 451, 451n1, 522-23) the publications by Anglican bishops Lowth and Jebb as his principal sources for this discussion of "introverted parallelism" (now called *chiasmus*). All of this information was available in the Palmyra area as of 1825 through its own bookstore and through nearby Canandaigua's bookstore, which operated its own lending library for those who could not afford to buy books they wanted to read (see my text discussion).

Despite all evidence to the contrary, in 1969 John W. Welch claimed that none of this information was available to Joseph Smith or even to other Americans during Smith's lifetime. Welch, "Chiasmus in the Book of Mormon," *BYU Studies* 10 (Autumn 1969): 69, stated: "Nevertheless, the awareness of such a form [of biblical parallelism], except in isolated cases, remained a part of the intellectual subconscious of modern Western Europe until frequent chiasmal passages were discovered in the Bible. Since that time in the mid-nineteenth century, there have been several reputed scholars, mostly theologians, who have published on the subject." Also (72): "The rediscovery of chiasms in the Bible can be credited to three theologians of the nineteenth century: Robert Lowth [for whom Welch cited only an 1829 Latin edition], John Jebb [for whom Welch cited an 1820 English edition at London], and John Forbes [for whom Welch cited an 1854 English edition at London]."

In support of his claim that this information about biblical parallelism was not available to Joseph Smith's generation, Welch's 1969 citation to Lowth was deceptive in two ways: (1) by not acknowledging that English-language editions were available since 1787, and (2) by citing Lowth's 1829 Latin edition as if this were the first time the Anglican bishop published about the matter. Welch knew differently because his master's thesis (submitted early enough in 1970 to be read and approved by his graduate committee in April) cited Lowth's 1815 American edition in the English language. See Welch, "A Study Relating Chiasmus in the Book of Mormon to Chiasmus in the Old Testament, Ugaritic Epics, Homer, and Selected Greek and Latin Authors," M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, May 1970, 8, 8n2, 188. Welch's thesis is now missing from BYU's computer-catalog BYLINE, but a copy is available in the LDS Church Library, Salt Lake City.

In 1969 Welch further claimed (73): "in 1860 a section on chiasmus was finally added to T. H. Horne's famous encyclopedia *Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures*. This marks the recognition of the form as genuine and significant." Welch (73n5) cited this as Horne's "11th edition," concluding (75) "there exists no chance that

Joseph Smith could have learned of this style through academic channels. No one in America let alone in western New York, fully understood chiasmus in 1829." To the contrary, after 1787 any American could read British editions of Lowth's study in English, as well as American editions after 1815. Moreover, Welch's 1969 claim of a watershed in "recognition" for *chiasmus* in Horne's book actually occurred in the 1825 American edition, which the Palmyra area's newspapers show was available to Joseph Smith from its first publication onward. Welch's 1969 citation to Horne's eleventh American edition of 1860 demonstrated that he knew this study had been in print for a long time, and his master's thesis cited (187) Horne's 1836 American edition. In 1969 Welch had access in BYU's library to the British Museum's book catalog which specified (107:138) that Horne's four-volume study had three American editions by 1827. If he had not examined these earlier editions, how could Welch comment on what was "finally" added in the 1860 edition? If he did examine these earlier editions, how could Welch claim that prior to 1860 Horne's study contained no section on "inverted parallelism"? His 1969 article acknowledged this was the earlier term for *chiasmus*.

Nevertheless, after 1969 Welch intensified his original assertions that pre-1830 America was allegedly uninformed about biblical parallelism. In "Chiasmus in the Book of Mormon," *New Era* 2 (Feb. 1972): 10, Welch told LDS youths: "Taken as evidence of the Book of Mormon, chiasmus offers us a touchstone like we have rarely ever had before. ... And yet such a thing was totally unknown to Joseph Smith and universally unrecognized by the world until the present decade." In reprinting his 1969 article in Noel B. Reynolds, ed., *Book of Mormon Authorship: New Light on Ancient Origins* (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1982), Welch (by then the founder of FARMS) repeated his 1969 statements concerning Lowth, Jebb, and Forbes (38-39) but dropped all reference to Horne's study. However, still using the "recognition" concept he had applied to Horne's book, Welch concluded in 1982 (51): "By the time the concept of chiasmus received currency or recognition, the Book of Mormon had long been in print."

It is significant that Welch revised this 1982 reprint to delete any reference to Horne's book, yet to maintain his original statement about Lowth's study. The year before, Welch had been editor of a European book about studies of biblical parallelism. In his *Chiasmus in Antiquity: Structures, Analyses, Exegesis* (Hildensheim, Ger.: Gerstenberg Verlag, 1981), Welch observed (10): that "introverted parallelism" was one of the names for *chiasmus*, and the bibliography made this comment (279) about Horne's *An Introduction to the Critical Study*: "numerous editions printed in U.S. and England for over 50 years following the 1st ed. (1818); 5th U.S. edition in 2 vols. used herein (Philadelphia: Desilver Thomas & Co., 1836) ..." Therefore, at least by 1981 John Welch knew how many American editions preceded the 1836 edition of Horne's analysis of *chiasmus*. Despite revising his article for its 1982 reprint by BYU's Religious Studies Center, Welch retained the deceptive footnote which listed Lowth's 1829 Latin edition as his only publication on parallelism. Welch's bibliographies in 1970 and 1981 both listed Lowth's 1815 American edition in the English language.

The fact that the 1982 Provo reprint deleted all reference to Horne shows that Welch was aware of Horne's first American edition in 1825. This deletion may also indicate that someone had informed Welch that Palmyra's newspaper advertised Horne's study in 1825 and that the ad itself referred to Horne's discussion of Hebrew poetry. So many BYU religion professors have read through the *Wayne Sentinel*, that such a discovery was inevitable on the part of someone who had also carefully read Welch's claims. At the minimum, by the time he was preparing his 1981 bibliography, Welch knew that Horne's discussion of "introverted parallelism" occurred decades before Welch's original claim for Horne's 1860 edition.

Nonetheless, Welch continued to leave his Mormon readers misinformed about how early the studies of biblical parallelism were published in America. In his introduction to *Chiasmus Bibliography: Study Aid* (Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1987), Welch wrote: "This bibliography lists most of the books and articles I am aware of dealing with or utilizing chiasmus," yet it made no reference whatever to Robert

Lowth's pioneering works about parallelism (which Welch's 1970 master's thesis acknowledged had been published in a U.S. edition of 1815). The 1987 FARMS bibliography listed (7) only Horne's 1836 American edition of *Introduction to the Critical Study*. However, a glance by bibliographer Welch at *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 255:141 (in the BYU library's reference-section since this volume's publication in 1973) would have told him that surviving copies of Horne's first American edition of 1825 were located at the University of Chicago, Ohio State University, Alma College (Alma, MI), Yale University, Oberlin College, New Brunswick Theological Seminary, Union Theological Seminary (New York City), and University of California at Berkeley. If Welch had not already examined the 1825 edition for his 1970 master's thesis, after 1973 he had easy access at BYU to information about where to find it. In a bibliography such a lapse is extraordinary, unless the bibliographer is not interested in verifying the contents of publications earlier than a certain date (1830 in Horne's case).

Since Welch's 1969 article defined the inclusion of chiasmus in Horne's book as a watershed for this poetical technique "finally" gaining "recognition," why didn't Welch examine Horne's first American edition to verify if there was actually an absence of this discussion before 1830? Because he cited Horne's 1836 edition in his master's thesis, Welch knew by 1970 this "recognition" of "inverted parallelism" was in American publications by 1836 (1:376 in the 1836 edition at BYU's library). However, Welch did not apparently want to undermine his prior claims by verifying and admitting that the first American discussion of "introverted parallelism" occurred in an 1825 publication (which was also on sale in Joseph Smith's neighborhood).

There was also the problem that Lowth's study of parallelism was published in English in the United States in 1815 and 1829. Welch knew this while preparing his 1970 thesis, which listed Lowth's 1815 American edition. Acknowledging Lowth's publications also undermined Welch's claims for America's pre-1830 ignorance of biblical parallelism. Thus, Welch's 1987 FARMS bibliography made no reference to Lowth.

By 1988 Welch decided to resolve this quandary in another way—by telling his LDS audience only about studies of parallelism that were not printed in early America. In his *Chiasmus in the Book of Mormon: Annotated Transcript of CHI-V* [1988 lecture series] (Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1988), 12, Welch said: "This in turn leads to the question, 'How much was known about chiasmus in Joseph Smith's day?' And the answer here is, not much. In England two authors wrote books in the 1820's about Hebrew literature in the Bible, and they explored for the first time the possibility of chiasmus in the Bible. They claimed that such a pattern had been unnoticed by great scholars that had gone before them. But the idea took root slowly, and it wasn't until the 1950s ..." His source-note (12n15) about this "first time" exploration made no mention of Lowth's studies of parallelism since the 1700s nor of Horne's discussion of "introverted parallelism" since 1818.

To support the myth he created in 1969 that Joseph Smith and all other Americans were ignorant of biblical parallelism, Welch by the 1980s simply withheld from his Mormon listeners and readers his knowledge that there were American printings of such studies in 1815 and 1825. Instead, Welch's 1988 FARMS publication cited only an 1820 publication by John Jebb and an 1825 publication by Thomas Boys, both published in London and neither reprinted in the United States. He emphasized (13) that these British books by Jebb and Boys were not in American libraries before 1830. And despite the Palmyra newspaper's advertisement for Horne's 1825 American edition (which Welch in 1988 did not acknowledge the existence of) and despite the fact that Horne's 1825 American edition discussed Jebb's views at length, Welch's 1988 FARMS presentation stated (13): "And even if some of these books had made it to the United States, it is quite another thing to believe that Joseph Smith knew anything about John Jebb's pioneering hypothesis that this complex chiasmus existed in the Bible ..." In a 1993 video-cassette sold by FARMS, Welch repeated his 1988 statements and concluded: "So I think that there was really very little chance—what should we say, a

statistically insignificant chance—that Joseph Smith had any awareness of this through regular scholarly channels.” See Welch, *Chiasmus in the Book of Mormon* [“this transcript of the video lecture was prepared by the staff of the Portland Institute of Religion”] (Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1994), 18.

As I told John W. Welch in a 1995 letter, I have always admired and praised his discovery of the ancient poetic technique of *chiasmus* in the *Book of Mormon*. However, I believe that he has done a disservice to all Mormon believers by his decades of misrepresenting America’s pre-1830 knowledge of this biblical parallelism. As stated in my text discussion, Hugh Nibley’s misstatements in 1975 occurred because of his lack of access to information that was not yet published or not easily available to him. That was not the case with John W. Welch, whose publications for the LDS audience since 1969, in my opinion, have manifested an escalating, intentional concealment of pre-1830 American publications about *chiasmus*.

109. Daniel C. Peterson, “Chattanooga Cheapshot, or The Gall of Bitterness,” *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 5 (1993): 39, complained that anti-Mormon authors in Tennessee “never mention John Sorenson’s careful evaluation of that statement, which has been available for more than a decade.” Peterson’s source-note listed Sorenson’s “available” study as a “F.A.R.M.S. paper, 1982.”

110. Hamblin, “Everything Is Everything,” 317.

111. Richard Lloyd Anderson, “The Alvin Smith Story: Fact & Fiction,” *Ensign* 17 (Aug. 1987): 63, 71n22.

112. Lucy Mack Smith manuscript history (1845), 49 (as typed-in pagination), transcribed by Martha Jane Coray, photocopy, Marriott Library; Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith*, 84 (in which Apostle Orson Pratt freely reworded the original); Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:296. For Lucy Mack Smith’s manuscript history, my page citations follow the pagination in the photocopy at the Marriott Library, while Vogel gives different page numbers as his internal citations.

113. Philip L. Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible: The Place of the Latter-day Saints in American Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 14 (for first quote), 15 (for second quote), also 13 (for acknowledgement of Lucy Mack Smith’s claim and its further popularization by Orson Pratt).

114. Todd Compton, “Some Personal Reflections on the 1825 Joseph Smith and 1830 Martin Harris Letters,” 3 Oct. 1985, with addenda to 1986, unpublished study, 2-3, copy in my possession; compare with Blake T. Ostler, “The Book of Mormon as a Modern Expansion of an Ancient Source,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 20 (Spring 1987): 66-67, 100, 104-15.

115. Martin S. Tanner, “Is There Anti-Universalist Rhetoric in the Book of Mormon?” in *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 6 (1994), no. 1:418n2.

116. For example, Arnold Toynbee, *A Study of History*, 12 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1939-60), 6:440, 464.

117. William Smellie, ed., *Encyclopaedia ...*, 1st Am. ed., 18 vols. (Philadelphia: Thomas Dobson, 1798), 18:555; Robert Darner, *Dobson’s ENCYCLOPAEDIA: The Publisher, Text, and Publication of America’s First BRITANNICA, 1798-1803* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991). Keviu Christensen, “Paradigms Crossed,” *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 7 (1995), no. 2:158, graciously cited the first edition of my book for his use of the above quote. On the same page he also provided a statement by Joseph Smith that I had overlooked. Quoting Smith as saying the *Book of Mormon* translation was “sufficiently plain to suit my purpose as it stands” (D&C 128:18), Christensen wrote: “Joseph Smith is on record as describing an admittedly imperfect translation ...”

118. “REMARKS By President BRIGHAM YOUNG, Bowery, July 13, 1862,” *Deseret*

News [weekly], 13 Aug. 1862, [49]; *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London and Liverpool: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1854-86), 9:311 (B. Young/1862); *The Essential Brigham Young* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), 151.

119. *Journal of Discourses*, 3:212 (B. Young/1856), 5:296 (B. Young/1857), 9:364 (B. Young/1862); Susan Easton Black and Larry C. Porter, *Lion of the Lord: Essays On the Life & Service of Brigham Young* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1995).

120. Francis W. Kirkham, *A New Witness for Christ in America: The Book of Mormon*, 2 vols. (Independence, MO: Zion's Printing and Publishing, 1951), 1:151-52.

121. Joseph Smith et al., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Period I: History of Joseph Smith the Prophet, and ... Period II: From the Manuscript History of Brigham Young and Other Original Documents*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1902-32; 2d ed. rev. [Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1978]), 5:537, 6:74 (hereafter *History of the Church*).

122. Ephraim Chambers, *Cyclopaedia ...*, 2 vols. (London: Knapton, 1728), 1:249; Abraham Rees, *The Cyclopaedia ...*, 1st Am. ed., 41 vols. (Philadelphia: Samuel F. Bradford et al., 1805-24), s.v. "Hieroglyphics"; also "NEW BOOKS," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 3 June 1817, [3], for the Rees encyclopedia.

123. Adam Clarke, *The Holy Bible ... With A Commentary and Critical Notes ...*, 7 vols. (New York: Ezra Sargeant, 1811), footnote for Genesis 41:8. Often called "Clarke's Commentary," but listed in library catalogs under Bible, rather than Clarke.

124. "Bible," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 22 Aug. 1827, [4].

125. Johann Jahn, *Jahn's Biblical Archaeology*, trans. Thomas C. Upham (Andover, MA: Flagg and Gould, 1823), 512, sect. 403, sub-sect. 1; *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 276:156; "BOOKS," *Times and Seasons* 3 (1 Sept. 1842): 908, with Smith as sole editor on 910; "From Jahn's Biblical Archaeology," *Times and Seasons* 3 (15 Sept. 1842): 918, with Smith as sole editor on 926; also previous note 77.

126. "EGYPTIAN MUMMY," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 27 June 1827, [3].

127. "Decyphering of Hieroglyphics," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 1 June 1827, [3].

128. For this phrase as a copyright necessity in 1829, see Miriam A. Smith and John W. Welch, "Joseph Smith: Author and Proprietor," in Welch, ed., *Reexploring the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1992), 154-57.

129. *History of the Church*, 1:55-58.

130. Thomas White, *The Beauties of Occult Science Investigated ...* (London: Anne Davis, 1811), 87.

131. LeGrand Richards, *A Marvelous Work and A Wonder* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1950), 59-60.

132. *Oxford English Dictionary*, 13 vols. (Oxford, Eng.: Clarendon Press, 1933), 4:54, no. 3.

133. Clarke, *Holy Bible ... With A Commentary and Critical Notes*, footnote for Isa. 29:4; also Walter Scott, *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft* (London: John Murray, 1830), 64.

134. "Members of the Mercurii: Raphael, the Metropolitan Astrologer" [Robert C. Smith], *The Astrologer of the Nineteenth Century: Or, The Master Key of Futurity, and Guide to Ancient Mysteries, Being a Complete System of Occult Philosophy*, 7th ed. (London: Knight and Lacey, 1825), 212.

135. Noah Webster, *An American Dictionary of the English Language*, 2 vols. (New York: S. Converse, 1828), s.v. "Familiar."

136. "James D. Bemis & Co.," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 17 Nov. 1824, [4], including: "N.B. Any of the above Books may be had at the Wayne Bookstore [in Palmyra], at the publishers' prices"; "WEBSTER'S DICTIONARY," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 1 Oct. 1830, [3].

137. John Beaumont, *An Historical, Physiological, and Theological Treatise of Spirits ...* (London: D. Browne, 1705), 63; cf. Jean Jacques Boissard's *De Divinatione et Magicis ...*
138. Ronald W. Walker, "The Persisting Idea of American Treasure Hunting," *BYU Studies* 24 (Fall 1984): 432.
139. Benson Whittle untitled review, *BYU Studies* 27 (Fall 1987): 111, referred to this as a "now quaint phrase," yet I suspect that the phrase also sounded archaic in the nineteenth century. Still, non-LDS scholars also frequently use it for the events (claimed and counter-claimed) leading to the book's publication. I believe that "coming forth of the *Book of Mormon*" resonates for both Mormons and non-Mormons because it suggests there was a long and complex background to the 1830 publication. That is certainly why I use the phrase.
140. J. Gordon Melton, ed., *Encyclopedia of Occultism & Parapsychology*, 4th ed., 2 vols. (Detroit, MI: Gale Research/International Thompson Publishing, 1996), 2:914-16, 1050.
141. R. Gary Shapiro, *An Exhaustive Concordance of the Book of Mormon, Doctrine and Covenants and Pearl of Great Price* (Salt Lake City: Hawkes Publishing, 1977), 853; Eldin Ricks's *Thorough Concordance of the LDS Standard Works: Book of Mormon, Doctrine and Covenants, Pearl of Great Price* (Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1995), 651.
142. "The Coming Forth of the Book of Mormon," *Ensign* 13 (Dec. 1983): 31.
143. Loren R. Fisher, "Can This Be the Son of David?" in F. Thomas Trotter, ed., *Jesus and the Historian* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1968), 86.
144. Caleb Gilman, "Tractatio Brevis de Mundo Luminoso: or A Brief Discovery of the Wonderful Mystery of the Divine Magia: the Greatest of All Secrets. Manifested thro the Glass of Divine Wisdom, in the Light of Eternal Nature. Written July 4:th Anno Christi 1708," manuscript (emphasis added), William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, University of California at Los Angeles; Fremont Rider, ed., *The American Genealogical-Biographical Index*, 186+ vols. (Middletown, CT: The Godfrey Memorial Library, 1952-96+), 63:s.v. "Caleb Gilman."
145. Ann Hark, "Erdspiegel Mystery," *The American-German Review* 7 (June 1941): 11.
146. D. P. Thompson, *May Martin; or, The Money Diggers. A Green Mountain Tale* (Montpelier, VT: E. P. Walton, 1835), 98 (emphasis added).
147. Gerard T. Hurley, "Buried Treasure Tales in America," *Western Folklore Quarterly* 10 (July 1951): 203; also pages 403 (note 254) and 473 (note 213).
148. Ostler, "Book of Mormon as a Modern Expansion of an Ancient Source," 72, 71; also Grant Underwood, *The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 107.
149. Clyde J. Williams, "Standard Works," in Ludlow, *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 3:1415-16.
150. Elsdon C. Smith, *New Dictionary of American Family Names* (New York: Harper, 1973), 359-60.
151. *Oxford English Dictionary*, 6:647.
152. William Warburton, *The Divine Legation of Moses ...*, 2d ed. rev., 4 vols. (London: Fletcher Gyles, 1738-65), 2:154; Smellie, *Encyclopaedia*, 12:343; Henry Charles Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain*, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1906-07), 4:180.
153. Pierre LeLoyer, *A Treatise of Specters ... as also of Witches, Sorcerers, Enchanters, and such like* (London: Matthew Lownes, 1605), 15.
154. *Oxford English Dictionary*, 6:665.
155. James Orchard Halliwell, *A Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words*, 2 vols. (London: John Russell Smith, 1850), 2:561.
156. Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language*, 2 vols. (London: J.F. and C. Rivington, 1785), s.v. "Mormo"; Webster, *American Dictionary of the English Language* (1828), s.v. "Mormo"; "PALMYRA Book Store," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 5 May 1824, [3]; "New Books," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 11 Dec. 1829, [3].

157. "Mr. Howe," *The Telegraph* (Painesville, OH), 1 Mar. 1831, [3]; Kirkham, *New Witness*, 2:96; Eber D. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled ...* (Painesville, OH: By the author, 1834), 21.
158. Joseph Smith, "To the EDITOR of the TIMES & SEASONS," *Times and Seasons* 4 (15 May 1843): 194.
159. Harold Lundstrom, "Original Words of the Book of Mormon," *Improvement Era* 51 (Feb. 1948): 86.
160. Lundstrom, "Original Words of the Book of Mormon," 86. By contrast, J. Newton Brown, ed., *Fessenden & Co.'s Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge ...* (Brattleboro, VT: Fessenden and Co.; Boston: Shattuck & Co., 1835), 64: "ALMAH; a Hebrew word signifying properly a virgin." Brown's encyclopedia had five reprints during Joseph Smith's life, and afterwards had multiple printings by Philadelphia publisher Lippincott. This popularized encyclopedia was based on earlier books by biblical scholars, but I have not verified this definition of "ALMAH" in a pre-1835 book.
161. Yigael Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba: The Rediscovery of the Legendary Hero of the Second Jewish Revolt Against Rome* (New York: Random House, 1971), 176; Hugh W. Nibley untitled review, *BYU Studies* 14 (Autumn 1973): 121.
162. Francis Lieber, ed., *Encyclopaedia Americana*, 13 vols. (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea, and Carey, 1829-33), 1:187 (emphasis in original). To avoid possible confusion with recent editions of *Encyclopaedia Americana*, this chapter's subsequent citations list the years of the edition being cited.
163. Shapiro, *Exhaustive Concordance*, 132; Eldin Ricks's *Thorough Concordance*, 103.
164. Henry Neuman and Guiseppe M. A. Baretii, *Neuman and Baretii's Dictionary of the Spanish and English Languages*, 2 vols. (Boston: Hilliard, Gray, Little, and Wilkins, 1828), 1:40, 2:506.
165. Sloane MS 3846, folio 28b, Manuscript Department, British Museum-Library, London, England.
166. Add. MS 36,674, folio 66, British Museum-Library; Sloane MS 3846, folio 88.
167. Hugh W. Nibley, *An Approach to the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Council of the Twelve Apostles of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1957), 62, 251.
168. Rees, *Cyclopaedia*, s.v. "Lehi"; also "NEW BOOKS," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 3 June 1817, [3], for the Rees encyclopedia.
169. Don Yoder, "Hohman and Romanus: Origins and Diffusion of the Pennsylvania German Powwow Manual," in Wayland D. Hand, ed., *American Folk Medicine: A Symposium* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 240.
170. 1. Daniel Rupp, *History of Northhampton, Lehigh, Monroe, Carbon and Schuylkill Counties* (Harrisburg, PA: Hickock and Catone, 1845), 111.
171. 2 Ne. 3:4-5; 2 Ne. 9:53; Jac. 5:25, 43; B.H. Roberts, *New Witnesses For God*, 3 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1909), 3:501-2; Robert J. Matthews, "Notes on 'Lehi's Travels,'" *BYU Studies* 12 (Spring 1972): 312-14; Paul R. Cheesman, *The World of the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1978), 23; Fred C. Collier, comp. and ed., *Unpublished Revelations of the Prophets and Presidents of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Collier's Publishing, 1981-93), 1:85; John L. Sorenson, *An Ancient American Setting for the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1985), 1-2; Frederick G. Williams III, *Did Lehi Land in Chile? An Assessment of the Frederick G. Williams Statement* (Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1988), reprinted in Welch, *Reexploring the Book of Mormon*, 57-61.
172. Johannes Faust, *Doktor Johannes Faust's Magia naturalis et immaturalis ...* (1505; Stuttgart: J. Scheible, 1849), 188; also vol. 5 in Johann Scheible, *Das Kloster*, 12 vols. (Stuttgart: J. Scheible, 1843-49).

173. Elijah Parish, *Sacred Geography* ... (Boston: Samuel T. Armstrong, 1813), s.v. "Nephi."
174. Balthazar Bekker, *The World Bewitched* ..., 4 vols. (London: R. Baldwin, 1695). 1:171; John Peter Stehelin [and Johann A. Eisenmenger, as the unacknowledged author], *The Traditions of the Jews ... To which is added A Preliminary Preface ... By the Reverend Mr. JOHN PETER STEHELIN, F.R.S.*, 2 vols. (London: G. Smith, 1742), 1:46 (Preface), 1:73 (main text), with same pagination in the 1748 edition titled *Rabinical [sic] Literature*.
175. Nibley, "Strange Thing in the Land," 74, citing (76n81) an 1840 publication by "Michael" Stuart (actually Moses Stuart); Nibley, *Enoch the Prophet*, 108; also "Review of Works on the Book of Enoch," *Christian Observer* [Boston and New York, as reprint of London original] 29 (July 1829): 420, "This is a gross and legendary interpretation ..."
176. Rees, *Cyclopaedia*, s.v. "Nephilim" and "Nephtin"; also "NEW BOOKS," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 3 June 1817, [3], for the Rees encyclopedia.
177. Hugh W. Nibley, "The Book of Mormon As a Mirror of the East," *Improvement Era* 51 (Apr. 1948): 203, 249, 251n10; Nibley, *Lehi in the Desert and the World of the Jaredites* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft Publishing, 1952), 29; also John Leland, *The Advantage and Necessity of the Christian Religion, Shewn From the State of Religion in the Antient [sic] Heathen World*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Anthony Finley, 1818), 1:209, "the Egyptians called the demiurgus, or maker of the world, Kneph," and J. C. Prichard, *An Analysis of the Egyptian Mythology* ... (London: John and Arthur Arch, 1819), 56, 146, 148, 161, discussed the Egyptian goddess "Nephthys."
178. G. R. S. Mead, trans., *Pistis Sophia, A Gnostic Gospel ... Now for the First Time Englished from Schwartz's [1851] Latin Version* ... (London: Theosophical Publishing Society, 1896), 378; also M. Gaster, trans. and ed., "The Sword of Moses," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Jan. 1896): 160, which aligned the *Pistis Sophia* directly to magic.
179. Faust, *Magia naturalis et innaturalis*, 188; "Abano, Pietro di. Conjurations for each day of the week ... 17th Century," manuscript, [40], Magic Collection, Manuscript Division, New York Public Library, New York City, New York.
180. *Claviculae Salomonis & Theosophia Pneumatica* ... (Wesel: Andreas Luppius, 1686), "Vorrede."
181. Francis King, *Magic: The Western Tradition* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1975). 11-13, 98-103; also ch. 4.
182. William Enfield, *The History of Philosophy* ..., 2 vols. (London: J. Johnson, 1791). 2:220; also LeLoyer, *Treatise of Specters*, 30; Franciscus M. van Helmont, *Seder Olam: Or, the Order, Series, or Succession of All the Ages* ..., trans. J. Clark (London: Sarah Howkins, 1694), 151; Stehelin [and Eisenmenger], *Traditions of the Jews*, 1:244 (main text), 2:107, with same pagination in the 1748 edition titled *Rabinical [sic] Literature*; John Allen, *Modern Judaism: or, A Brief Account of the Opinions, Traditions, Rites, and Ceremonies of the Jews in Modern Times*, 2d ed., rev. (1816; London: R. B. Seeley and W. Burnside, 1830), 191-92. Helmont's 1694 book was an expansion of his *Cabbalistical Dialogue*.
183. "BOOK-STORE, In Canandaigua," *Western Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 20 Mar. 1804, [3]; "FALL SUPPLY," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 28 Nov. 1827, [1]; "FALL Supply," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 9 Jan. 1828, [4]; *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 160:18.
184. Beaumont, *Historical, Physiological, and Theological Treatise of Spirits*, 90.
185. "History of Joseph Smith," *Times and Seasons* 3 (15 Apr. 1842): 753; *Pearl of Great Price: Being a Choice Selection from the Revelations, Translations, and Narrations of Joseph Smith, First Prophet, Seer, and Revelator to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Liverpool, Eng.: F.D. Richards, 1851), 41. See also page 460, note 47.
186. Paul R. Cheesman, *The Keystone of Mormonism: Little Known Truths About the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1973), 27-31; Scott H. Faulring, ed., *An American Prophet's Record: The Diaries and Journals of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature

Books/Smith Research Associates, 1987), 6; Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:8, 277, with 277n1 (for Brigham H. Roberts's original use of "a clerical error" to describe this entry).

Fifty years before Roberts did his editing, Apostle Orson Pratt made a correction in Smith's use of "Nephi" for this angel's visit, when Pratt quoted it in the 1853 edition of Lucy Mack Smith's history. See Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith*, 79, 79n, with "Preface" by Orson Pratt. As official Church Historian in 1876, Pratt wrote: "You inquire whether it was the Angel Nephi or Moroni who visited the Prophet on the Night of the 21st and 22nd of September 1823? As Moroni holds the keys of the Stick of the Record of Ephraim, (See B. of Cov., pp. 201, 322) we have reason to believe that Moroni was the angel. The discrepancy in the history to which you refer may have occurred through the ignorance or carelessness of the historian or transcriber. ... The prophet often received visits from Nephi, Moroni, Peter, James, John (the Beloved), John (the Baptist), Elijah, Moses, The Three Nephites, etc., etc. In giving the instructions which these angels imparted to him in a verbal manner, it would not be surprising that some of these hearers should innocently confound and intermix the names of the angels." See Orson Pratt to John Christensen, 11 Mar. 1876, LDS archives, published fully in Ronald Vern Jackson, *The Seer, Joseph Smith: His Education From the Most High*, 3d ed. (Salt Lake City: Hawkes Publishing, 1977), 129, but citing it (132n9) as letter of 2 Sept. 1878.

187. John C. Whitmer statement in "The Eight Witnesses," *The Historical Record* 7 (Oct. 1888): 621.

188. *History of the Church*, 1:28; *Elders' Journal of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints* 1 (July 1838): 42-43.

189. Nicholas Pierre Henri de Montfaucon Villars, *The Diverting History of the Count Gabalis*, 2d ed. (London: B. Lintott, 1714), 16-17.

190. Nibley, *Approach to the Book of Mormon*, 251.

191. Concerning 1 Nephi 7:3-17 in LDS editions published in Utah, and 1 Nephi 2:9-28 in editions published by the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in Missouri. *Book of Mormon* manuscript, microfilm, Department of Archives and Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; *Book of Mormon Critical Text: A Tool for Scholarly Reference*, 3 vols. (Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1987), 1:31, 31n252, 31n256; "O MS, p. 10," in Richard P. Howard, *Restoration Scriptures: A Study of Their Textual Development*, 2d ed., rev. and enl. (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1995), 12-13, and 271 for photo of original manuscript with uses of "lamen"; also Dean C. Jessee, "The Original Book of Mormon Manuscript," *BYU Studies* 10 (Spring 1970): 262-63, 270-71, 273, for discussion of the scribes.

192. Henry Cornelius Agrippa [alleged], *Henry Cornelius Agrippa: His Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy*, trans. Robert Turner (London: J. Harrison, 1655), 59-63, also 1665 edition (58-60), 1783 edition (110-12); Francis Barrett, *The Magus, or Celestial Intelligencer; Being A Complete System of Occult Philosophy*, 2 vols. in 1 vol. (London: Lackington, Allen, 1801), 11:94-96.

193. Thomas Vaughan, *Magica Adamica, or the Antiquity of Magic* (1650), reprinted in Arthur Edward Waite, ed., *The Works of Thomas Vaughan ...* (London: Theosophical Publishing House, 1919), 171; *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 631:41.

194. Nibley, *Lehi in the Desert*; Nibley, *Approach to the Book of Mormon*; Hugh W. Nibley, *Since Cumorah: The Book of Mormon in the Modern World* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1967); John A. Tvedtnes, "The Language of My Father," *New Era* 1 (May 1971): 19; Paul Richard Jesclard, "A Comparison of the Nephite Monetary System with the Egyptian System of Measure," *Society for Early Historic Archaeology Newsletter* 134 (Oct. 1974): 1-5; John L. Sorenson and Robert F. Smith, "Two Figurines From the Belleza & Sanchez Collection," in Welch, *Reexploring the Book of Mormon*, 18-19; Brian D. Stubbs, "Book of Mormon Language," in Ludlow, *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 1:179-81.

195. Beaumont, *Historical, Physiological, and Theological Treatise of Spirits*, 369; John Beaumont, *Gleanings of Antiquities* (London: J. Roberts, 1724), 69; Chambers, *Cyclopaedia*, 1:282; Smellie, *Encyclopaedia*, 12:785.
196. James H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 2 vols. (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983-85), 1:943.
197. Chambers, *Cyclopaedia*, 1:249; Smellie, *Encyclopaedia*, 8:504; Rees, *Cyclopaedia*, s.v. "Hieroglyphics"; also "NEW BOOKS," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 3 June 1817, [3], for the Rees encyclopedia.
198. *The Magic of Kirani ...* (London: N.p., 1685), "Preface," [12].
199. Thomas Gage, *A New Survey of the West-Indies*, 4th ed. (London: A. Clark, 1699), 389, 387; *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 188:670-73.
200. John Heydon, *The Holy Guide, Leading the Way to Unite Art and Nature* (London: T. M., 1662), 11.
201. Rawlinson MS D252, folio 45b, Manuscript Department, Bodleian Library, Oxford University, Oxford, England.
202. Vaughan, *Magica Adamica, or the Antiquity of Magic*, 171-72.
203. Dan Vogel, *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1986), 80n47.
204. C. Wilford Griggs, "The Book of Mormon As an Ancient Book," *BYU Studies* 22 (Summer 1982): 263-68.
205. Joseph Smith, Jr., "To the Elders of the Church of the Latter Day Saints," *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* 2 (Dec. 1835): 227; *The Essential Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1995), 74.
206. Peterson, "Chattanooga Cheapshot," 8, with his positions listed on inside of front cover.
207. Webster, *American Dictionary of the English Language* (1828), s.v. "occult" and "secret"; also William Perry, *The Royal Standard English Dictionary*, 3d ed. (Brookfield, MA: E. Merriam, 1806), 305.
208. JoAnn Carlton and John W. Welch, *Possible Linguistic Roots of Certain Book of Mormon Proper Names* (Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, [1981]), nos. 5, 5A.
209. Contrary to Novak untitled review (1993), 239n14, this is not "substitut[ing] any words I want in the Book of Mormon text, [so that] it is easy to make it say what I want and easy to support any thesis." Instead, this substitutes now (as it did in 1987) equivalent words as defined by Webster's 1828 dictionary. Novak should have consulted his better-informed editor Peterson, who emphasized the importance of that source to verify Smith's understanding of English words he used in the 1830 translation. Peterson's comment was in the same FARMS publication (page 8) where Novak ridiculed my word-substitution.
210. Chambers, *Cyclopaedia*, 2:630, 1:165; Smellie, *Encyclopaedia*, 7:796. In "Prophets and Gnostics," Hugh Nibley, *The World and the Prophets* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1954), 61, accepted the view that Gnostics "practised ordinary magic," and Nibley added (62) they "made a big thing of numerology."
211. D. Michael Quinn, trans. and ed., "The First Months of Mormonism: A Contemporary View by Rev. Diedrich Willers," *New York History* 54 (July 1973): 331.
212. Book of Moses, recorded in 1830, and included in *The Pearl of Great Price*, published at Salt Lake City in various editions, with verse citations (similar to the Bible) according to name of its constituent books. What the Utah Mormon church calls "The Book of Moses" is included with Genesis in *The Inspired Version of the Bible*, published at Independence, Missouri, in various editions by the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. See Robert J. Matthews, "A Plainer Translation": *Joseph Smith's Translation of the Bible, a History and Commentary* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1975),

219-32; Matthews, "Joseph Smith Translation of the Bible (JST)," in Ludlow, *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 2:763-69; also upcoming note 216.

213. I. Woodbridge Riley, *The Founder of Mormonism: A Psychological Study of Joseph Smith, Jr.* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1902), 160-63; Walter Franklin Prince, "Psychological Tests For the Authorship of the Book of Mormon," *American Journal of Psychology* 28 (July 1917): 376-77; Samuel H. Goodwin, "Mormonism and Masonry: Anti-Masonry in the Book of Mormon," *The Builder: Published by the National Masonic Research Society* 10 (Dec. 1924): 363-64; Brodie, *No Man Knows My History*, 65-66; Robert N. Hullinger, *Mormon Answer to Skepticism: Why Joseph Smith Wrote the Book of Mormon* (St. Louis, MO: Clayton Publishing House, 1980), 100-03; Jerald Tanner and Sandra Tanner, *Mormonism: Shadow or Reality?* 4th ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Modern Microfilm, 1982), 69-72; David Persuante, *Joseph Smith and the Origins of The Book of Mormon* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1985), 176-79; Rick Grunder, *Mormon Parallels: A Preliminary Bibliography of Material Offered for Sale, 1981-1987* (Ithaca, NY: Rick Grunder—Books, 1987), xxi-xxiv; Dan Vogel, "Mormonism's 'Anti-Masonick Bible,'" *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 9 (1989): 24-26, 29-30.

In pre-publication review for this revised edition, one reader advised me to substantially reduce the following discussion of Freemasonry. However, in view of the above interpreters and because of Michael W. Homer's 1994 published denial of my first edition's arguments about Masonic claims, I feel that the length and detail of the following discussion are necessary.

214. Stanley Upton Mock, *The Morgan Episode in American Free Masonry* (East Aurora, NY: Roycrofters, 1930); William Preston Vaughn, *The Anti-Masonic Party in the United States, 1826-1843* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1983), 1, 5, 21-34; Bobby J. Demott, *Freemasonry in American Culture and Society* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1986), 36-39; Steven C. Bullock, *Revolutionary Brotherhood: Freemasonry and the Transformation of the American Social Order, 1730-1840* (Williamsburg, VA: Institute of Early American History and Culture; Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 244, 277-94.

215. "At an Adjourned Meeting of Seceding Masons," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 18 July 1828, [1]; "MASONIC COMBINATION," *Palmyra Freeman* (Palmyra, NY), 28 Nov. 1828, [2]; untitled article, *Palmyra Freeman* (Palmyra, NY), 18 Mar. 1828, [3], col. 1, for reference to oaths; also Vogel, "Mormonism's 'Anti-Masonick Bible,'" 18, 22.

216. Daniel C. Peterson, "Notes on 'Gadianton Masonry,'" in Stephen D. Ricks and William J. Hamblin, eds., *Warfare in the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1990), 192. However, that does not challenge the evidence that the English phrase "secret combination" originated in anti-Masonic attacks on Freemasonry. To prove this point, it is necessary to find someone (preferably a non-Mason) using the phrase "secret combination" in a non-Masonic context before the anti-Masonic fury that began with the murder of William Morgan in 1826. My guess is that anti-Masons adopted an older phrase in vernacular speech, but pre-1826 written evidence is necessary to prove that the phrase originated completely outside a Masonic or anti-Masonic context. This evidence could be in diaries, letters, or publications.

Because I accepted Peterson's 1990 views on this matter, I was happy to read historian William J. Hamblin's brief statement in 1994 that "the supposed Gadianton-Masonry connection has been debunked by Daniel C. Peterson" (see Hamblin, "Apologist for the Critics," 499-500). He cited another of Peterson's articles which quoted an 1826 letter by Andrew Jackson denouncing Henry Clay's "secrete [sic] combinations of base slander." Peterson explained (187): "The importance of this passage should be obvious. Here, as I have said, we have [the first evidence of] a non-Masonic occurrence of the term 'secret combination' from the period immediately prior to the translation of the Book of Mormon." While I would welcome such evidence as confirmation of my own views, I cannot understand how Peterson construed this as "a non-Masonic occurrence." His text and a footnote acknow-

ledged that Jackson was an active Freemason attacking a lapsed Freemason, Henry Clay. The Jackson-Clay letter is a sarcastic use of an anti-Masonic phrase by one Freemason against another. This document does not support Peterson's claim (188) that the letter "definitively" disproves all claims for the exclusively anti-Masonic use of the phrase "secret combination." It also does not justify Hamblin's effusive praise (500) for "Peterson's withering critique" of the uniquely Masonic character of this phrase. See Daniel C. Peterson, "'Secret Combinations' Revisited," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies: Foundation for Ancient Research & Mormon Studies* 1 (Fall 1992): 187, 187n11, 188.

217. "Antimasonic Religion," *Geauga Gazette* (Painesville, OH), 15 Mar. 1831, typescript in box 2, Dale Lowell Morgan, "THE MORMONS AND THE FAR WEST: a collection of transcripts of newspaper articles on the Mormons, also containing material on the following subjects: the opening of the West; the fur trade; Indians of the middle and south-western states; the Santa Fe trade, etc. 1809-c. 1857," Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California; also typescript in fd 5, box 46, Madeline R. McQuown Papers, Manuscripts Division, Department of Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City; Vogel, "Mormonism's 'Anti-Masonick Bible,'" 17.

218. "We publish the following proceedings ..." *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 5 Oct. 1827, [3]; "LOOK OUT!" *Palmyra Freeman* (Palmyra, NY), 28 Nov. 1828, [3]; also Vogel, "Mormonism's 'Anti-Masonick Bible,'" 17n1; Michael W. Homer, "'Similarity of Priesthood in Masonry': The Relationship between Freemasonry and Mormonism," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 27 (Fall 1994): 20-21.

219. Postscript of Joseph Smith, Jr. and John Whitmer "To the Church in Colesville," 2 Dec. 1830, in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:22; also *Essential Joseph Smith*, 10 (which did not identify Whitmer as the co-author).

220. "MORMONITES," *The Sun* (Philadelphia), 18 Aug. 1831, [1], in Library of Congress, "Newspaper Articles About Mormonism, 1830-1844," microfilm, LDS archives.

221. James Anderson, *The Constitution of the Free-Masons*, 1st Am. ed. (1723; Philadelphia: Benjamin Franklin, 1734), 7, 9; Laurence Dermott, *The True Ahiman Rezon: or a Help to All That Are, or Would Be Free and Accepted Masons*, 1st Am. ed. (1756; New York: Southwick and Hardcastle, 1805), 13, 19; [no first name] Barberi, *The Life of Joseph Balsamo, Commonly Called Count Cagliostro* (London: Kearsley, 1791), 86-87; Frederick Dalcho, *An Ahiman Rezon, For the Use of the Grand Lodge of South-Carolina, Ancient York-Masons ...* (Charleston, SC: Marchant, Willington, 1807), 2, 215.

222. [Henry Dana Ward], *Free Masonry ...* (New York: N.p., 1828), 2, 7, 27.

223. Friedrich Ludwig Schroeder, *Ritualsammlung*, nr. 1 (Rudolstadt, 1805), trans. Art deHoyos in *Collectanea*, 16+ vols. (Washington, D.C.: Grand College of Rites of the United States of America, 1932-97+), 16 (1997), pt. 2:85; also *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 530:287.

224. Augustin Barruel, *Memoirs, Illustrating the History of Jacobinism*, trans. Robert Clifford, 1st Am. ed., 4 vols. (1798; Hartford, CT: Hudson and Goodwin; New York: Isaac Collins; Elizabethtown, NJ: Shepard Collock, 1799), esp. 2:158; John Robison, *Proofs of a Conspiracy Against All the Religions and Governments of Europe, Carried On in the Secret Meetings of Free Masons, Illuminati, and Reading Societies*, 4th ed. (New York: George Foreman, 1798); also Hannah Adams, *Dictionary of All Religions and Religious Denominations*, 4th ed. (New York: James Eastburn, 1817), 135; [Ward], *Free Masonry*, 36, 275.

225. [David Brewster], *History of Freemasonry ...* (Edinburgh: A. Lawrie, 1804), 8; Joshua Bradley, *Some of the Beauties of Free-Masonry ...* (Rutland, VT: Fay and Davison, 1816), 19; Simon Greenleaf, *A Brief Inquiry Into the Origin and Principles of Free Masonry* (Portland, ME: Arthur Shirly, 1820), 9. Bradley's book, inscribed by Brigham Young, is in Daughters of Utah Pioneers Museum, Salt Lake City, Utah.

226. Dalcho, *Ahiman Rezon, For the Use of the Grand Lodge*, 2, 215; also Salem Town, *A System of Speculative Masonry*, 2d ed. (Salem, NY: H. Dodd, 1822), 82, 109-110.

227. Thomas S. Webb, *The Freemason's Monitor* ... (New York: Southwick and Crooker, 1802), 245-46, 247; also ch. 1, for the Tetragrammaton and its transliteration as JHVH or YHWH.
228. [Ward], *Free Masonry*, 381.
229. George Oliver, *The Antiquities of Free-Masonry, Comprising Illustrations of the Five Grand Periods of masonry From the Creation of the World to the Dedication of King Solomon's Temple*, rev. ed. (1823; Lodgeton, KY: Rob. Morris, 1856), 8, 14, also 9, 13. *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 429:569, shows printings in 1823, 1843, 1856.
230. "Masonry," *THE ESCRITOIR: Or, Masonic and Miscellaneous Album* 1 (25 Feb. 1826): [33]; advertised near Joseph Smith's home as "THE ESCRITOIR," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 3 Jan. 1826, [4], 7 Apr. 1826, [3]. This New York periodical published in Albany, New York, listed this article as a reprint from an 1822 publication by the Grand Lodge of South Carolina. That was the second edition of Dalcho's *Ahiman Rezon, For the Use of the Grand Lodge*.
231. "ANTIQUITY OF MASONRY," *Palmyra Freeman* (Palmyra, NY), 18 Mar. 1828, [3].
232. "History of Free Masonry," *Anti-Masonic Review and Monthly Magazine* 1 (1828): 189, 329, 340-41; "The Masonic Review and Anti-Masonic Magazine," *Palmyra Freeman* (Palmyra, NY), 28 Nov. 1828, [4].
233. I have only had access to the *Ontario Phoenix*, volume 3, beginning in 1830, which reprinted articles from the *Anti-Masonic Review* of that same year. I have assumed that this also occurred in 1828.
234. James C. Odiome, *Opinions on Speculative Masonry, Relative to Its Origin, Nature, and Tendency* (Boston: Perkins and Marvin, 1830), 5, 9, 10, 11.
235. *The Proceedings of the United States Anti-Masonic Convention, Held at Philadelphia, September 11, 1830* (Philadelphia: J. P. Trimble, 1830), 33, 36.
236. Untitled introduction, *Anti-Masonic Review and Monthly Magazine* 1 (1828): 133.
237. *Proceedings of the United States Anti-Masonic Convention, Held at Philadelphia, September 11, 1830*, 101.
238. Lebbeus Armstrong, *Masonry Proved To Be a Work of Darkness* ... (1830; New York: J. A. Lewis, 1831), 3.
239. Solomon Southwick, *An Oration: Delivered, By Appointment, On the Fourth Day of July, A.D. 1828, In Presence of the Convention of Seceding Freemasons, and a Vast Concourse of Their Fellow Citizens, at the Presbyterian Church, In the Village of LeRoy, in the County of Genesee, and State of New York* (Albany: 1828), 27 (for first quote), 6 (for second quote). In his letter to D. Michael Quinn, 6 Jan. 1998, Kent Walgren quoted *American Masonic Record and Albany Saturday Magazine* 2 (2 Aug. 1828), 215, which summarized Southwick's talk "that Masonry was the sole cause of introducing sin into our world, in the Garden of Eden!!!! This is a thumper—if the Masons have got to father all the sins that have been committed since the days of Adam and Eve, they most assuredly will have a dreadful account to render at the last day."
240. Peter Sanborn, *Minutes of an Address, Delivered Before the Anti-Masonic Convention of Reading, Mass. January 15, 1829. Together with a Review of Mr Knapp's Defence of Masonry* (Boston: Free Press, 1829), 16.
241. Robison, *Proofs of a Conspiracy*, 57; Barruel, *Memoirs, Illustrating the History of Jacobinism*, 2:182; Marsha Keith Manatt Schuchard, "Freemasonry, Secret Societies, and the Continuity of the Occult Traditions in English Literature," Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1975, 198-200, 284.
242. Stevenson, *Origins of Freemasonry: Scotland's Century, 1590-1710*, 144-45.
243. "History of Free Masonry," *Anti-Masonic Review and Monthly Magazine* 1 (1828): 192, 339; Odiome, *Opinions on Speculative Masonry*, 7, 9-10.
244. "History of Free Masonry," *Anti-Masonic Review and Monthly Magazine* 1 (1828):

185, 191; *Ontario Phoenix*; Odiorne, *Opinions on Speculative Masonry*, 1-2, 6. Although most authors date the movement from the publication of Rosicrucian "manifestos" in 1610-14, William H. Huffman, *Robert Fludd and the End of the Renaissance* (London: Routledge, 1988), 162, noted that these manifestos were circulating in manuscript twenty years earlier. While denying that the Rosicrucians existed as an actual organization in the seventeenth century, Stevenson, *Origins of Freemasonry*, 101, observed: "The Rosicrucian legend had, however, been absorbed into the culture of the day"; compare with my discussion of Rosicrucianism as an intellectual tradition in ch. 4.

245. Rees, *Cyclopaedia*, s.v. "Cain"; Paul, "Joseph Smith and the Manchester (New York) Library," 349; "NEW BOOKS," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 3 June 1817, [3], for the Rees encyclopedia; "NEW BOOKS at the Palmyra Book Store," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 1 Dec. 1826, [3], and "NEW BOOKS," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 19 Dec. 1828, [3], for Josephus; Flavius Josephus, *The Genuine Works of Flavius Josephus*, trans. William Whiston, 6 vols. (Worcester, MA: Isaiah Thomas, 1794), 1.85. This was the same translation and number of volumes, as the set in Joseph Smith's hometown library, but was a different imprint. However, this was the printing available to me.

246. Charlesworth, *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 1:946; also see following note 303.

247. Richard Bovet, *Pandaemonium, or the Devil's Cloyster* (London: J. Walthoe, 1684), 86-87.

248. Ostler, "Book of Mormon as a Modern Expansion of an Ancient Source," 74. Vogel, "Mormonism's 'Anti-Masonic Bible,'" 29, specifically responded to Ostler's argument against a Masonic interpretation, but simply listed (19n10) my analysis as "worthy of notice. However, an analysis of these interpretations is beyond the limits of this essay."

249. Beaumont, *Historical, Physiological, and Theological Treatise of Spirits*, 294.

250. John Bartram, *Observations on the Inhabitants, Climate, Soil, Rivers, Productions, Animals, and other matters worthy of Notice, Made By Mr. John Bartram, In His Travels from Pennsylvania To Onondago, Oswego and the Lake Ontario, In Canada* (London: Whiston and White, 1751), 77, 79; also Vogel, *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*.

251. Antonio del Rio and Pablo Felix Cabrera, *Description of the Ruins of an Ancient City, Discovered Near Palenque, in the Kingdom of Guatemala in Spanish America; translated from the Original Manuscript Report of Captain Don Antonio del Rio: Followed by Teatro Critico Americano; or A Critical Investigation and Research into the History of the Americas, By Doctor Paul Felix Cabrera, of the City of New Guatemala* (London: Henry Berthoud, 1822), 38-46, 105; John M. Cooper, "Northern Algonkian Scrying and Scapulimancy," in W. Koppers, ed., *Festschrift Publication d'Homage offerte au P.W. Schmidt* (Vienna: Mechtharisten-Congregations, 1928), 205-17; Lewis Spence, *The Magic and Mysteries of Mexico, or The Arcane Secrets and Occult Lore of the Ancient Mexicans and Maya* (London: Rider, 1930), 107, 228.

252. Daniel G. Brinton, "Nagualism: A Study in Native American Folk-lore and History," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 33 (Jan. 1894): 20-21.

253. Awnsham Churchill, *A Collection of Voyages and Travels, Some Now first Printed from Original Manuscripts, Others Now first Published in English*, 6 vols. (London: John Walthoe, 1732), 4:670, 5:557; *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 109:263-64; also Gage, *New Survey of the West-Indies*, 378.

254. Frederick Henry Quitman, *A Treatise on Magic, or, On the Intercourse Between Spirits and Men: With Annotations* (Albany, NY: Balance Press, 1810), 40.

255. Israel Worsley, *A View of the American Indians ... Shewing Them To Be the Descendants of The Ten Tribes of Israel* (London: R. Hunter, 1828), 81, 182.

256. William J. Whalen, *The Latter-day Saints in the Modern Day World: An Assessment of Contemporary Mormonism* (New York: John Day, 1964), 197; Tanner and Tanner, *Mormonism: Shadow or Reality?*, 71.

257. Johann Andreas Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, 2 vols. (Koenigsberg: N.p., 1711), 1:836; Sabine Baring-Gould, *Legends of the Patriarchs and Prophets and Other Old*

Testament Characters (New York: Holt and Williams, 1872), 69, 72-73. I overlooked this in my note-taking from English editions of Eisenmenger's book.

258. Charlesworth, *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 1:48.

259. "Review of Works on the Book of Enoch," *Christian Observer* [Boston and New York, as reprint of London original] 29 (July 1829): 418 (for reference to the Cabala), 421 (for quote).

260. "The Apocryphal Book of Enoch," *Latter-Day Saints' Millennial Star* 1 (July 1840): 61. Apostle Parley P. Pratt was the editor (49).

261. M. Gaster, trans. and ed., "The Sword of Moses," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Jan. 1896): 153-54.

262. For example, Thomas Cooper, *The Mystery of Witch-Craft* (London: N. Oakes, 1617), 57, 61-65, 70, 177; Rossell Hope Robbins, *The Encyclopedia of Witchcraft and Demonology* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1959), 371.

263. William Godwin, *Lives of the Necromancers ...* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1835), 40; also Jeffrey B. Russell, *A History of Witchcraft: Sorcerers, Heretics, and Pagans* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980), 55, "the idea of pact was crucial."

264. John Jamieson, *An Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: University Press, 1808), s.v. "Mahoun"; Jamieson, *An Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language*, 4 vols. (Paisley, Scot.: Alexander Gardner, 1879-82), 3:205; Thomas Davidson, *Rowan Tree and Red Thread: A Scottish Witchcraft Miscellany of Tales, Legends and Ballads; Together with a Description of the Witches' Rites and Ceremonies* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1949), 278. Despite the name's spelling, an 1818 publication showed that "Mahoun" was pronounced "Mahan" to rhyme with "region" and "garrison." See Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, "Introduction" to Robert Law, *Memorials ...* (Edinburgh: A. Constable, 1818), xxii, note. Law's book may also have been on sale in the Palmyra area.

265. "Popular Superstitions," *American Quarterly Review* 6 (June 1828): 423; "NEW BOOKS," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 9 Jan. 1828, [3], for local sales of this periodical.

266. James Sibbald, *Chronicle of Scottish Poetry*, 4 vols. (Edinburgh: C. Stewart, 1802), 1:291; also Davidson, *Rowan Tree and Red Thread: A Scottish Witchcraft Miscellany*, 234.

267. R. Burns Begg, "Notice of Trials for Witchcraft at Crook of Devon, Kinross-Shire, in 1662," *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 22 (1888): 234, 237; William A. Craigie, A. J. Aitken, and James A. C. Stevenson, eds., *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue from the Twelfth Century to the End of the Seventeenth*, 7+ vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937-90+), 4:12.

268. "BOOKS," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 22 June 1813, [2]; "New Publications," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 5 Oct. 1813, [4]; "Canandaigua BOOK-STORE," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 23 May 1815, [4]; "T. C. Strong, Book-Seller & Printer," *Palmyra Register* (Palmyra, NY), 15 Sept. 1818, [3]; "NEW BOOKS," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 11 Feb. 1823, [1]; "PALMYRA Book Store," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 5 May 1824, [3]; "Just Received At the Wayne Bookstore," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 4 Oct. 1825, [4]; "NEW BOOKS at the Palmyra Book Store," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 1 Dec. 1826, [3]; "FALL SUPPLY," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 28 Nov. 1827, [1]; "NEW BOOKS," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 9 Jan. 1828, [3]; compare with entries in *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*.

269. "New Publications," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 5 Oct. 1813, [4], for "Lay of the Scottish Fiddle," the "Highlanders, and Other Poems," and the "Lyric Muse of Scotland" (the subtitle of George Thomson's six-volume collection of Scottish poetry and songs); "Canandaigua BOOK-STORE," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 23 May 1815, [4]; and "PALMYRA Book Store," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 5 May 1824, [3], and "Just Received At the Wayne Bookstore," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 4 Oct. 1825, [4], both of

which advertised the three-volume "Reliques of Ancient English Poetry"; compare with entries in *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*.

270. Heinrich Kramer and James Sprenger, *The Malleus Maleficarum of Heinrich Kramer and James Sprenger*, trans. Montague Summers (1484; New York: Dover, 1971), 14, 16; Thomas Heywood, *The Hierarchie of the Blessed Angels ...* (London: Adam Islip, 1635), 469; John Gaule, *The Mag-Astro-Mancer, or the Magicall-Astrologically-Diviner Posed, and Puzzled* (London: Joshua Kirton, 1652), 71-72; Richard Farnsworth, *Witchcraft Cast out from the Religious Seed and Israel of God, and the Black Art ...* (London: Giles Calvert, 1655), 10; Gabriel Naude, *The History of Magick ...*, trans. J. Davies (London: John Streater, 1657), 48, 72; Bovet, *Pandaemonium, or the Devil's Cloyster*, 10, 13-14; Beaumont, *Historical, Physiological, and Theological Treatise of Spirits*, 369; Daniel Defoe, *A System of Magick; or, A History of the Black Art* (London: J. Roberts, 1727), 141; Smellie, *Encyclopaedia*, 18:940; George Stanley Faber, *A Dissertation on the Mysteries of the Cabiri ...*, 2 vols. (Oxford, Eng.: Oxford University Press, 1803), 1:47, 2:154; Rees, *Cyclopaedia*, s.v. "Zoroaster"; Richard Laurence, trans., *The Book of Enoch the Prophet ...*, 2d ed., enl. (1821; Oxford, Eng.: J. H. Parker, 1833), 6-7, 10; Augustine Calmet, *The Phantom World ...*, 2 vols. (London: Richard Bentley, 1850), 1:64-65; Baring-Gould, *Legends of the Patriarchs and Prophets*, 109-10.

271. Jacob Boehme, *The Aurora*, trans. John Sparrow (1656; London: James Clarke, 1960), 409. I quote from the modern version for the convenience of the reader, but (closer to Smith's time) there was also an English publication in Boehme's collected works of 1764-81. See *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 63:214.

272. Baring-Gould, *Legends of the Patriarchs and Prophets*, 109-10, 124; also Gaule, *The Mag-Astro-Mancer*, 71.

273. Robert Calef, *More Wonders of the Invisible World ...* (London: Nath. Hillar and Joseph Collyer, 1700), 35, 93; *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 89:613; with analysis of evidence for a missing 1821 reprint in previous note 71.

274. Laurence, *Book of Enoch the Prophet* (1833 ed.), 167; also Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, 1:836. In 1829 a Protestant magazine printed in America criticized Laurence for citing the Cabala in his Enoch translation, which the magazine repudiated for its "astrological phraseology" (see previous note 259). Contrary to Stephen E. Robinson's untitled review, *BYU Studies* 27 (Fall 1987): 93, I am not the one who aligned pseudepigraphic teachings with magic traditions and the occult sciences. That was the view in Joseph Smith's generation, and continues to be the position of reputable scholars. See D. S. Russell, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Patriarchs and Prophets in Early Judaism* (London: SCM Press, 1987), 70, 81; Charlesworth, *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 1:943-44, 2:703; Lawrence H. Schiffman and Michael D. Swartz, *Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts From the Cairo Genizah: Selected Texts from Taylor-Schechter Box K1* (Sheffield, Eng.: Sheffield Academic Press/JSOT Press, 1992), 12; also following note 303.

275. Ostler, "Book of Mormon as a Modern Expansion of an Ancient Source," 80-83. For a polemical response, see Stephen E. Robinson, "The 'Expanded' Book of Mormon?" in Monte S. Nyman and Charles D. Tate, Jr., eds., *The Book of Mormon: Second Nephi, The Doctrinal Structure* (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1989), 391-413.

276. Richard Laurence, trans., *Ascensio Isaiae ...* [Ethiopian, Latin, and English text of the "Ascension of Isaiah"] (Oxford, Eng.: University Press, 1819), 105, 109, 133 (emphasis added).

277. Kurt Rudolph, *Gnosis: The Nature and History of Gnosticism*, trans. Robert McLachlan Wilson (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1983), 172-75; also for the ascent in shamanism to the present, see Mircea Eliade, *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*, trans. Willard R. Trask (New York: Bollingen Foundation/Pantheon Books/Random House, 1964), 5, 58, 76, 85, 89, 112, 119-22, 127-44, 194-97.

278. Horne, *Introduction To the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures*

- (1825), 1:631-33 (on the Christian doctrines in Laurence's Enoch), 633-34 (on the Christian doctrines in Laurence's Isaiah, with my quote from 634).
279. "Review of Works on the Book of Enoch," *Christian Observer* [Boston and New York, as reprint of London original] 29 (Aug. 1829): 503.
280. *History of the Church*, 1:35; D&C 7.
281. John Heydon, *The English Physitians Guide: or a Holy Guide ...* (London: T. M., 1662), "Preface," [11, 17].
282. For background and significance see, James R. Clark, *The Story of the Pearl of Great Price* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1955), 56-186; Jay M. Todd, *The Saga of the Book of Abraham* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1969); Hugh Nibley, *Abraham in Egypt* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1981), 1-55, 116-48; H. Donl Peterson, *The Pearl of Great Price: A History and Commentary* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1987), 36-55; Peterson, "Sacred Writings from the Tombs of Egypt," in Peterson and Charles D. Tate, Jr., eds., *The Pearl of Great Price: Revelations From God* (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1989), 137-53; "Book of Abraham," in Ludlow, *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 1:132-38; Peterson, *The Story of the Book of Abraham: Mummies, Manuscripts, and Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1995).
283. Barrett, *Magus*, 1:85.
284. Bernard Picart, *The Ceremonies and Religious Customs of the Various Nations of the Known World ...*, 7 vols. (London: William Jackson/Claude Du Bosc, 1733-39), 1:136; also Rees, *Cyclopaedia*, s.v. "Cabbala"; Hannah Adams, *History of the Jews From the Destruction of Jerusalem to the Nineteenth Century*, 2 vols. (Boston: John Eliot, Jr., 1812), 1:125.
285. Stehelin [and Eisenmenger], *Traditions of the Jews*, 1:42 (Preface), with same pagination in the 1748 edition titled *Rabinical [sic] Literature*.
286. Stehelin [and Eisenmenger], *Traditions of the Jews*, 1:160 (main text), with same pagination in the 1748 edition titled *Rabinical [sic] Literature*.
287. Ebenezer Sibly, *A New and Complete Illustration of the Occult Sciences* (London: Champante and Whitrow, 1784), 1067; Members of the Mercurii [Robert C. Smith], *Astrologer of the Nineteenth Century ... a Complete System of Occult Philosophy*, 518.
288. Henry More, *Conjectura Cabbalastica. Or, A Conjectural Essay of Interpreting the minde of Moses, according to a Threefold Cabbala ...* (London: James Fletcher, 1653), 35-36.
289. Joseph Fielding Smith, *Doctrines of Salvation*, comp. Bruce R. McConkie, 3 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1954-56), 1:73-74; Bruce R. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine*, 2d ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1966), 210-11.
290. *Journal of Discourses*, 1:281 (O. Pratt/1852); *The Essential Orson Pratt* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1991), 240.
291. Fred C. Collier, comp. and ed., *Teachings of President Brigham Young*, Vol 3: 1852-1854 (Salt Lake City: Collier's Publishing, 1987), 241, also in *Essential Brigham Young*, 82.
292. *Journal of Discourses*, 3:277 (B. Young/1856).
293. *Journal of Discourses*, 5:172, for first quote (H. C. Kimball/1857), 6:36, for second quote (H. C. Kimball/1857).
294. Henry Cornelius Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (London: Gregory Moule, 1651), 329-30; also Harley MS 6482, folio 100, British Museum-Library.
295. Sigmund Mowinckel, *Religion and Cult*, trans. John F. X. Sheehan (1950; Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1981), 15.
296. Richard F. Burton, *The City of the Saints, and Across the Rocky Mountains To California* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1862), 385; also Burton's occult interests in Schuchard, "Freemasonry, Secret Societies, and the Continuity of the Occult Traditions in English Literature," 543; Joscelyn Godwin, *The Theosophical Enlightenment* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1994), 173.
297. Vaughan, *Magica Adamica, or the Antiquity of Magic*, 149.

298. S. C. Malen, trans., *The Book of Adam and Eve* ... (London: Williams and Norgate, 1882), 24. This was translated from Ethiopian into German in 1853 and into English in 1882.

299. Charlesworth, *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 1:45; also Laurence, *Book of Enoch the Prophet* (1833 ed.), 6-10.

300. Laurence, *Book of Enoch the Prophet* (1833 ed.), 25; Charlesworth, *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 1:32-33, 50-58.

301. Laurence, *Book of Enoch the Prophet* (1833 ed.), 56, 159; Charlesworth, *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 1:38, 45-64, 76.

302. Laurence, *Book of Enoch the Prophet* (1833 ed.), 27, 46; Charlesworth, *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 1:35-37.

303. Robinson untitled review (1987), 93, claimed there were serious errors in what I defined as "the occult traditions of Judaism and Christianity." He explained that "the [Hebrew] Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, New Testament Apocrypha, and Josephus may have presented a minority view at times, but they had little or nothing to do with magic and the occult. This is another of Quinn's switches, using 'occult' in one sense to create data, then using it in a completely different sense to make the data part of 'the magic world view.'" For Robinson as a FARMS polemicist, see Daniel C. Peterson, "Editor's Introduction," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 4 (1992): ix, note 6, as reference to one of Robinson's "polemical" reviews in a previous issue.

Reputable modern scholars have written about "magic and the occult" in the Pseudepigrapha, both before and after Robinson's claim to the contrary. See Russell, *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 70, 81; Charlesworth, *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 1:943-44, 2:703; Everett Ferguson, "Testament of Solomon," in Ferguson, ed., *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, 2d ed., 2 vols. (New York: Garland Publishing, 1997), 2:1109. In addition, Tom Ogden, *Wizards and Sorcerers: From Abracadabra To Zoroaster* (New York: Facts On File, 1997), 95, included the pseudepigraphic "Testament of Solomon" among the grimoires (handbooks) of ceremonial magic. It is interesting that a non-specialist was aware of this scholarship on the pseudepigrapha, yet BYU's biblical specialist Robinson was not.

In direct contradiction to Robinson's assertion, Schiffman and Swartz, *Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 12, included both the Pseudepigrapha and Apocrypha as magic texts. "Jews had long been involved in magical texts. From the Dead Sea Scrolls, apocrypha and pseudepigrapha, and Talmudic and Hellenistic literature, and the Aramaic magic bowls from Babylonia, we know of a continuous tradition of the practice of magic thought to be beneficial and, sometimes, even harmful, by some elements of the population."

As with all of Robinson's polemical tactics, it is also interesting to note what he omitted from my discussion, what he emphasized, and what he introduced that I did not mention. From my first use of the phrase "occult traditions" to this final reference that Robinson seized upon, my discussion and quotes in 1987 referred to the following: Egyptian hieroglyphics and religion-magic (22 times), Pseudepigrapha, including the Ethiopian Book of Enoch (15 times), Cabala (15 times), Rosicrucianism (9 times), Gnosticism (2 times), Hebrew Apocrypha (2 times), Zoroastrianism (1 time), Josephus (1 time), New Testament Apocrypha (not once).

More than any other topic, I referred to the "occult traditions" of Egypt, because nine of eleven times I used the quoted term generally. By emphasizing the one occasion where I wrote "the occult traditions of Judaism and Christianity," Robinson could justify his failure to mention Egypt. I suppose he would say it was merely "a coincidence" that this deftly omitted my discussion of a topic that occurred more than the combined total of references to topics he did mention.

He was certainly correct that I frequently discussed the pseudepigrapha and the Book of Enoch in relation to magic and the occult. He did not acknowledge my quotes from the latter's statements against "occult powers" and sorcery. A few pages beyond the "occult traditions" quote which Robinson selected for commentary, I also noted that the 1819 preface

for the *Ascent of Isaiah* recommended the Cabala as a means of understanding this pseudepigraphic work. He did not acknowledge this.

That omission brings up Robinson's crucial deletions from my discussion of "the occult traditions of Judaism and Christianity." He failed to mention my twenty-seven total references to Cabala, Zoroastrianism, Gnosticism, and Rosicrucianism. These all have magic and occult traditions so well-known that even Robinson could not deny their existence. Rather than face that challenge, Robinson pretended they were not in my discussion.

Instead of acknowledging my heavy emphasis on those "occult traditions of Judaism and Christianity," Robinson emphasized topics I mentioned only three times. He listed the Hebrew Apocrypha (which I mentioned 2 times) and Josephus (whom I mentioned only once in the entire chapter). Polemical distortion was also the only possible logic behind Robinson's listing the New Testament Apocrypha, which I never mentioned before or after the quote he selected.

304. Josiah Priest, *The Anti-Universalist ...* (Albany, NY: J. Munsell, 1837), 363-64, 379; Charles A. Howe, *The Larger Faith: A Short History of American Universalism* (Boston: Skinner House Books, 1993), 37.

305. "DISCOURSE By Prest. Joseph Young, Tabernacle, p.m., of March 8, 1857," *Deseret News* [weekly], 18 Mar. 1857, [11]; Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History/Deseret News, 1901-36), 1:187.

306. *Journal of Discourses*, 16:42, emphasis added (B. Young/1873).

307. Elden J. Watson, comp. and ed., *The Orson Pratt Journals* (Salt Lake City: By the author, 1975), 29 (24 Dec., 31 Dec. 1833, 2 Jan., 6 Jan. 1834), in which only the first entry indicated that "the vision" was the source of this apostasy; John Murdock diary, scattered entries in Jan.-May 1833 (esp. 1 May), Archives, Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter LDS archives); Tim Rathbone, "The Impact of the [1832] Vision on the Membership of the Early Church," paper presented at the Mormon History Association's annual meeting, 3 May 1986, Salt Lake City, Utah, copy in my possession.

308. Chambers, *Cyclopaedia*, 1:7.

309. Sibly, *New and Complete Illustration of the Occult Sciences*, 1094 (emphasis both original and added); *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 545:135-37.

310. Charles Buck, *A Theological Dictionary, Containing Definitions of All Religious Terms* (Philadelphia: W. Woodward, 1818), 178; also Clarke, *Holy Bible ... With A Commentary and Critical Notes*, footnote for 1 Cor. 15:42.

311. William J. Hamblin, Daniel C. Peterson, and George L. Mitton, "Mormon in the Fiery Furnace: Or, Loftes Tryk Goes to Cambridge," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 6 (1994), no. 2:40.

312. Robert Grossthead, trans., *The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, The Sons of Jacob*, 43d ed. (New York: Bradford, 1712), 23; *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 55:323-24; Laurence, *Ascensio Isaiae* [Ethiopian, Latin, and English text of "Ascension of Isaiah"], 159-60.

313. Laurence, *Ascensio Isaiae* [Ethiopian, Latin, and English text of "Ascension of Isaiah"], 105, 109, 133.

314. Charlesworth, *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 1:805, note 1a.

315. Stephen D. Ricks and Daniel C. Peterson, "Mormon as Magus," *Sunstone* 12 (Jan. 1988): 39.

316. Laurence, *Ascensio Isaiae* [Ethiopian, Latin, and English text of "Ascension of Isaiah"], 159-60.

317. Clarke, *Holy Bible ... With A Commentary and Critical Notes*, footnote for 2 Cor. 12:2; also Chambers, *Cyclopaedia*, 1:228.

318. Colleen McDannell and Bernhard Lang, *Heaven: A History* (New Haven: Yale

University Press, 1988), 100-01, concerning the vernacular manuscript by Mechthild (ca. 1207-82) who described three heavens which were also further subdivided.

319. Emanuel Swedenborg, *Arcana Coelestia; or, Heavenly Mysteries ...*, 12 vols. (London: R. Hindmarsh, 1784-1804), nos. 684, 3887, 5377; Swedenborg, *A Treatise Concerning Heaven and Hell*, 1st Am. ed. (Baltimore: Anthony Miltenberger, 1812), 60; also McDannell and Lang, *Heaven*, 199-202.

320. Sibly, *New and Complete Illustration of the Occult Sciences*, 1062-81, esp. 1071n.

321. "SWEDENBORGIANISM," *Western Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 6 Dec. 1808, [1]; Adams, *Dictionary of All Religions*, 203; Paul, "Joseph Smith and the Manchester (New York) Library," 347.

322. "MORE NEW BOOKS," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 30 Aug. 1826, [3].

323. "NEW BOOKS," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 4 Feb. 1823, [3].

324. William E. Hunter, *Edward Hunter: Faithful Steward*, ed. Janath Russell Cannon (Salt Lake City: Mrs. William E. Hunter, 1970), 51; also Mary Ann Meyers, "Death in Swedenborgian and Mormon Eschatology," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 14 (Spring 1981): 58-64.

325. Swedenborg, *Arcana Coelestia; or, Heavenly Mysteries*, nos. 5223, 7296.

326. Jon Butler, "The Dark Ages of American Occultism, 1760-1848," in Howard Kerr and Charles L. Crow, eds., *The Occult in America: New Historical Perspectives* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983), 71; Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), 243-44.

327. Marsha Keith Schuchard, "Yeats and the 'Unknown Superiors': Swedenborg, Falk, and Cagliostro," in Marie Mulvey Roberts and Hugh Ormsby-Lennon, eds., *Secret Texts: The Literature of Secret Societies* (New York: AMS Press, 1995), 133 (for first quote), 140 (for second quote), 146 (for Balsamo/Cagliostro); also Barberi, *Life of Joseph Balsamo, Commonly Called Count Cagliostro*; Francois Ribadeau Dumas, *Cagliostro*, trans. Elisabeth Abbott (New York: Orion Press, 1967); Godwin, *Theosophical Enlightenment*, 94-95; Ogden, *Wizards and Sorcerers*, 24-25.

328. "Lives of Eminent Magicians," *Conjuror's Magazine* 1 (Nov. 1791): 130.

329. "Swedenborgianism," *North American Review* 12 (Jan. 1821): 96; compared with this periodical's listing in "NEW BOOKS," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 12 Dec. 1820, [3]; "Periodical Literature," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 4 Feb. 1823, [4]; "Periodical Literature," *Palmyra Herald, and Canal Advertiser* (Palmyra, NY), 19 Feb. 1823, [3]; "NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 15 Apr. 1823, [3]; "Periodical Works," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 21 Mar. 1827, [1].

330. [Peter Buchan], *Witchcraft Detected & Prevented; or, the School of Black Art Newly Opened ... particularly from Scott's [sic] DISCOVERY OF WITCHCRAFT ... It will also contain a variety of the most approved CHARMS in MAGIC; RECEIPTS in MEDICINE, NATURAL PHILOSOPHY, and CHEMISTRY, &c. BY A MEMBER OF THE SCHOOL OF BLACK ART, ITALY* (Peterhead, Eng.: P. Buchan, 1823), 12, with quoted phrase also on 11; *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 669:638.

331. Leonard Woods, *Lectures on Swedenborgianism ...* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1846), 143-44.

332. Joseph Ennemoser, *The History of Magic*, trans. William Howitt, 2 vols. (1844; London: H. G. Bohn, 1854), 2:282-85; Ethan Allen Hitchcock, *Swedenborg: A Hermetic Philosopher* (New York: D. Appleton, 1858), 3, 21, 204.

333. Godwin, *Theosophical Enlightenment*, 95; also Swedenborg's entry in J. Gordon Melton, ed., *Encyclopedia of Occultism & Parapsychology*, 4th ed. (Detroit, MI: Gale Research/International Thompson Publishing, 1996), 2:1269-70.

334. "One Eternal Round: The Hermetic Version," in Hugh Nibley, *Temple and Cosmos: Beyond This Ignorant Present*, ed. Don E. Norton (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1992), 399 (for "the Hermetic

- tradition"), 409 (for list of men in "the tradition"), 389-90 (for long quote); also my ch. 1 for references to these men.
335. Members of the Mercurii [Robert C. Smith], *Astrologer of the Nineteenth Century ... a Complete System of Occult Philosophy*, 241, 542n.
336. Burton, *City of the Saints*, 398.
337. *Supplementary Catalogue of Books in the Library of the University of Deseret: Alphabetically Arranged* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Steam Printing Establishment, 1876), 14-15.
338. Smellie, *Encyclopaedia*, 1:804.
339. Gustav Davidson, *A Dictionary of Angels, Including the Fallen Angels* (New York: The Free Press, 1967), 336-37.
340. Luther A. Weigle, *The New Testament Octapla: Eight English Versions of the New Testament in the Tyndale-King James Tradition* (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1946), 1114-15.
341. Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible*, 151.
342. Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, 535; Peter de Abano, "Heptameron: or, Magical Elements," in Agrippa [alleged], *Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy*, 1655 edition (85), 1665 edition (83), 1783 edition (143); Robert Turner, *Ars Notoria: The Notary Art of Solomon ...* (London: J. Cottrel, 1657), 73.
343. For example, Abano manuscript, "Conjurations for each day of the week," [33-34]; Sloane MS 2731, folio 10; Sloane MS 3851, folio 107.
344. Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1628; New York: Empire State Book, 1924), 122; *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 86:535-37; *Catalogue of the Utah Territorial Library, October, 1852* (Salt Lake City: Brigham H. Young, 1852), 12.
345. Joseph Leon Blau, *The Christian Interpretation of the Cabala in the Renaissance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944); Frances A. Yates, *The Occult Philosophy in the Elizabethan Age* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979), 2.
346. Helmont, *Seder Olam: Or, the Order*, 151 (emphasis added).
347. Helmont, *Seder Olam: Or, the Order*, 150-51.
348. Helmont, *Seder Olam: Or, the Order*, 168.
349. Helmont, *Seder Olam: Or, the Order*, 184.
350. Although we disagree on some matters, Gregory A. Prince has published the most important studies about the development of concepts in LDS authority and priesthood development. See Prince, *Having Authority: The Origins and Development of Priesthood During the Ministry of Joseph Smith* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1993), and Prince, *Power From On High: The Development of Mormon Priesthood* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1995).
351. Vaughan, *Magica Adamica, or the Antiquity of Magic*, 156.
352. John Butler, *Astrology, A Sacred Science* (London: N.p., 1680), "Preface."
353. For example, John Worsdale, *Genethiacal Astrology*, 2d ed. (Newark, Eng.: Ridge, 1798), 24-25; Bernard Capp, *English Almanacs, 1500-1800: Astrology and the Popular Press*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1979), 133.
354. Stehelin [and Eisenmenger], *Traditions of the Jews*, 1:24 (main text for reference to "Sohar" as source), 25 (main text for quote), also 153-54, with same pagination in the 1748 edition titled *Rabinical [sic] Literature*; also in Adams, *History of the Jews*, 1:120; also my ch. 7 for Joseph Smith's apparent use of Eisenmenger's book.
355. Moshe Idel, "Jewish Magic From the Renaissance Period to Early Hasidism," in Jacob Neusner, Ernest S. Frerichs, and Paul Virgil McCracken Flesher, eds., *Religion, Science, and Magic: In Concert and In Conflict* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 87.
356. Jerome Friedman, *The Most Ancient Testimony: Sixteenth-Century Christian-Hebraica in the Age of Renaissance Nostalgia* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1983), 73; G.

Mallory Masters, "Renaissance Kabbalah," in Antoine Faivre and Jacob Needleman, eds., *Modern Esoteric Spirituality* (New York: Crossroad Publishing, 1992), 138.

357. William Enfield, *The History of Philosophy From the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the Present Century*, 2d ed., 2 vols. (London: Dove, Baynes, and Priestly, [1819]), 2:212, with same pagination in Enfield, *History of Philosophy* (1791); also Allen, *Modern Judaism*, 67-69.

358. Rees, *Cyclopaedia*, s.v. "Cabbala"; also "NEW BOOKS," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 3 June 1817, [3], for the Rees encyclopedia.

359. Magic of Kirani, "Preface," [12].

360. Francesco Maria Guazzo, *Compendium Maleficarum*, ed. Montague Summers (1608; Secaucus, NJ: University Books, 1974), 3.

361. Add. MS 36,674, folio 66.

362. Anderson, *Constitution of the Free-Masons*, 7-8.

363. Wellins Calcott, *Calcott's Masonry, with Considerable Additions and Improvements* (Philadelphia: Robert DeSilver, 1817), 44-45, 54, 109-10; Town, *System of Speculative Masonry*, 51.

364. "MR. COLDEN'S ANSWER," *Palmyra Freeman* (Palmyra, NY), 2 June 1829, [1, 2].

365. Julius Friedrich Sachse, *The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania, 1708-1742*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: By the author, 1899-1900), 1:386 (for quote, emphasis added); also James E. Ernst, *Ephrata: A History*, ed. John Joseph Stoudt (Allentown: Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, 1963), 43, 97, 116, 124-25, 134; E. G. Alderfer, *The Ephrata Commune: An Early American Counter Culture* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1985), 21-22, 59, 88, 146-48; Peter C. Erb, ed., *Johann Conrad Beissel and the Ephrata Community: Mystical and Historical Texts* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellon Press, 1985), 20, 25, 29, 31; compare with pages 372 (note 151), 373 (note 156) and 445 (note 135) for FARMS polemicist Hamblin's denial of Rosicrucian ideas at Ephrata.

366. *History of the Church*, 1:255n; D&C 78:1, 4 (pre-1982); Hoyt W. Brewster, Jr., *Doctrine & Covenants Encyclopedia* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1988), 156 (for quote).

367. Sachse, *German Sectarians of Pennsylvania*, 1:305-11.

368. D&C 107:22-40; *History of the Church*, 2:203-04, 243, 273.

369. D&C 107:93, 95; *History of the Church*, 2:391.

370. *History of the Church*, 2:410. In the dedicatory meeting, both Melchizedek and Aaronic priesthood leaders sat on the ascending pulpits at east and west of the building's assembly hall (411), while the full membership of the Seventy's first and second quorums sat in the congregation with other Mormons, totalling "four hundred and sixteen" (428).

371. Sachse, *German Sectarians of Pennsylvania*, 1:365-66.

372. *Journal of Discourses*, 16:165-66 (B. Young/1873), also 5:85 (W. Woodruff/1857), 16:335 (O. Pratt/1873).

373. Robert J. Woodford, "The Historical Development of the Doctrine and Covenants," 3 vols., Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1974, 2:992-94, 3:1332, 1339-40; *History of the Church*, 1:255n.

374. *History of the Church*, 2:37; D&C 103:21-22, 35, and 105:16, 27 (pre-1982 editions); Woodford, "Historical Development of the Doctrine and Covenants," 3:1345, concerning the manuscript of the revelation: "Baurak Ale penciled in later"; Brewster, *Doctrine & Covenants Encyclopedia*, 38-39.

375. *Journal of Discourses*, 16:156 (O. Pratt/1873), emphasis added.

376. Louis C. Zucker, "Joseph Smith As A Student of Hebrew," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 6 (Summer 1968): 49; also Daniel C. Peterson, "A Modern Malleus maleficarum," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 3 (1991): 256. For the relationship between Seixas and Smith, see Steven Epperson, *Mormons and Jews* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), 82-90.

377. Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, 416; Benjamin Camfield, *A Theological Discourse of Angels and Their Ministries ...* (London: R. E., 1678), 67; Barrett, *Magus*, I:139, II:56; Members of the Mercurii [Robert C. Smith], *Astrologer of the Nineteenth Century ... a Complete System of Occult Philosophy*, 192.
378. David P. Wright to D. Michael Quinn, 25 July 1986.
379. Laurence, *Book of Enoch the Prophet* (1833 ed.), 77 (for "Barakel," see ch. LXVIII, no. 2, for reference to 1821 or other editions). On page 7 (ch. XVII, no. 5) Laurence also used the more common transliteration: "Barkayal taught the observers of the stars ..."
380. "The Apocryphal Book of Enoch," *Latter-Day Saints' Millennial Star* 1 (July 1840): 61; *History of the Church*, 5:265.
381. Louis Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, trans. Henrietta Szold, 7 vols. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1909-38), 7:57; Laurence, *Book of Enoch the Prophet* (1833 ed.), 7 (ch. VIII, no. 5, for reference to 1821 or other editions).
382. Davidson, *Dictionary of Angels*, 69, 339, 341-2; also Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, 416; Camfield, *Theological Discourse of Angels and Their Ministries*, 67; Barrett, *Magus*, II:56; Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, 7:58, as entry on different page from "Barakel."
383. Charlesworth, *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, I:47, and 16, note 8g.
384. Moise Schwab, *Vocabulaire de L'Angelologie* (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1897), 88, 89.
385. Barrett, *Magus*, I:139, sixth column to the right of the two-page chart, "THE SCALE OF THE NUMBER TWELVE."
386. Joseph Fielding Smith, *Answers to Gospel Questions*, 5 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1957-66), 3:63 (for quote); also Joseph Fielding McConkie, *His Name Shall Be Joseph* (Salt Lake City: Hawkes, 1980), 11, 201; Brian L. Smith, "Ephraim," in Ludlow, *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 2:461-62; 2 Ne. 3:5-16; Eth. 7:9, D&C 27:5, 64:36, 113:4, 133:30, 32, 34.
387. Stehelin [and Eisenmenger], *Traditions of the Jews*, 2:76 (emphasis in original), also I:152 (main text), with same pagination in the 1748 edition titled *Rabbinical [sic] Literature*; also my ch. 7 for Eisenmenger's emphasis on Elias as an angel-messenger.
388. Smellie, *Encyclopaedia*, I:804; Rees, *Cyclopaedia*, s.v. "Angel."
389. John Heydon, *The Rosie Crucian Infallible Axiomata* (London: N.p., 1660), 33; Georg Conrad Horst, *Zauber-Bibliothek ...*, 6 vols. (Mainz: Florian Kupferberg, 1821-26), 3:138, 4:181, 183, which was reviewed in "Daemonology and Witchcraft," *Foreign Quarterly Review* 6 (1830): 1-47; Daniel J. Driscoll, *The Sworn Book of Honourius the Magician ... Prepared from two British Museum Manuscripts* (Gillette, NJ: Heptangle Books, 1977), 74.
390. LeLoyer, *Treatise of Specters*, 5.
391. Yates, *Occult Philosophy in the Elizabethan Age*, 21.
392. Bodleian MS e. Mus. 243, folios 19b, 31b, Bodleian Library.
393. Douce MS 116, folio 244, Bodleian Library; Scheible, *Das Kloster*, 5:1103.
394. Add. MS 36,674, folio 71.
395. Jacob Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, trans. James Steven Stallybrass, 4 vols. (1875; London: George Bell and Sons, 1883-88), 4:1865.
396. For Smith's earlier statement of this view, see Scott G. Kenney, ed., *Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833-1898 Typescript*, 9 vols. (Midvale, UT: Signature Books, 1983-85), 1 (27 June 1839): 341; compare *Visits From the World of Spirits ...* (London: L. Wayland, 1791), xix.
397. Eliphas Levi, pseud. [Alphonse Louis Constant], *Transcendental Magic: Its Doctrine and Ritual*, trans. Arthur Edward Waite (1856; London: William Rider and Son, 1923), 356-57.
398. Basilius Valentinus, *The Last Will and Testament of Basil Valentine ...* (London: S. G. and B. G., 1671), 510.
399. Paul H. Kocher, *Science and Religion in Elizabethan England* (San Marino, CA: The Huntington Library, 1953), 67-68.

400. *History of the Church*, 5:2n; B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of The Church* ..., 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1930), 2:133-35; Joseph Fielding Smith, *Essentials in Church History*, 26th ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1973), 263; Milton V. Backman, Jr., "Joseph Smith and the Restoration of All Things," in Susan Easton Black and Charles D. Tate, Jr., eds., *Joseph Smith: The Prophet, The Man* (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1993), 96; Marion D. Hanks, "Christ Manifested To His People," and Andrew F. Ehat, "Who Shall Ascend into the Hill of the Lord?: Sesquicentennial Reflections of a Sacred Day: 4 May 1842," in Donald W. Parry, ed., *Temples of the Ancient World: Ritual and Symbolism* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1994), 7-8, 48-62; Richard L. Bushman and Dean C. Jessee, "Joseph Smith, The Prophet," in Ludlow, *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 3:1,337-38.

401. Samuel H. Goodwin, *Mormonism and Masonry* (Washington, D.C.: The Masonic Service Association of the United States, 1924), 50-64; Brodie, *No Man Knows My History*, 279-83; Whalen, *Latter-day Saints*, 176-77, 182-83, 187-88; Homer, "Similarity of Priesthood in Masonry," 66, 73-75, 87-89, 99-100, 104, 106, 108; David John Buerger, *The Mysteries of Godliness: A History of Mormon Temple Worship* (San Francisco: Smith Research Associates, 1994), 44-56, with Buerger's conclusion (56): "This pattern of resemblances indicates that Smith drew on Masonic rites in shaping the temple endowment and specifically borrowed tokens, signs, and penalties, as well as possibly the Creation narrative and ritual anointings. Still, the [LDS] temple ceremony cannot be explained as wholesale borrowing, neither can it be dismissed as completely unrelated."

402. James Strong, *The Exhaustive Concordance of the Bible* (New York: Hunt and Easton, 1890), 703.

403. Shapiro, *Exhaustive Concordance*, 649; Eldin Rich's *Thorough Concordance*, 506.

404. Buck, *Theological Dictionary*, 344; "Canandaigua Bookstore," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 11 Nov. 1817, [3]; "BOOKS IN DIVINITY, For Sale at the Canandaigua Bookstore," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 20 June 1820, [1]; "BOOKS, AMONG the STANDARD WORKS Kept for Sale by J.D. Bemis & Co.," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 11 Nov. 1823, [4]; "PALMYRA Book Store," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 5 May 1824, [3]; "NEW BOOKS at the Palmyra Book Store," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 1 Dec. 1826, [3].

405. Joseph Smith, "Try the Spirits," *Times and Seasons* 3 (1 Apr. 1842): 745.

406. Thomas Taylor, *A Dissertation on the Eleusinian and Bacchic Mysteries* (Amsterdam: J. Weitstein, [1790]), 3, 8, 52.

407. Quitman, *Treatise on Magic*, 9; also Smellie, *Encyclopaedia*, 12:581.

408. "M. Ouvaroff" [Sergei Semenovitch Uvarov], *Essay on the Mysteries of Eleusis*, trans. J. D. Price (London: Rodwell and Martin, 1817), 7.

409. Edward Smedley, W. Cooke Taylor, Henry Thompson, and Elihu Rich, *The Occult Sciences* (London and Glasgow: Richard Griffin, 1855), vol. 31 in *Encyclopaedia Metropolitana: or, a System of Universal Knowledge*, 2d ed., rev., "Cabinet Edition," 32+ vols. (London: John Joseph Griffin; Glasgow: Richard Griffin, 1849-1855+), 138, 160, 179.

410. Maurice Bouisson, *Magic: Its History and Principal Rites*, trans. G. Almayrac (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1961), 57.

411. "ANCIENT HISTORY.—No. 5. GREECE.—Continued," *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* 3 (June 1837): 526. Therefore, it is a clear exaggeration in Buerger, *Mysteries of Godliness*, 43, to claim: "It does not appear that Smith had any working knowledge of mystery cultures and apocalyptic/mystery cults from which to have drawn temple ideas. In short ancient sources cannot be considered a direct influence on Smith ..." Seven years before Buerger's publication, this chapter presented the "temple ideas" available to Joseph Smith's generation through the immensely popular pseudepigraphic *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* (forty-three U.S. editions by 1712), William Warburton's *Divine*

Legation of Moses (nine editions, 1738 to 1841), George S. Faber's books on the mysteries (1803 to 1816), Richard Laurence's 1819 English translation of the *Ascent of Isaiah*, and generally circulated quotes and summaries of those studies in articles on the mysteries from the 1798 American edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* to the 1829 *Encyclopaedia Americana*. It would have been a courtesy to his readers for Buerger to acknowledge the following discussion in *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View* (1987), and note that he disagreed with my rejection of Masonic linkages and disagreed with my emphasis on LDS temple parallels with ancient mysteries. However, he did not even include this 1987 title in his source-note (42n15) for publications which "have pointed out similarities between these ancient rites and Mormon rituals ...". On the other hand, Buerger's 1994 book included a source-note (44n18) for articles on Masonic parallels published as late as fall 1994. I see this kind of revisionist apologetics as no different from the tactic of traditionalist apologists who acknowledge the existence only of publications they agree with. It is simply wrong when authors decline to inform their readers of relevant sources.

412. Alexander Fraser Tytler [Lord Woodhouselee], *Elements of General History, Ancient and Modern ...* (New York: Duyckinck, Smith, and Long, 1819), 26; *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 672:590-92. The entire LDS article was copied almost verbatim from that single page in the one-volume *Elements of General History*, but it would have required selecting scattered paragraphs and pages from the full, multi-volume edition. Compare the previously cited "ANCIENT HISTORY.—No. 5. GREECE" with Alexander Fraser Tytler, Lord Woodhouselee, *Universal History, From the Creation of the World to the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century*, 6 vols. (London: John Murray, 1834), 1:119 (source for first paragraph), 121 (for third and fourth paragraphs), 123 (for third sentence of fourth paragraph), 125 (for fifth paragraph), 127 (for sixth paragraph on the Eleusinian mysteries), 129 (for seventh paragraph), 132 (for eighth paragraph). Thus, the one-volume edition was the source for this and all installments of "Ancient History" which began in the February 1837 issue of *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate*.

413. Nihley, *Temple and Cosmos*, 394.

414. "Canandaigua Bookstore Lately Received," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 4 Aug. 1824, [1]; "NEW BOOKS at the Palmyra Book Store," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 1 Dec. 1826, [3]; "NEW BOOKS," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 19 Dec. 1828, [3]; Paul, "Joseph Smith and the Manchester (New York) Library," 351, for no. 270, with no. 275 being the last acquisition in 1817-30 (Paul, 336).

415. *History of the Church*, 2:475.

416. *Journal of Discourses*, 2:31 (B. Young/1853), emphasis added for long phrase.

417. Barruel, *Memoirs, Illustrating the History of Jacobinism*, 2:147-49; [Brewster], *History of Freemasonry*, 16-18; Godfrey Higgins, *Anacalypsis: An Attempt to Draw Aside the Veil of the Saitic Isis ...*, 2 vols. (London: Longman, 1833-36), 1:724; George Stanley Faber, *The Origin of Pagan Idolatry Ascertained From Historical Testimony and Circumstantial Evidence*, 3 vols. (London: F. and C. Rivingtons, 1816), 3:xi; Adams, *Dictionary of All Religions*, 134; John Fellows, *An Exposition of the Mysteries, or Religious Dogmas and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians, Pythagoreans, and Druids. Also: An Inquiry into the Origins, History, and Purport of Freemasonry* (New York: Gould, Banks, 1835), 275.

418. "Masonry," *THE ESCRITOIR: Or, Masonic and Miscellaneous Album* 1 (25 Feb. 1826): [33]; advertised near Joseph Smith's home as "THE ESCRITOIR," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 3 Jan. 1826, [4], 7 Apr. 1826, [3].

419. Heber C. Kimball to Parley P. Pratt, Elizabeth Frost Pratt, and Olive G. Frost, 17 June 1842, LDS archives; also in D. Michael Quinn, "Latter-day Saint Prayer Circles," *BYU Studies* 19 (Fall 1978): 22; Stanley B. Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball: Mormon Patriarch and Pioneer* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981), 85; Buerger, *Mysteries of Godliness*, 40.

420. Art deHoyos (member of the board of directors for the Scottish Rite Research Society) to D. Michael Quinn, 29 Aug. 1997; also Masonic researcher Kent Walgren to Quinn,

26 July 1997: "I know of only a few competent Masonic scholars in the U.S." Walgren listed three: "Brent Morris (Columbia, MD), Steve Bullock (Worcester, MA), and Art deHoyos (McAllen, TX)." Contrast with Homer, "Similarity of Priesthood in Masonry," 107-08.

421. John G. Stearns, *An Inquiry Into the Nature and Tendency of Speculative Free-Masonry* ... (Utica, NY: Northway & Porter, 1829), 36.

422. Calcott, *Calcott's Masonry*, 123.

423. Town, *System of Speculative Masonry*, 74-75.

424. Homer, "Similarity of Priesthood in Masonry," 107, quoted Calcott and only the first line of Town's passage, as evidence that (in Homer's words) the Masonic "Craft at the time of Joseph Smith did provide a system to enable members 'ascent into heaven.'"

425. Stearns, *Inquiry Into the Nature and Tendency of Speculative Free-Masonry*, 50-51.

426. Homer, "Similarity of Priesthood in Masonry," 107.

427. Joan Petru Cuianu, "Ascension," in Eliade, *Encyclopedia of Religion*, 1:434.

428. Laurence, *Ascensio Isaiae* [Ethiopian, Latin, and English text of "Ascension of Isaiah"], 132; also Charlesworth, *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 2:174.

429. Gershom G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, rev. ed. (New York: Schocken Books, 1946), 50; also Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1965), 32.

430. R. M. Grant, *Gnosticism and Early Christianity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), 62-63.

431. Hugh W. Nibley, *The Message of the Joseph Smith Papyri: An Egyptian Endowment* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1975), esp. xii-xiii, 14, 241-86; Nibley, "The Early Christian Prayer Circle," *BYU Studies* 19 (Fall 1978): 41-78; Hugh Nibley, *Temple and Cosmos: Beyond This Ignorant Present* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1992), 11-15, 80-81, 169, 179-85, 188-89, 298; with this summation in Nibley, "Looking Backward," in Truman G. Madsen, ed., *The Temple in Antiquity: Ancient Records and Modern Perspectives* (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1984), 51: "Did Joseph Smith reinvent the Temple by putting all the fragments—Jewish, Orthodox, Masonic, Gnostic, Hindu, Egyptian, and so forth—together again? No, that is not how it is done. Very few of the fragments were available in his day, and the job of putting them together was begun, as we have seen, only in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Even when they are available, those poor fragments do not come together of themselves to make a whole"

432. Hamblin, "Everything Is Everything," 254n9.

433. Hamblin, Peterson, and Mitton, "Mormon in the Fiery Furnace," 57.

434. William J. Hamblin, "Temple Motifs in Jewish Mysticism," in Parry, *Temples of the Ancient World*, 468n33; for Hamblin's ready use of the terms "magic" and "occult" to describe religious traditions other than Mormonism, see my Introduction; also see discussion of *Gematria* in John Allen's 1816 and 1830 editions of *Modern Judaism*, 76-77. Similar to the first edition of my book seven years earlier, Hamblin's comparison had sections titled "Ritual Purification," "Secrecy," "Passing the Guardians," "Celestial Initiation: Anointing and the Celestial Robe," and "Exaltation" (448-49, 452, 453-54, 458-59). However, most of Hamblin's sources were unavailable in English to Smith's generation.

435. *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 648:91-94, 165:170-72; "BOOKS," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 22 June 1813, [2]; "New Books," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 21 July 1818, [3].

436. Ovaroff [Uvarov], *Essay on the Mysteries of Eleusis*; John Leland, *The Advantage and Necessity of the Christian Religion, Shewn From the State of Religion in the Antient [sic] Heathen World*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Anthony Finley, 1818), 1:182-226 (with quote on 223). WorldCat shows that Leland's book had British editions in 1764, 1766, 1768, and 1819.

437. Three years after the first edition of this book, the LDS church's publishing company printed a similar format of comparison, using letters instead of numbers. For "the

parallels between the Latter-day Saint temple endowment and some Gnostic rituals," see William J. Hamblin, "Aspects of Early Christian Initiation Ritual," in John M. Lundquist and Stephen D. Ricks, eds., *By Study and Also By Faith*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1990), 1:212-14. In the same collection of essays (1:611-42), Todd M. Compton, "The Handclasp and Embrace as Tokens of Recognition," presented ancient parallels, for which readers must fill in the LDS endowment's side of the comparison.

438. Faber, *Origin of Pagan Idolatry*, 3:106.
439. John A. Widtsoe, "Temple Worship," *The Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 12 (Apr. 1921): 52; John K. Edmunds, *Through Temple Doors* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1978), 75 (for first quote), 66 (for second quote).
440. Nibley, *Message of the Joseph Smith Papyri*, xii.
441. Warburton, *Divine Legation of Moses*, 1:138; Smellie, *Encyclopaedia*, 13:591; also Lieber, *Encyclopaedia Americana* (1829-33), 4:472.
442. Boyd K. Packer, *The Holy Temple* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980), 26, also 49-53.
443. Grosthead, *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*, 29; *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 55:324.
444. Smellie, *Encyclopaedia*, 12:592.
445. Laurence, *Ascensio Isaiae* [Ethiopian, Latin, and English text of "Ascension of Isaiah"], 167; Fellows, *Exposition of the Mysteries*, 107; also Smellie, *Encyclopaedia*, 12:592.
446. Martha Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 56; Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, 7:272.
447. Packer, *Holy Temple*, 154, 155, 75.
448. *Journal of Discourses*, 19:250 (C. C. Rich/1878).
449. Warburton, *Divine Legation of Moses*, 1:142.
450. Smellie, *Encyclopaedia*, 12:591, 595.
451. Lieber, *Encyclopaedia Americana* (1829-33), 4:472 (for quote); also Fellows, *Exposition of the Mysteries*, 106.
452. Edmunds, *Through Temple Doors*, 74; Packer, *Holy Temple*, 28.
453. Warburton, *Divine Legation of Moses*, 1:143; Smellie, *Encyclopaedia*, 12:554, 591-92; Charles Rollin, *The Ancient History of the Egyptians, Carthaginians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes & Persians, Macedonians and Grecians*, 4 vols. (Hartford, CT: Silas Andrus, 1815), 1:36; Ouyaroff [Uvarov], *Essay on the Mysteries of Eleusis*, 9, 36; Lieber, *Encyclopaedia Americana* (1829-33), 4:471-72; Fellows, *Exposition of the Mysteries*, 109. As previously indicated, Joseph Smith owned a two-volume edition of Rollin's *Ancient History*, which was advertised in Palmyra and Canandaigua and was in Smith's hometown library.
454. *Journal of Discourses*, 10:309 (B. Young/1864); also Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook, eds., *The Words of Joseph Smith: The Contemporary Accounts of the Nauvoo discourses of the Prophet Joseph* (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1980), 303-04.
455. Smellie, *Encyclopaedia*, 12:592-93, also 588.
456. Faber, *Origin of Pagan Idolatry*, 3:111.
457. J. Christie, "Observations Occasioned by Mr. Ouyaroff's ESSAY ON THE ELEUSINIAN MYSTERIES," in Ouyaroff [Uvarov], *Essay on the Mysteries of Eleusis*, 183.
458. *Journal of Discourses*, 10:235 (H. C. Kimball/1863).
459. James E. Talmage, *The House of the Lord: A Study of Holy Sanctuaries, Ancient and Modern* (1912; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1978), 83; Widtsoe, "Temple Worship," 59; Packer, *Holy Temple*, 42.
460. Warburton, *Divine Legation of Moses*, 1:139; Lieber, *Encyclopaedia Americana* (1829-33), 4:472; also Rollin, *Ancient History*, 1:37.
461. Talmage, *House of the Lord*, 84.
462. Smellie, *Encyclopaedia*, 12:592.

463. C. Mark Hamilton and Nina Cutrubus, *The Salt Lake Temple: A Monument to a People* (Salt Lake City: University Services, 1983), 165; *The Salt Lake Temple: A Centennial Book of Remembrance, 1893-1993* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1993), [57]; Matthew B. Brown and Paul Thomas Smith, *Symbols In Stone: Symbolism on the Early Temples of the Restoration* (American Fork, UT: Covenant Communications, 1997), 91, 98-99, 102-03.
464. Smellie, *Encyclopaedia*, 12:593, 594.
465. Ouharoff [Uvarov], *Essay on the Mysteries of Eleusis*, 38, emphasis in original; also Keith Norman, "Divinization: The Forgotten Teaching of Early Christianity," *Sunstone* 1 (Winter 1975): 15-19.
466. *Journal of Discourses*, 22:209 (W. Woodruff/1881).
467. Packer, *Holy Temple*, 154; McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine* (1966), 577; Rex Eugene Cooper, *Promises Made To the Fathers: Mormon Covenant Organization* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1990), 111-12.
468. Smellie, *Encyclopaedia*, 12:592.
469. Faber, *Origin of Pagan Idolatry*, 3:619.
470. Statements by John Taylor and William Marks in "Continuation of Elder Rigdon's Trial," *Times and Seasons* 5 (1 Oct. 1844): 661, 666; also *History of the Church*, 5:527; Ehat and Cook, *Words of Joseph Smith*, 304n21; David John Buerger, "'The Fullness of the Priesthood': The Second Anointing in Latter-day Saint Theology and Practice," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 16 (Spring 1983): 24.
471. Leland, *Advantage and Necessity of the Christian Religion*, 1:196, also discussed on 197.
472. Jahn, *Jahn's Biblical Archaeology*, 511-12, sect. 402, sub-sect. III; *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 276:156; "From Jahn's Biblical Archaeology," *Times and Seasons* 3 (15 Sept. 1842): 918, with Smith as sole editor on 926.
473. L. John Nuttall diary, typed transcript 1:18-21 (7 Feb. 1877), Lee Library, also copies at Marriott Library and Huntington Library; Rodney Turuer [later a BYU professor of religion], "The Position of Adam in Latter-day Saint Scripture and Theology," M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1953, 31-35 (for Young's 1877 statement in the St. George temple), also 58 ("A careful, detached study of his available statements, as found in the official publications of the Church, will admit of no other conclusion than that the identification of Adam with God the Father by Brigham Young is an irrefutable fact"); David John Buerger, "The Adam-God Doctrine," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 15 (Spring 1982): 32-33; Buerger, *Mysteries of Godliness*, 110-13.
474. *History of the Church*, 3:385-86, 387, 4:207, 6:305; Joseph Fielding Smith, *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith ...* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1938), 157, 167, 345 (with last quote in italics); Richard C. Galbraith, ed., *Scriptural Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith ...* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1993), 178-79, 191, 390 (with last quote in italics).
475. Bradley, *Some of the Beauties of Free-Masonry*, 95-96; David Bernard, *Light on Masonry: A Collection of All the Most Important Documents on the Subject of Speculative Free Masonry* (Utica, NY: William Williams, 1829), 124, 132, 253; Fellows, *Exposition of the Mysteries*, 340; Arthur E. Waite, *The Secret Tradition in Freemasonry*, 2 vols. (London: Rebman, 1911); Waite, *Saint-Martin the French Mystic and the Story of Modern Martinism* (London: William Rider and Son, 1922), 22-23; previous note 225 for Young's ownership of Bradley's book.
476. Marcel Mauss [and Henri Hubert], *A General Theory of Magic*, trans. Robert Brain (1904; London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), 48.
477. Robinson untitled review (1987), 93.
478. Louis Midgley, "Playing with Half a Decker: The Countercult Religious Tradition Confronts the Book of Mormon," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for*

Ancient Research and Mormon Studies 5 (1993): 143n55, with similar complaint in Midgley, "The Challenge of Historical Consciousness: Mormon History and the Encounter with Secular Modernity," in Lundquist and Ricks, *By Study and Also By Faith*, 2:534n58, 550-51. For Midgley's awareness of Nibley's publications about temple ordinances, see Midgley, "Hugh Winder Nibley: Bibliography and Register," in Lundquist and Ricks, *By Study and Also By Faith*, 1:xv-lxxvii. Fellow FARMS contributors David B. Honey and Daniel C. Peterson have described Midgley as "the most vociferous defender of the faith," in their "Advocacy and Inquiry in the Writing of Latter-day Saint History," *BYU Studies* 31 (Spring 1991): 172n1.

479. Richard Lloyd Anderson, "The Mature Joseph Smith and Treasure Searching," *BYU Studies* 24 (Fall 1984): 534.

480. The original announcement of "research by John Gee" stated twice that his sources were "magical papyri" (Leiden I-383 and I-384) and once that they were from a "Demotic Magic Papyrus." See "Abraham in Egyptian Texts," in *Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, Insights: An Ancient Window* (Sept. 1991): 3. Gee was (and still is) an Egyptologist-in-training at Yale. For criticism of Gee's comparative usage by a writer with Ph.D. training in Egyptian (without a completed dissertation) from the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, see Edward Ashment, *The Use of Egyptian Magical Papyri to Authenticate the Book of Abraham: A Critical Review* (Salt Lake City: Resource Communications, 1993). In the first response to Ashment by FARMS, ancient Middle East historian William J. Hamblin acknowledged that "the historical implications of the presence of the name *Abraham* in association with a lion-couch scene reminiscent of Facsimile One in Egyptian magical papyri can certainly be debated." Thus, Hamblin accepted the view that these papyri were documents of magic (Hamblin, "Apologist for the Critics," 484, emphasis in original).

However, Gee soon reversed the 1991 announcement and denied these were "magical papyri." In his "Abracadabra, Isaac, and Jacob," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 7 (1995), no. 1:35, Gee explained: "The position I take on this issue is currently a minority position—the documents are Egyptian religious texts not Greek magical texts—but it is a position taken by most Demoticists who work with the documents, and it is a position that is gaining a wider acceptance among those of a classical background who work in this field."

Gee misled his readers in 1995 by combining two separate claims in the phrase "not Greek magical texts" and by asserting that "most Demoticists" agreed with both of Gee's claims: (1) that the papyri were "not Greek" in origin and (2) that the papyri were not "magical texts." In recent years, scholars have made a point of acknowledging the Egyptian origin of these papyri that were written in Greek and in Demotic, as by Jacob Neusner and William Scott Green, eds., *Dictionary of Judaism in the Biblical Period, 450 B.C.E. to 600 C.E.*, 2 vols. (New York: Macmillan Library Reference USA/Simon & Schuster Macmillan, 1996), 2:400. However, Gee's article even quoted extensively from Robert K. Ritner's book, in which this Demoticist repeatedly affirmed that the papyri were "magical" texts (see also my Intro.).

In the years immediately preceding Gee's misleading statement in 1995, Demoticists and other scholars "in this field" steadfastly affirmed that these Egyptian/Greek papyri were magic texts. See P. W. Pestman, *The New Papyrological Primer ...* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990), 258-59; Laszlo Kakosy, "Fragmente eines unpublizierten magischen Textes in Budapest," *Zeitschrift fuer Aegyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 117 (1990), no. 2:140-57; Klaus Maresch and Zola M. Packman, eds., *Papyri From the Washington University Collection, St. Louis, Missouri* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1990), 52; Robert W. Daniel and Franco Maltomini, eds. and trans., *Supplementum Magicum*, 2 vols. (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1990-92), 1:[ix], 5, 13, 59, 77, 2:23, 56, 208, 211, 259; Paul John Frandsen, ed., *The Carlsberg Papyri I: Demotic Texts From the Collection* (Copenhagen: Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Ancient Near Eastern Studies, University of Copenhagen/Museum Tusculanum Press, 1991),

33-34, 35, 63, 84, 136; Robert W. Daniel, ed., *The Greek Magical Papyri in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1991), lix-x; Heinz J. Thissen, "Aegyptologische Beiträe zu den griechischen magischen Papyri," in Ursula Verkooven and Erhart Graefe, eds., *Religion und Philosophie im Alten Aegypten ...* (Leuven, Belgium: Departement Orientalistiek/Uitgeverij Peeters, 1991), 293-302; David G. Martinez, ed., *P. Michigan XVI: A Greek Love Charm From Egypt (P. Mich. 757)* (Atlanta: Scholars Press/American Society of Papyrologists, 1991), 6, 147-53; Janet H. Johnson, "Introduction to the Demotic Magical Papyri," in Hans Dieter Betz, ed., *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells*, 2d ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), lv-lviii; Reinhold Merkelbach, *ABRAXAS: Ausgewählte Papyri, religiösen und magischen Inhalts* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1992); Leda Jean Ciruolo, "Conjuring an Assistant: Paredroi in the Greek Magical Papyri," Ph.D. diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1992; William Brashear, "Magical Papyri: Magic in Bookform," in Peter Ganz, ed., *Das Buch als magisches und als Repräsentationsobjekt* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1992), 25-57; Copenhagen, *Hermetica*, xxxv, xxxvi; Robert Kriech Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice* (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1993), 171, 205-06, 223, 231; Klaus Koch, *Geschichte der ägyptischen Religion: Von den Pyramiden bis zu den Mysterien der Isis* (Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1993), 484, 542-53, 636; Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*, 47-48, 108; Christopher A. Faraone, "Notes on Three Greek Magical Texts," and Jarl Fossum and Brian Glazer, "Seth in Magical Texts," *Zeitschrift fuer Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 100 (1994): 81-85, 86-92; Geraldine Pinch, *Magic In Ancient Egypt* (London: British Museum Press, 1994), 67; Hans-Albert Rupprecht, *Kleine Einführung in die Papyruskunde* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1994), 199-202; *Manuel de magie égyptienne: le papyrus magique de Paris* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1995); W. J. Tait, "Theban Magic," in S. P. Vleeming, ed., *Hundred-Gated Thebes: Acts of a Colloquium on Thebes and the Theban Area in the Graeco-Roman Period* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), 169-82; K. A. Worp, *Greek Papyri From Kellis: I* (Oxford, Eng.: Oxbow Books, 1995), 205-22; Brashear, "New Greek Magical and Divinatory Texts in Berlin," Ciruolo, "Supernatural Assistants in the Greek Magical Papyri," and Faraone, "The Mystodokos and the Dark-Eyed Maidens: Multicultural Influences On a Late-Hellenistic Incantation," in Marvin Meyer and Paul Mirecki, eds., *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), 209-42, 279-95, 297-98; Ritner, "Egyptian Magical Practice under the Roman Empire: The Demotic Spells and Their Religious Context," and Brashear, "The Greek Magical Papyri: an Introduction and Survey," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt II*, 18.5 (1995): 3336, 3380-3684.

Apparently aware of the conflict between John Gee's claims and the views of reputable Egyptologists, fellow FARMS writers have recently declined to even acknowledge Gee's 1995 claim that the papyri were not magic texts. Instead these FARMS specialists on ancient Near Eastern texts have simply affirmed what Gee emphatically denied. In their "Jewish and Other Semitic Texts Written in Egyptian Characters," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies: Foundation for Ancient Research & Mormon Studies* 5 (1996), no. 2:158, John A. Tvedtnes and Stephen D. Ricks wrote: "A number of northwest Semitic texts are included in Egyptian magical papyri. These are mostly incantations ..." Tvedtnes and Ricks did not even refer in the source-note to Gee's claim that the Egyptian papyri were allegedly not "magical texts." However, their earlier source-note 5 did quote from one of Gee's publications they agreed with.

481. Robert F. Smith, "Oracles & Talismans, Forgery & Pansophia: Joseph Smith, Jr. As a Renaissance Magus," bound typescript ("August 1987-Draft"), 25-26, copy in Lee Library and in fd 7, box 97, Marquardt papers, Marriott Library; for his association with FARMS, see Smith, "It Came to Pass" in the Bible and the Book of Mormon: Preliminary Report (Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1984); Smith, *Book of Mormon Event Structure In the Ancient Near East: Preliminary Report* (Provo, UT: Foundation

for *Ancient Research and Mormon Studies*, 1984); Smith, "Lodestone and the Liahona," Smith, "Textual Criticism of the Book of Mormon," Smith, "New Information About Mulek, Son of the King," Smith, "The Land of Jerusalem: The Place of Jesus' Birth," and Smith, "The 'Golden Plates,'" in Welch, *Reexploring the Book of Mormon*, 44-46, 77-79, 142-44, 170-72, 275-78; Smith, "Book of Mormon Event Structure: The Ancient Near East," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies: Foundation for Ancient Research & Mormon Studies* 5 (1996), no. 2:98-147. John W. Welch was FARMS founder and now serves as a member of its executive board.

482. Hamblin, "Everything Is Everything," 254 (for the complaint), and Hamblin noted (254n10): "Although idiosyncratic, it [Robert F. Smith's study of "Joseph Smith, Jr. As a Renaissance Magus"] is informed and perceptive and contains a number of interesting ideas. It should at least have been consulted by someone studying the relationship between Mormonism and the esoteric traditions."

483. Underwood, *The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism*, 107; also similar statement by Hamblin, Peterson, and Mitton, "Mormon in the Fiery Furnace," 11. Aside from temporary instruction at the Provo campus, Underwood has been on the religion faculty of the BYU-Hawaii campus. For the approach of James George Frazer, see my Introduction, which also discusses Hamblin's polemical shifts concerning "magic" and "occult" as appropriate terms.

484. Kerry William Bate, "John Steele: Medicine Man, Magician, Mormon Patriarch," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 62 (Winter 1994): 78.

485. Alan Taylor, "Rediscovering the Context of Joseph Smith Jr.'s Treasure-Seeking," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 19 (Winter 1986): 22, 25; also on seekers, see Marvin S. Hill, "The Shaping of the Mormon Mind in New England and New York," *BYU Studies* 9 (Spring 1969): 351-72; Malcolm R. Thorp, "The Religious Backgrounds of Mormon Converts in Britain, 1837-52," *Journal of Mormon History* 4 (1977): 53-60; Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience* (New York: Knopf, 1979), 28-29; Dan Vogel, *Religious Seekers and the Advent of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988); Grant Underwood, "The Religious Milieu of English Mormonism," in Richard L. Jensen and Malcolm R. Thorp, eds., *Mormons in Early Victorian Britain* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989), 39-40; James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 2d ed., rev. and enl. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 17-18, 26.

Notes to Chapter Seven

1. "The Book of Mormon," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 26 Mar. 1830, [3]. *The Book of Mormon*, published at Salt Lake City in various editions, with verse citations (similar to the Bible) according to the names of its constituent books. Joseph Sr. first moved to Palmyra, where the *Book of Mormon* was later published. In between those two events, the Smiths moved to adjacent Manchester, New York. For convenience, I often use Palmyra generically to refer to residents and events there and in Manchester.

2. As it appeared in "AN EXTRACT OF REVELATION," *Elders' Journal of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints* 1 (Aug. 1838): 52; also Richard Lloyd Anderson, "What Changes Have Been Made in the Name of the Church?" *Ensign* 9 (Jan. 1979): 13-14. The last part of the name varied in official documents and publications during Smith's life. Now "Latter-day Saints" is the official spelling for the church headquartered in Salt Lake City, while the next largest church descended from the founding prophet (headquartered in Independence, Missouri) uses "Latter Day Saints."

However, John Gee, "Telling the Story of the Joseph Smith Papyri," *FARMS Review of Books: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 8 (1996), no. 2:56, ridiculed a non-LDS Egyptologist for writing that Michael Chandler sold Egyptian artifacts "to members of the Church of Latter-day Saints" in 1835. Gee insisted: "The name of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is [thus] given inaccurately." That demonstrates Gee's ignorance

of the fact that "Church of Latter Day Saints" was its official name from 1834 to 1838. See also "Minutes of a conference, of the authorities of the church of Latter Day Saints assembled in the house of the Lord in Kirtland, Sept. 17th, 1837," *Elders' Journal of the Church of Latter Day Saints* 1 (Nov. 1837): [17].

3. *The Doctrine and Covenants of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, published at Salt Lake City in various editions, hereafter D&C with numbers of section and verse(s); Book of Abraham, in *The Pearl of Great Price*, published at Salt Lake City in various editions, with verse citations (similar to the Bible) according to name of its constituent books; George Q. Cannon, *The Life of Joseph Smith, the Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1888); Joseph Smith et al., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Period I: History of Joseph Smith the Prophet, and ... Period II: From the Manuscript History of Brigham Young and Other Original Documents*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1902-32; 2d ed. rev. [Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1978]), hereafter *History of the Church*; *Inspired Version: The Holy Scriptures, Containing the Old and New Testaments: An Inspired Revision of the Authorized Version*, published at Independence, Missouri, in various editions; Andrew Jenson, *Church Chronology ...*, 2d ed., rev. and enl. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1914), entries for 6 April 1830 through 27 June 1844; Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of The Church ...*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1930), 1:1 through 2:287; John Henry Evans, *Joseph Smith: An American Prophet* (New York: Macmillan, 1942); Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945); John A. Widtsoe, *Joseph Smith: Seeker After Truth, Prophet of God* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1951); S. George Ellsworth, "A History of Mormon Missions in the United States and Canada, 1830-1860," Ph.D. diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1951; James R. Clark, *The Story of the Pearl of Great Price* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1955); Robert Kent Fielding, "The Growth of the Mormon Church in Kirtland, Ohio," Ph.D. diss., University of Indiana, 1957; Ellsworth, *Zion in Paradise: Early Mormons in the South Seas* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1959); George R. Gayler, "The Expositor Affair: Prelude to the Downfall of Joseph Smith," *Northwest Missouri State College Studies* 25 (Feb. 1961): 3-15; Warren A. Jennings, "A History of the Latter-day Saints in Northern Missouri from 1836 to 1839," Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1965; Robert Bruce Flanders, *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965); Dallin H. Oaks, "The Suppression of the Nauvoo Expositor," *Utah Law Review* 9 (Winter 1965): 862-903; Klaus J. Hansen, *Quest For Empire: The Political Kingdom of God and the Council of Fifty in Mormon History* (Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1967), 3-89; Jennings, "The Army of Israel Marches into Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review* 62 (Jan. 1968): 107-35; Jennings, "The Expulsion of the Mormons from Jackson County, Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review* 64 (Oct. 1969): 41-63; Jay M. Todd, *The Saga of the Book of Abraham* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1969); Richard Lloyd Anderson, "The Impact of the First Preaching in Ohio," and Davis Bitton, "Kirtland as a Center of Missionary Activity, 1830-1838," *BYU Studies* 11 (Summer 1971): 474-96, 497-516; T. Edgar Lyon, "Independence, Missouri, and the Mormons, 1827-1833," and Alma Blair, "The Haun's Mill Massacre," *BYU Studies* 13 (Autumn 1972): 10-19, 62-67; Joseph Fielding Smith, *Essentials in Church History ...*, 26th ed., enl. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1973), 78-317; Jan Shipps, "The Prophet Puzzle: Suggestions Leading Toward a More Comprehensive Interpretation of Joseph Smith," *Journal of Mormon History* 1 (1974): 3-20; John Sweeney, Jr., "A History of the Nauvoo Legion In Illinois," M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1974; Daniel W. Bachman, "A Study of the Mormon Practice of Plural Marriage before the Death of Joseph Smith," M.A. thesis, Purdue University, 1975; Oaks and Marvin S. Hill, *Carthage Conspiracy: The Trial of the Accused Assassins of Joseph Smith* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975); Robert J. Matthews, "A Plain Translation": *Joseph Smith's Translation of the Bible, a History and Commentary* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1975); Clifton Holt Jolley, "The Martyrdom of Joseph Smith: An Archetypal Study,"

Utah Historical Quarterly 44 (Fall 1976): 329-50; Gordon Pollock, "In Search of Security: The Mormons and the Kingdom of God on Earth, 1830-1844," Ph.D. diss., Queen's University, 1977; Donna Hill, *Joseph Smith: The First Mormon* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1977); Francis M. Gibbons, *Joseph Smith: Martyr, Prophet of God* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1977); Laurel B. Andrew, *The Early Temples of the Mormons: The Architecture of the Millennial Kingdom in the American West* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1978), 29-96; Leonard J. Arrington and Bitton, *The Mormon Experience* (New York: Knopf, 1979), [3]-81; Andrew F. Ehat, "It Seems Like Heaven Began on Earth: Joseph Smith and the Constitution of the Kingdom of God," *BYU Studies* 20 (Spring 1980): 253-279; Lawrence Foster, *Religion and Sexuality: Three American Communal Experiments of the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 123-80; Dean C. Jessee, "Return to Carthage: Writing the History of Joseph Smith's Martyrdom," *Journal of Mormon History* 8 (1981): 3-19; Lyndon W. Cook, *The Revelations of the Prophet Joseph Smith: A Historical and Biographical Commentary of the Doctrine and Covenants* (Provo, UT: Seventy's Mission Bookstore, 1981); Milton V. Backman, Jr., *Heavens Resound: A History of the Latter-day Saints in Ohio, 1830-1838* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1983); Linda King Newell, "Emma Hale Smith and the Polygamy Question," and Imogene Goodyear, "Joseph Smith and Polygamy: An Alternative View," *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 4 (1984): 3-15, 16-21; Roger Launius, *Zion's Camp: Expedition to Missouri, 1834* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1984); Richard S. Van Wagoner, "Mormon Polyandry in Nauvoo," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18 (Fall 1985): 67-83; Steven L. Olsen, "The Mormon Ideology of Place: Cosmic Symbolism of the City of Zion, 1830-1846," Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1985; L. Madelon Brunson, *Bonds of Sisterhood: A History of the RLDS Women's Organization, 1842-1983* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1985), 9-23; Ronald E. Romig and John H. Siebert, "Jackson County, 1831-1833: A Look at the Development of Zion," and John E. Thompson, "The Initial Survey Committee Selected to Appoint Lands for Gathering in Daviess County, Missouri (1837-1838)," *Restoration Studies* 3 (1986): 286-304, 305-13; Gary James Bergera, "Joseph Smith and the Hazards of Charismatic Leadership," *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 6 (1986): 33-42; Roger D. Launius, *The Kirtland Temple: A Historical Narrative* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1986).

Also, Richard E. Bennett, "Plucking Not Planting: Mormonism in Eastern Canada, 1830-1850," in Brigham Y. Card et al., eds., *The Mormon Presence in Canada* (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press, 1987; re-issue Logan: Utah State University Press, 1990), 19-34; Larry C. Porter, "Beginnings of the Restoration: Canada, An 'Effectual Door' to the British Isles," in Ben Bloxham, James R. Moss, and Porter, eds., *Truth Will Prevail: The Rise of the Church ... in the British Isles, 1837-1987* (Solihull, Eng.: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1987), 71-103; H. Donl Peterson, *The Pearl of Great Price: A History and Commentary* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1987); Stephen C. LeSueur, *The 1838 Mormon War in Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1987); Ronald E. Romig and John H. Siebert, "The Genesis of Zion and Kirtland and the Concept of Temples," *Restoration Studies* 4 (1988): 99-123; Larry C. Porter, "The Field is White Already to Harvest: Earliest Missionary Labors and the Book of Mormon," in Larry C. Porter and Susan Easton Black, eds., *The Prophet Joseph: Essays on the Life and Mission of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1988), 73-89; Marvin S. Hill, *Quest for Refuge: The Mormon Flight from American Pluralism* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989); M. Guy Bishop, "What Has Become of Our Fathers?: Baptism for the Dead at Nauvoo," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 23 (Summer 1990): 85-97; Kevin L. Barney, "The Joseph Smith Translation and Ancient Texts of the Bible," in Dan Vogel, ed., *The Word of God: Essays on Mormon Scripture* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1990), 143-60; Richard P. Howard, *The Church Through the Years*, 2 vols. (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1992-93), 1:25-301; Backman and Ronald K. Esplin, "History of the Church, 1831-1844, Ohio, Missouri, and Nauvoo Periods," and

"A Chronology of Church History," in Daniel H. Ludlow, ed., *Encyclopedia of Mormonism: The History, Scripture, Doctrine, and Procedure of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 5 vols. (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1992), 2:604-13, 4:1652-54; James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 2d ed., rev. and enl. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 7-212; Allen, Esplin, and David J. Whittaker, *Men With a Mission, 1837-1841: The Quorum of the Twelve Apostles in the British Isles* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992); Jill Mulvey Derr, Janath D. Cannon, and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, *Women of Covenant: The Story of Relief Society* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 1-58; D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books/Smith Research Associates, 1994); H. Donl Peterson, *The Story of the Book of Abraham: Mummies, Manuscripts, and Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1995); Howard, *Restoration Scriptures: A Study of Their Textual Development*, 2d ed. rev. and enl. (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1995), 53-136, 139-166, 192-210; Todd Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness: The Plural Wives of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997); Richard L. Bushman, *Making Space for the Mormons* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1997).

4. Moses 7:30; Abra. 3:22-23; D&C 19:5-12, 93:29, 130:22-23, 131:2-3, 132:19-20, 26; *History of the Church*, 2:380-81, 3:387, 4:231, 445, 5:392, 426-27, 6:305-06, 310-11, 313-14, 474-75, 477-78; Joseph Fielding Smith [apostle and later LDS president], ed., *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith ...* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1938), 107, 179, 181, 193, 301, 312, 345-46, 353, 354, 357, 372, 373, 374-75; Richard C. Galbraith, ed., *Scriptural Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith ...* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1993), 127, 179, 204, 206, 220, 336, 349, 390-91, 396-97, 400, 401-402, 419-20, 421, 422-23.

5. Benson Whittle untitled review, *BYU Studies* 27 (Fall 1987): 117; for the significance of publication of his views by *BYU Studies* in 1987, see following note 656.

6. Gustav Jahoda, "A Classical Fallacy: Magical 'Thinking' vs. 'Thought,'" in Jahoda, ed., *Psychology and Anthropology* (London: Academic Press/Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1982), 182.

7. Obediah Dogberry, pseud. [Abner Cole], "The Book of Pukei.—Chap. 1," *The Reflector* (Palmyra, NY), 12 June 1830, 36, reprinted with wrong date in Francis W. Kirkham, *A New Witness for Christ in America: The Book of Mormon*, 2 vols. (Independence, MO: Zion's Printing and Publishing, 1951), 2:51-52.

8. D. Michael Quinn, trans. and ed., "The First Months of Mormonism: A Contemporary View by Rev. Diedrich Willers," *New York History* 54 (July 1973): 333.

9. *History of the Church*, 1:76, presents the long tradition (implied but not specifically claimed in Smith's 1839 history) that Fayette was the sole location of the new church's organization on 6 April 1830. Quinn, *Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power*, 276n34, tried to reconcile that view with official statements during Smith's lifetime that he organized the new church in his hometown of Manchester, New York. For example, "RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE CHURCH OF CHRIST," *The Evening and The Morning Star* 1 (Apr. 1833): [4, of this issue in the unpagged version], stated that "the church was organized on the sixth of April, in Manchester; soon after, a branch was established in Fayette, and the June following, another in Colesville, New York." *A Book of Commandments for the Government of the Church of Christ ...* (Zion [Independence, MO]: W. W. Phelps, 1833), 43-45, specified that six revelations announced on the church's organization date of 6 April 1830 were "given in Manchester, New-York." In "Church History," *Times and Seasons* 3 (1 Mar. 1842): 708, Joseph Smith informed newspaper editor John Wentworth that the new church "was first organized in the town of Manchester, Ontario co., state of New York." In a letter to religious historian I. Daniel Rupp on 5 June 1844, Smith also specified that the new church "was first organized, in the town of Manchester, Ontario Co., State of New York," reprinted in Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2+ vols., with a different subtitle for each volume (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989-92+), 1:451. In *William Smith on Mormonism* (Lamoni, IA: Herald Steam Book and Job Office, 1883), 14, Joseph's brother specified that his brother

Hyrum's house was the site of the meeting on 6 April 1830. Dan Vogel, comp. and ed., *Early Mormon Documents*, 1+ vols. (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996+), 1:92n82, also summarized the claims of the Smith family's neighbors that the church organization occurred in Manchester.

The holding power of traditional LDS history is so overwhelming that Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2:433, 451, dismissed the founding prophet's own published statements by simply noting: "The church was organized at Fayette, Seneca County, New York at the home of Peter Whitmer, Sr.," and referring to his explanation (2:242n2) of "clerical errors." Clerical error is an inadequate explanation for the founding prophet's repeated statements that Manchester was the site of the organization on 6 April 1830. Jessee's detailed note did not refer to the above history of April 1833, which provided the sequential role of Fayette, which I described in *Origins of Power*.

10. Ellen E. Dickinson, *New Light on Mormonism* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1885), 250-51; Richard Lloyd Anderson, *Investigating the Book of Mormon Witnesses* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1981), 124.

11. Edwin Miller Fogel, *Beliefs and Superstitions of the Pennsylvania Germans* (Philadelphia: American Germanica Press, 1915), 138-41; Fredric Klees, *The Pennsylvania Dutch*, 11th ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1968), 298-305; J. Gordon Melton, "Toward a History of Magical Religion in the United States," in Richard Woods, ed., *Heterodoxy, Mystical Experience, Religious Dissent and the Occult* (River Forest, IL: Listening Press, 1975), 116; Melton, *Magic, Witchcraft, and Paganism in America: A Bibliography* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1982), 8.

12. [Diedrich Willers], "Pennsylvania-German Settlers In the 'Genesee Country,' State of New York," *Notes and Queries: Historical, Biographical and Genealogical Relating Chiefly to Interior Pennsylvania ... Annual Volume, 1898*, 110, 112.

13. For the first edition, I did not have access to the surveyed distances, and from maps I over-estimated the distance of Whitmer's closest residence to Ephrata. *BRIDGENS' ATLAS OF LANCASTER CO., PENNA.: From actual Surveys ...* (Lancaster, PA: D. S. Bare, 1864), 16, showed that Cocalico Township was divided into East Cocalico Township (with Reamstown as its central town) and West Cocalico Township (with Shoeneck as its central town), showed (35) that Georgetown was the center of Bart Township, and showed (3) that Ephrata was 3-3/8 miles from Reamstown, 4-3/8 miles from Shoeneck, and 19-3/8 miles from Georgetown; also *HEADS OF FAMILIES At the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790: PENNSYLVANIA* [printed version of the manuscript census] (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1908), 129, for "Peter Witmer" in Cocalico, Lancaster County; Pennsylvania manuscript 1800 census (federal) for "Peter Witmer" in Bart, Lancaster County, microfilm, Family History Library, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter LDS Family History Library); Thomas F. Gordon, *A Gazetteer of the State of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: T. Belknap, 1832), 156; Peter C. Erb, ed., *Johann Conrad Beissel and the Ephrata Community: Mystical and Historical Texts* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellon Press, 1985), 25, for baptisms for the dead; also my ch. 4 for discussion of continuation of Ephrata's membership and practices into the mid-nineteenth century.

14. "THE VILLAGE OF PALMYRA," *The Reflector* (Palmyra, NY), 21 Aug. 1830, 102.

15. Jacob Martin correspondence and essays (1762), in scrapbook, 5, 6-8, 16, Ephrata Cloister, Pennsylvania Historical-Museum Commission, Ephrata, Pennsylvania; Hall MS 45, "Physica et Metaphysica et Hyperphysica," 18th-century Pennsylvania German manuscript, Manly P. Hall Collection, Philosophical Research Society, Los Angeles, California; Julius Friedrich Sachse, *The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania, 1708-1742*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: By the author, 1899-1900), 2:373-80; Manly P. Hall, *Codex Rosae Crucis* (Los Angeles: Philosopher's Press, 1938); E. G. Alderfer, *The Ephrata Commune: An Early American Counter Culture* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1985), 22, 59, 146-48.

16. "We have received the following letter from Palmyra, N.Y.," *Painesville Telegraph* (Painesville, OH), 22 Mar. 1831, [2].

17. Charles Marshall, "The Original Prophet," *Frazer's Magazine* 87 (Feb. 1873): 230, emphasis added.

18. A Brigham Young University polemicist cited my quotation of Marshall and claimed that "our recent author quotes others who state that magic in the early decades of the Restoration prospered in a climate of ignorance and superstition." See C. Willford Griggs, "The New Testament of Faith," in Church Educational System, *NEW TESTAMENT SYMPOSIUM SPEECHES*, 1988: *Delivered at a Symposium on 10-12 August 1988, Brigham Young University* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1988), 4. Griggs both ignored and misrepresented my repeated emphasis to the contrary throughout the first edition of this book. For polemics, see Preface.

19. Peter W. Williams, *Popular Religion in America: Symbolic Change and the Modernization Process in Historical Perspective* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1980), 86. This was not mentioned as one of "the appeals of Mormonism," in Arrington and Bitton, *Mormon Experience*, 20-43.

20. Marvin S. Hill, "Secular or Sectarian History: A Critique of *No Man Knows My History*," *Church History* 43 (Mar. 1974): 86; reprinted in Newell G. Bringham, *Reconsidering NO MAN KNOWS MY HISTORY: Fawn M. Brodie and Joseph Smith in Retrospect* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1996), 70, with "and" instead of "or"; also ch. 2 and page 486, note 368, for discussion of terms "mystic" and "mysticism."

21. John L. Brooke, *The Refiner's Fire: The Making of Mormon Cosmology, 1644-1844* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 58, 209 (for quotes), also discussion on 62-65, 143-45.

22. John L. Brooke, "The Folk Culture of Metallurgy and the Origins of Mormon Doctrine," paper presented at annual meeting of the Organization of American Historians in Philadelphia, 4 Apr. 1987, 13, copy in my possession. I was unable to find this statement in Brooke, *Refiner's Fire*, but his chart (308) suggests this correlation. However, his published chart's definition of "hermetic presence" includes Brooke's unfortunate equation of counterfeiting with alchemy, which makes impossible a direct comparison of the data in his 1987 paper with his 1994 book; see page 384, note 38.

23. Joseph Rogers affidavit (16 May 1887), in *Naked Truths About Mormonism* 1 (Apr. 1888), 1, reprinted in Rodger I. Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1990), 160-61, in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming); *ATLAS OF ONTARIO COUNTY, NEW YORK: From actual Surveys ...* (Philadelphia: Pomeroy, Whitman & Co., 1874), 11, for the Phelps-Manchester distance.

24. New York manuscript 1830 census (federal) of Phelps, Ontario County, 30, for Jacob E. Rupert family (with two sons between 20-30 years of age); Ronald Vern Jackson and Gary Ronald Teeple, eds., *New York 1840 Census Index* (Salt Lake City: Accelerated Indexing Systems, 1978), 777, for absence of Jacob Rupert family; Ohio manuscript 1840 census (federal) of Norton, Summit County, 259, for Peter Rupert (between 30-40 years of age). By the 1840 census, both Norton and Kirtland were in differently-named counties formed after 1834.

25. Kirtland Council Minute Book, 21 Apr. 1834, Archives, Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter LDS archives), printed in Fred C. Collier and William S. Harwell, eds., *Kirtland Council Minute Book* (Salt Lake City: Collier's Publishing, 1996), 37 (21 Apr. 1834), also in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:33. Backman, *Heavens Resound*, 126, mistakenly cited this Norton meeting as occurring "three years" after 1833; also *History of the Church*, 1:343, made a less detailed reference to "a council" that was held in Norton previous to May 1833.

26. "MINUTES OF THE GENERAL CONFERENCE HELD AT GREAT SALT LAKE

CITY, DESERET, April 6th, 1850," *Latter-Day Saints' Millennial Star* 12 (15 Sept. 1850): 275; also in *The Essential Brigham Young* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), 35.

27. Marvin S. Hill, "The Shaping of the Mormon Mind in New England and New York," *BYU Studies* 9 (Spring 1969): 351-72; Arrington and Bitton, *Mormon Experience*, 28-29; Dan Vogel, *Religious Seekers and the Advent of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988), 25-41; Grant Underwood, "The Religious Milieu of English Mormonism," in Richard L. Jensen and Malcolm R. Thorp, eds., *Mormons in Early Victorian Britain* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989), 39-40; Allen and Leonard, *Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 17-18, 26.

28. Laurence M. Yorgason, "Some Demographic Aspects of One Hundred Early Mormon Converts," M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1974, 47. That superceded his less precise summary of the "significant number [who] had chosen to belong to no church (about 31 percent)," in Yorgason, "Preview On A Study of the Social and Geographical Origins of Early Mormon Converts, 1830-1845," *BYU Studies* 10 (Spring 1970): 282.

29. Malcolm R. Thorp, "The Religious Backgrounds of Mormon Converts in Britain, 1837-52," *Journal of Mormon History* 4 (1977): 54, 60.

30. Michael R. Watts, *The Dissenters*, 2 vols. (Oxford, Eng.: Clarendon Press, 1978-95), 2:106, 164-65.

31. "Journal of Wandle Mace, 1809-1890," typescript, 64, Department of Archives and Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; also Scott G. Kenney, ed., *Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833-1898 Typescript*, 9 vols. (Midvale, UT: Signature Books, 1983-85), 2 (28 Mar. 1841): 75.

32. "Journal of Priddy Meeks, Harrisburg, Washington County, Utah Territory, October 22, 1879," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 10 (Jan.-Oct. 1940): 181, 182; also Frank Eschom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Utah Pioneers Book Publishing, 1913), 1030.

33. Alan Taylor, "Rediscovering the Context of Joseph Smith Jr.'s Treasure-Seeking," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 19 (Winter 1986): 25; also Brooke, *Refiner's Fire*, 72.

34. David Whitmer, *An Address to All Believers in Christ* (Richmond, MO: By the author, 1887), 32.

35. Minutes, 30 Sept. 1855, Thomas Bullock Collection, LDS archives; Maria L. Cowdery Johnson to David Whitmer, 24 Jan. 1887, fd 16, P 10, Library-Archives, Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Independence, Missouri (hereafter RLDS library-archives); Andrew Jenson, "David Whitmer," *The Historical Record* 7 (Oct. 1888): 623; Wilford Woodruff statement (22 Feb. 1893), typed document (possibly based on the First Presidency's office journal), fd 26, box 174, George A. Smith Family Collection, Manuscripts Division, Department of Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah. See page 483, note 343.

36. *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London and Liverpool: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1854-86), 2:111 (H. C. Kimball/1853).

37. Howard, *Restoration Scriptures* (1995), 24, 152-53.

38. Zina Young Card to Franklin D. Richards, 31 July 1896, in *Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (1830-1972), 31 July 1896, 4, 246 reels, microfilm, Special Collections, Marriott Library; Wilford Woodruff statement (1893); Joseph F. Smith to William E. McLellin, 24 Dec. 1882, abbreviated notes in fd 22, box 5, Scott Kenney papers, Marriott Library.

39. "DAVID WHITMER AND THE BOOK OF MORMON," *Deseret Evening News*, 10 Nov. 1881, [2].

40. Franklin D. Richards diary, 9 Mar. 1882, LDS archives.

41. Samuel Bateman diary, 17 Aug. 1887, typescript, Lee Library.

42. Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 8 (18 May 1888): 500; also Susan Staker, ed.,

Waiting For World's End: The Diaries of Wilford Woodruff (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1993), 378; Roberts, *Comprehensive History of the Church*, 6:230.

43. Frederick Kesler diary, 1 Feb. 1899, Marriott Library. The typescript spells the original word as "Seereis," which I regard as a misreading of Kesler's intent to spell his phonetic equivalent of seer-er's.

44. Roberts, *Comprehensive History of the Church*, 6:231n; Joseph Fielding Smith, *Doctrines of Salvation*, comp. Bruce R. McConkie, 3 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1954-56), 3:225; Bruce R. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine*, 2d ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1966), 818; Joseph Anderson [secretary to the LDS First Presidency] statement (1971), quoted in David C. Martin, "Hiram Page's 'Peep' Stone," *Restoration Reporter* 1 (June 1971): 8, and in Richard Van Wagoner and Steven Walker, "Joseph Smith: The Gift of Seeing," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 15 (Summer 1982): 59.

45. Mary Brown Firmage (now Woodward) interview with Richard S. Van Wagoner, 11 Aug. 1986, typescript, fd 19, box 14, Van Wagoner papers, Marriott Library. One seer stone is the brown stone described in this paragraph, and the second is the whitish stone as next described.

The third stone apparently left the custody of the First Presidency's office in 1898 and ended up among the personal effects in the estate of Wilford Woodruff. In 1912 the secretary to the First Presidency wrote to Zina Young Card (Brigham's daughter) about this seer stone and the Zeph arrow head that she had originally given to the First Presidency but which ended up with Woodruff's widow, who had given them back to Mrs. Card. Secretary George F. Gibbs reminded Mrs. Card that these items were still the property of the LDS church, despite their temporary custody in private possession. He expressed the expectation that Mrs. Card would return them to the First Presidency. Absent from the presidency's office since 1898, this was not the *Book of Mormon's* "mahogany" seer stone that Kesler saw at the presidency's office in 1899. See Kesler diary, 1 Feb. 1899, and George F. Gibbs [secretary to the LDS First Presidency] to Zina Young Card, 25 Jan. 1912, LDS archives, with photocopy in my possession.

46. Richard M. Robinson, "The History of a Nephite Coin," 4-5, signed by Robinson and his wife Maria, 30 Dec. 1934, LDS archives; Missionary Index, Church Library, LDS Historical Department (hereafter LDS Church Library); Van Wagoner and Walker, "Joseph Smith: The Gift of Seeing," 58-59.

47. E. W. Vanderhoof, *Historical Sketches of Western New York* (Buffalo: Matthews-Northrup Works, 1907), 138-39; also Pomeroy Tucker, *Origin, Rise, and Progress of Mormonism ...* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1867), 19; W. H. McIntosh, *History of Wayne County, New York ...* (Philadelphia: Everts, Ensign & Everts/J.B. Lippincott, 1877), 150; Dickinson, *New Light on Mormonism*, 247; J. H. Kennedy, *Early Days of Mormonism: Palmyra, Kirtland, and Nauvoo* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1888), 19-20.

48. Richard Lloyd Anderson, "The Mature Joseph Smith and Treasure Searching," *BYU Studies* 24 (Fall 1984): 538-39.

49. James R. B. Vancleave to Joseph Smith III, 29 Sept. 1878, 2, fd 255, P13, "Miscellaneous Letters and Papers," RLDS library-archives; reprinted in Lyndon W. Cook, ed., *David Whitmer Interviews: A Restoration Witness* (Orem, UT: Grandin Book, 1991), 239-40. Married to a granddaughter of David Whitmer, Vancleave was describing their meeting with Pratt three weeks earlier. See Mary Cleora Dear, comp., *Two Hundred Thirty-Eight Years of the Whitmer Family, 1737-1976* (Richmond, MO: Beck Printing, 1976), 41, 43.

50. "REPORT OF ELDERS ORSON PRATT AND JOSEPH F. SMITH (Concluded)," *Deseret Evening News*, 23 Nov. 1878, [1], reprinted in *Latter-Day Saints' Millennial Star* 40 (16 Dec. 1878): 787.

51. Joseph Smith, Jr., blessing given to Newel K. Whitney and Elizabeth Ann Whitney, 7 Oct. 1835, "written by president Frederick G. Williams, who acted as Clerk," page three of patriarchal blessings, fd 19, box 6, Newel K. Whitney Family papers, Lee Library.

52. Quinn, *Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power*, 69-76.
53. David Stafford affidavit (5 Dec. 1833) and Henry Harris affidavit (1833), in Eber D. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled* ... (Painesville, OH: By the author, 1834), 249, 251, reprinted in Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined*, 141, 131, in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming); Tucker, *Origin, Rise, and Progress of Mormonism*, 20; Hamilton Child, *Gazetteer and Business Directory of Chenango County, N.Y., for 1869-70* (Syracuse: Journal Office, 1869), 82; McIntosh, *History of Wayne County, New York*, 150; Emily M. Austin, *Mormonism; or, Life Among the Mormons* (Madison, WI: M. J. Cantwell, 1882), 31, from her perspective as an 1830 convert.
54. Fayette Lapham, "Interview with the Father of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet, Forty Years Ago: His Account of the Finding of the Sacred Plates," *Historical Magazine* 7 (May 1870): 306, reprinted in Kirkham, *New Witness for Christ*, 2:384, in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:458.
55. Donald Q. Cannon, "Reverend George Moore Comments on Nauvoo, the Mormons, and Joseph Smith," *Western Illinois Regional Studies* 5 (Spring 1982), 15n10.
56. Joseph Smith manuscript diary, 7 Oct. 1835, in Scott H. Faulring, ed., *An American Prophet's Record: The Diaries and Journals of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books/Smith Research Associates, 1987), 37 (for blessing), 38 (for quote); also Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2:50; *History of the Church*, 2:289.
57. Report from Cleveland, Ohio, dated 31 July 1835, in "Another Humbug," *Sunday Morning News* (New York City), 16 Aug. 1835, typescript, fd 11, box 46, Madeline R. McQuown papers, Marriott Library.
58. Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 2 (19 Feb. 1842): 155; also Staker, *Waiting For World's End*, 50.
59. Parley P. Pratt, "Editorial Remarks," *Latter-Day Saints' Millennial Star* 3 (July 1842): 47.
60. Smith, *Doctrines of Salvation*, 3:225. By contrast, BYU religion professor H. Donl Peterson, "The History and Significance of the Book of Abraham," in Roben L. Millet and Kent P. Jackson, eds., *Studies in Scripture, Volume Two: The Pearl of Great Price* (Salt Lake City: Randall Book, 1985), 174-75, declined to comment on "the method of translating the Book of Abraham" because he regarded that as an unwise "troubling [of] oneself with the mechanics of translating." Concerning the translation, Peterson, *Story of the Book of Abraham*, 160-63, referred only to the Urim and Thummim in his headings and text and used "seer stone" only when quoting Orson Pratt, and on 182 stated: "Whether he used a seer stone or Urim and Thummim while translating the Abrahamic scrolls is not answered in his personal writings or in the Church history." It seems apparent that the idea of Smith's using his treasure-digging seer stone as a renamed Urim and Thummim was "troubling" to BYU's Peterson but acceptable to Apostle Joseph Fielding Smith.
61. B. H. Roberts, *New Witnesses for God*, 3 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1909), 2:115; concerning the Egyptian Grammar, see Todd, *Saga of the Book of Abraham*, 221-24; Hugh Nibley, "The Meaning of the Kirtland Egyptian Papers," *BYU Studies* 11 (Summer 1971): 350-53, 356-57, 359-70; Peterson, *Story of the Book of Abraham*, 119-20, 157-61. LDS Egyptologist John Gee has recently written: "Thus there is no solid evidence that Joseph Smith worked on KEPE 1, the so-called Alphabet and Grammar, during this period of time [mid-1830s], or at any period of time. It was never presented as scripture or as revelation to the Saints and they are not under any obligation to defend it, believe it, or even understand it." See Gee, "Bird Island' Revisited, or the Book of Mormon through Pyramidal Kabbalistic Glasses," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 7 (1995), no. 1:227. Compare Faulring, *American Prophet's Record*, 427.
62. "History of Brigham Young," *Latter-Day Saints' Millennial Star* 26 (20 Feb. 1864): 118-19; Elden Jay Watson, ed., *Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 1801-1844* (Salt Lake

City: Smith Secretarial Service, 1968), 112a; Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 2 (27 Dec. 1841): 144; Staker, *Waiting For World's End*, 50.

63. Christopher M. Stafford statement (23 Mar. 1885), in *Naked Truths About Mormonism* 1 (Apr. 1888): 1, reprinted in Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined*, 166; Lorenzo Saunders interview (12 Nov. 1884), 10, fd 8, box 1, E. L. Kelley papers, RLDS library-archives; both in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming); Orrin Porter Rockwell and his sister Emily in computerized Ancestral File, LDS Family History Library. In this quote Saunders interrupted himself and made a circular description of his conversation with Joseph Smith, Jr.: "When the men will come to me & tell me that men can pick stones out of this Earth, as I told Jo. Smith when he dug one out of a well on Chases Farm in the shape of a baby's foot. ... I tell you when a man will ~~come to~~ tell me that any one can get a stone, & see knowledge of futurity ..." Despite its awkwardness, the wording indicates that Smith made the latter statement.

64. Lapham, "Interview with the Father of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet," 306; Kirkham, *New Witness for Christ in America*, 2:384; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:458.

65. William Clayton diary, 15 June 1844, in Jerald Tanner and Sandra Tanner, eds., *Clayton's Secret Writings Uncovered: Extracts From The Diaries of Joseph Smith's Secretary William Clayton* (Salt Lake City: Modern Microfilm, [1982]), 59; Andrew F. Ehat, "Joseph Smith's Introduction of Temple Ordinances and the 1844 Mormon Succession Question," M. A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1982, 38-39. George D. Smith, ed., *An Intimate Chronicle: The Journals of William Clayton* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books/Smith Research Associates, 1991), 134, rendered this as "g[reat] key word," which was not the usage of early Mormons.

66. Roberts, *Comprehensive History of the Church*, 2:106.

67. Lyman Wight to Cooper and Chidester [Northern Islander's editors who did not publish the letter], July 1855, Wight letterbook, 23, RLDS library-archives; Quinn, *Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power*, 198-99.

68. Zina Young Card to Franklin D. Richards in *Journal History*, 31 July 1896, 4.

69. G[rant]. Palmer statement (31 Dec. 1991), fd 15, box 156, H. Michael Marquardt papers, Marriott Library. Earl Olson had not been the official archivist of the LDS Historical Department since the mid-1980s, and therefore Palmer referred to an earlier, unspecified date. For Palmer's previous interest in seer stones and the occult connections to Joseph Smith's early experiences, see Paul Pry, Jr., pseud. [Grant Palmer], "New York Mormonism," typed manuscript (1986), various paging, fd 7, box 5, in Linda Sillitoe's *Salamander Collection*, Marriott Library. Palmer was identified as "Pry" in Robert F. Smith, "Oracles & Talismans, Forgery & Pansophia: Joseph Smith, Jr. As a Renaissance Magus," bound typescript ("August 1987-Draft"), 30n90, copy in Lee Library and in fd 7, box 97. Marquardt papers.

70. Bullock minutes, 30 Sept. 1855.

71. "A Famous Crystal," *Lehi Banner* (Lehi, UT), 15 Feb. 1898, [6], quoting the *Wisconsin Leader* (Merrillan, WI).

72. Bullock minutes, 30 Sept. 1855.

73. Sarah Luce to Wilford Wood, 14 Mar. 1943, reel 16, Film 413, Wood Collection, LDS archives; Leilah Wood Glade remarks about the Smith family's seer stone or "peep stone," during tour of Wilford C. Wood Museum, Woods Cross, Utah, 21 Aug. 1986; D. Michael Quinn memorandum, 21 Aug. 1986, witnessed and signed by Quinn, Allen D. Roberts, Jan Thompson, and George D. Smith. For the three marriages and children of Nancy Perryman Brooks Abercrombie Bidamon, see Nancy Perryman biographical file, fd 37, box 13, Linda King Newell papers, Marriott Library.

74. Photograph 1708, David Whitmer Family seer stone (round, oblong), in possession of George W. Schweich in 1890, s.v. "Seer Stone," manuscript catalog, LDS archives; L.

Madelon Brunson [archivist, History Commission, Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints] to D. Michael Quinn, 25 Feb. 1987.

The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (RLDS), headquartered in Independence, Missouri, also bases its claims on Joseph Smith and his teachings. My focus throughout this chapter is on the much larger and better-known Utah-based church, but I do not mean to imply that there were no folk believers in the RLDS church. However, after Joseph Smith III became its president in 1860, the RLDS church disavowed the more radical teachings of Mormonism, while emphasizing its continuities with the Protestant community. Therefore, my hypothesis is that folk magic has never been significant among RLDS leaders or the rank-and-file. However, I have not taken the time necessary to do the research to test that hypothesis. See below for discussion of Utah Mormon astrologer Thomas Job, who joined the RLDS church and became president of its Utah Mission. On the Reorganization, see also Paul M. Edwards, *Our Legacy of Faith: A Brief History of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1991).

75. Joseph Fielding Smith, *Life of Joseph F. Smith ...* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1938), 239; Anderson, *Investigating the Book of Mormon Witnesses*, 85-86.

76. Photograph 1707/2, Jacob Whitmer Family seer stone (flat, rectangular), photographed in 1955, s.v. "Seer Stone," manuscript computer-catalog, LDS archives.

77. William C. Sturtevant, ed., *Handbook of North American Indians*, 17+ vols. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978-96+), 15:40, fig. 9-j (of a "gorget" almost identical to the Jacob Whitmer family's seer stone; original burial site unspecified, but from "Early Woodland cultures in the Northeast"); William A. Ritchie, *The Archaeology of New York State*, rev. ed. (Harrison, NY: Harbor Hill Books, 1980), PLATE 69-4 (of "trapezoidal gorgets" from the "Morrow site, Ontario Co., N.Y.," similar to the Jacob Whitmer seer stone); *Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language Unabridged* (Springfield, MA: G. and C. Merriam, 1981), s.v. "gorget." Dan Vogel was the first to note this similarity and to suggest the ancient use of this Mormon artifact in his "Seer Stones or Indian Jewelry?" typescript (1981), fd 17, box 156, Marquardt papers, Marriott Library. Rick Grunder, *Mormon Parallels: A Preliminary Bibliography of Material Offered for Sale, 1981-1987* (Ithaca, NY: Rick Grunder—Books, 1987), 111, no. 230, described it as "an Indian gorget of polished grey green slate."

78. Description of an RLDS youth group's visit at home of Mrs. Mayme Koontz on 15 May 1955, in Vivian W. Graybill to John Blackmore, 13 Apr. 1956, Biographical Folder: Koontz, at RLDS library-archives; Dear, *Two Hundred Thirty-Eight Years of the Whitmer Family*, 11, 14, 35, for John C. Whitmer as son of Book of Mormon witness Jacob Whitmer, who were respectively father and grandfather of Mayme Whitmer Koontz; also Richard Lloyd Anderson, "The Whitmers: A Family that Nourished the Church," *Ensign* 9 (Aug. 1979): 40, concerning Mayme Whitmer Koontz: "With pride she told me before her death in 1961 that David's 'Church of Christ' was alive as long as she lived"; also following note.

79. Alvin R. Dyer, "Whitmer Family Items, 1955, 2 items. Views of a painting of Jacob Whitmer and a seer stone, both in the possession of the Whitmer Family, Received 1955," LDS archives; Mayme Whitmer Koontz statement in Dyer, *The Refiner's Fire: The Significance of Events Transpiring in Missouri*, 3d ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1972), 263.

80. Dyer, *Refiner's Fire*, 263 (photo caption: "The seer stone presumed to have been used by Hiram Page"), also 264 (republishing in 1972 the same speculation from his second edition in 1968); repeated in Ogden Kraut, *Seers and Seer Stones* (Salt Lake City: Anne Wilde/Pioneer Press, ca. 1970), 51.

81. David C. Martin, "Hiram Page's 'Peep' Stone," *Restoration Reporter* 1 (June 1971): 7; Rick Grunder, *Like A Fire: An Offering of Early Mormon Background and Parallels, Catalog Six* (Bloomington, IN: Rick Grunder-Books, 1984), no. 91; Grunder, *Mormon Parallels*, 111, no. 230; my telephone conversation with Rick Grunder on 23 June 1998.

82. *History of the Church*, 1:109-10; D&C 28:11; Bruce G. Stewart, "Hiram Page: An

Historical and Sociological Analysis of an Early Mormon Prototype," M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1987, 111-16; Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:322-23.

83. "Newel Knight's Journal," in *Scraps of Biography: Tenth Book of the Faith-Promoting Series* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1883), 64, reprinted in Hyrum L. Andrus and Helen Mae Andrus, *They Knew The Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1974), 13; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:134n174, disputes David Whitmer's later effort to downplay the enthusiasm he and Cowdery initially had for Page's revelations.

84. Emer Harris statement, in Utah Stake General Minutes, Local Record 9629, ser. 11, vol. 10 (1855-60), 268 (6 Apr. 1856, morning meeting, for first quote), 278 (6 Apr. 1856, afternoon meeting, for the second quote), LDS archives; also his biography in Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:489.

85. Stewart, "Hiram Page," 140-46.

86. Dennis A. Wright, "The Hiram Page Stone: A Lesson in Church Government," in Leon R. Hartshorn, Wright, and Craig J. Ostler, eds., *The Doctrine and Covenants: A Book of Answers, The 25th Annual Sidney B. Sperry Symposium* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1996).

87. However, nowhere in his article (85-94) did Wright refer to the destruction of Page's seer stone, as described by Emer Harris and cited in the first edition of my book.

87. "Mormonites," *The Sun* (Philadelphia), 18 Aug. 1831, [1], original in Library of Congress, "Newspaper Articles About Mormonism, 1830-1844," microfilm, LDS archives.

88. Samuel F. Whitney affidavit, 6 Mar. 1885, in *Naked Truths About Mormonism* 1 (Jan. 1888): 3; also Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

89. For her biography, see "Reminiscences of Elizabeth Ann Smith Whitney," in Carol Cornwall Madsen, *In Their Own Words: Women and the Story of Nauvoo* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1994), 198-205; Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saints Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press/Andrew Jenson History, 1901-36), 3:563-64; also D. Michael Quinn, "The Newel K. Whitney Family," *Ensign* 8 (Dec. 1978): 42-45.

90. "The Journal of Bishop Edward Partridge, 1818, 1835-1836, transcribed by Lyman DePlatt, a great-great-grandson," 34 (original pagination for date of 27 Dec. 1835), LDS archives; also Ian G. Barber, "Mormon Women as 'Natural' Seers: An Enduring Legacy," in Maxine Hanks, ed., *Women and Authority: Re-emerging Mormon Feminism* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), 170. Partridge had a grandson Platte D. Lyman, named for his birth near the Platte River, but Lyman DePlatt is an LDS researcher of Latin America.

91. Hepzibah [Richards] to "Dear Brother" [Levi Richards], 10 Jan. 1836 [actually 1838], fd 22, box 1, Philip Blair papers, Marriott Library; quoted as 1836 document in Barber, "Mormon Women as 'Natural' Seers," 170; Milton V. Backman, Jr., *A Profile of Latter-day Saints of Kirtland, Ohio, and Members of Zion's Camp, 1830-1839: Vital Statistics and Sources* (Provo, UT: Department of Church History and Doctrine, Brigham Young University, 1982), 72, 128, for John Thorp. Aside from Hepzibah's curious error in dating her letter as 1836, her surname and the identity of "Dear Brother" are not self-evident because the exterior of this folded letter was addressed to Brigham Young. The correct year is evident from her reference to a well-known 1838 event (a fixed point): "Elders John Taylor and John Page [are appointed] to fill the places of John Boynton and Luke Johnson." After Hepzibah wrote a postscript on 12 January, Mary A. Young used a blank page after Hepzibah's letter to write a letter to "My Beloved Companion," dated 12 January 1838. Upon completing her own letter, Mary A. Young addressed the joint-correspondence to Brigham Young. Hepzibah's letter referred to "cousin Brigham" and identified its recipient as "brother L." Levi Richards was her only surviving brother whose first name began with L.

92. "Statement by Elaine Mullins, descendant of Elias Pulsipher," in Kraut, *Seers and Seer Stones*, 55, with photo of "The Elias Pulsipher Stone" (56); also Susan Ward Easton Black, *Membership of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830-1848*, 50 vols. (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1984-88), 35:858. Mullins did not identify who among Pulsipher's daughters or granddaughters were the female seers.

93. *History of the Church*, 2:525; "Notice," *Times and Seasons* 4 (1 Dec. 1842): 32; Dan Vogel, "James Colin Brewster: The Boy Prophet Who Challenged Mormon Authority," in Roger D. Launius and Linda Thatcher, eds., *Differing Visions: Dissenters in Mormon History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 120-21, with quote (127); Collier and Harwell, *Kirtland Council Minute Book*, 199-299 (30 Oct. 1837), 204-06 (20 Nov. 1837).

94. Alfred Cordon diary (6 June 1840-24 Aug. 1841), 151-52 (27 Mar. 1841), LDS archives; Staffordshire Conference (England) membership book, 24, 42, microfilm, LDS Family History Library, for William Mountford.

95. "Journal of Wandle Mace, 1809-1890," typescript, 64-65 (statement to Mace by the church president's uncle John Smith and confirmed later by Alfred Cordon).

96. I borrow the phrase from Robert S. Ellwood, *Alternative Altars: Unconventional and Eastern Spirituality in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979).

97. Alfred Cordon 1840-41 diary, 152 (27 Mar. 1841), 156 (28 Mar. 1841); Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 2 (28 Mar. 1841): 75, which misspelled Mountford as "Moum-ford"; Anderson, "The Mature Joseph Smith and Treasure Searching," 536; Allen, Esplin, and Whittaker, *Men With a Mission, 1837-1841*, 94. George A. Smith's 1841-44 diary, 29-30 (27-28 Mar. 1841), Marriott Library, referred only to "Much Instruction" and "Much Important Business Done."

98. George A. Smith to Don Carlos Smith, 29 Mar. 1841, in *Times and Seasons* 2 (1 June 1842): 434; Staffordshire Conference membership book, 52, showing Mountford's purchases of LDS periodicals and books in 1869.

99. Related by Alfred Cordon in "Journal of Wandle Mace, 1809-1890," typescript, 65. However, Cordon did not witness this conversation since his diary shows that he did not move to Nauvoo until 23 April 1843, eighteen months after George A. Smith's return. When Cordon was in Nauvoo, his diary became sporadic. There is no reference to this conversation in the diaries of Joseph Smith or George A. Smith, but their diaries rarely described conversations.

100. British Mission manuscript history, 15 Dec. 1845, quoted in Rebecca Bartholomew, *Audacious Women: Early British Mormon Immigrants* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1995), 93; Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 2 (15 Dec. 1845): 621, recorded this as "to sustain the Presidency, the Priesthood & to be governed by it & not by tongues or the visions of some woman ..."

101. Oliver B. Huntington holograph diary 3 (21 Oct. 1846), 58 (for first quote and her name), 53 (for second quote), 58 (for Watt quote), Lee Library; Membership Card Index (the Minnie Margetts Index), microfilm, LDS Family History Library; also Barber, "Mormon Women as 'Natural' Seers," 170.

102. Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah*, 1145; Alfred Cordon diary (1840-41), 147 (18 Mar. 1841); George A. Smith 1841-44 diary, 23 (18 Mar. 1841).

103. Ilene Hanks Kingsbury, "The Rushton Peep Stone," in Kate B. Carter, comp., *Heart Throbs of the West*, 12 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1939-51), 10:131-33; Kraut, *Seers and Seer Stones*, 54, for photo of the stone Rushton found in 1845.

104. Bullock minutes, 30 Sept. 1855.

105. *History of the Church*, 7:285.

106. Mary Ellen Abel Kimball diary, 22-23 May 1858, LDS archives; also Barber, "Mormon Women as 'Natural' Seers," 171, which quoted the diary as "could see anything." Of the Butterfields who arrived in Utah before this 1858 diary entry, only Thomas Butterfield had young sons by 1858. See Utah Emigration Card Index (1847-68), microfilm, LDS Family History Library; Ancestral File for Thomas Butterfield (b. 1811) and his sons Almon (b. 1844) and George (b. 1847; d. 1937).

107. "TABERNACLE," *Deseret News* [weekly], 26 Dec. 1860, front page.

108. Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 5 (11 Feb. 1861): 550.

109. "Journal of Priddy Meeks," 200; also John Phillip Walker, ed., *Dale Morgan on*

Early Mormonism: Correspondence and A New History (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1986), 230-31.

110. Luella P. Cowley, "The Parkinson Romance," in Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West*, 2:ch. 18, 14-15 (handwritten as pages 506-507 in some library versions); also Austin Fife and Alta Fife, *Saints of Sage & Saddle: Folklore Among the Mormons* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1956), 166-67, which implied Parkinson was initially skeptical, a departure from the original; "The Peepstone," in Kate B. Carter, comp., *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 20 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1958-77), 7:576-77; Susannah Parkinson Nielson oral history (1973) typescript, 4, LDS archives; Vivian Parkinson Taylor Hales oral history (1975), typescript, 17, LDS archives.

111. Jens C. Weibye daybook 6, 143-44 (22 Sept. 1881), LDS archives.

112. *Catalogue of the Relics, Souvenirs and Curios Associated with the Pioneers of Utah Now on Exhibition in the Hall of Relics, Main Street, Salt Lake City* (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons, [1897]), 12.

113. Walter Dean Bowen, "The Versatile W. W. Phelps: Mormon Writer, Educator, and Pioneer," M.S. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1958, 72, 83, 141, 149, 171 (for quote), 204; Bruce A. Van Orden, "W. W. Phelps: His Ohio Contributions, 1835-36," in Milton V. Backman, Jr., ed., *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History: Ohio* (Provo, UT: Department of Church History and Doctrine, Brigham Young University, 1990), 45-62; Heber C. Kimball diary (recorded by William Clayton), 10-11 Dec. 1845, in Smith, *Intimate Chronicle*, 203, 207, for same role of Phelps in Nauvoo temple; Quinn, *Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power*, 522-23, for Council of Fifty membership; also ch. 6 for the dramatic presentation of the ancient mysteries and the LDS endowment.

114. Nels B. Lundwall statement (22 Apr. 1967), in Kraut, *Seers and Seer Stones*, 32, as related to him by J. Golden Kimball "during the 1920's."

115. Wayland D. Hand, "Magic and the Supernatural in Utah Folklore," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 16 (Winter 1983): 59; Hand and Jeannine E. Talley, *Popular Beliefs and Superstitions from Utah, Collected by Anthon S. Cannon* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1984), 335 (no. 10666, reported by Utah female in 1945), 400 (no. 12801, reported by female, age eighty-one, at Logan in 1946); Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, *The Logan Temple* (Logan, UT: Logan Temple Centennial Commemoration Committee, 1984), 11, for dates of excavation.

116. J. H. Adamson, "Tales of the Supernatural," in Thomas E. Cheney, Austin Fife, and Juanita Brooks, eds., *Lore of Faith & Folly* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1971), 253. There were several Dunyon families living in Tooele from the 1880s to the early 1900s, so it is impossible to identify this seeress without more information.

117. Mary Ellen Abel Kimball diary, 8 May 1858; also Barber, "Mormon Women as 'Natural' Seers," 173; Mary Ann Fowell (b. 1823) in Ancestral File.

118. Stanley B. Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball: Mormon Patriarch and Pioneer* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981), 234-36; D. Michael Quinn, "Mormon Women Have Had the Priesthood Since 1843," in Hanks, *Women and Authority*, 370.

119. Kingsbury, "Rushton Peep Stone," 132; Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah*, 1145; Kraut, *Seers and Seer Stones*, 51, 56, for seer stone with holes, compared with photo of the Rushton stone (54); also Photo 60, "Photograph of seer stone that belonged to Edwin Rushton, shown with a leather pouch," LDS archives.

120. Frederick Kesler diary, 12 Mar. 1882.

121. *The Personal Journal of Christian Anderson* (N.p.: Christian Anderson Family Organization, 1982?), Book IV (20 Nov. 1885-31 Dec. 1890), 56 (9 Dec. 1890), also Book V (17 Sept. 1889-24 Mar. 1895), 20 (1 Apr. 1891), for Anderson's continued visits at "Sister Russell's," copy in LDS Church Library. LDS archives has a shorter transcription (it misspelled Russell as "Punnell" and gave the wrong year), which was the source used in

Davis Bitton, *Guide to Mormon Diaries & Autobiographies* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1977), 8. See below for further information on Russell.

122. B. H. Roberts, *The Life of John Taylor, Third President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons, 1892), 28, 29-30; John Q. Cannon, *George Cannon: The Immigrant ... His Posterity* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1928), 145; Francis M. Gibbons, *John Taylor: Mormon Philosopher, Prophet of God* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1985), 11, 194.

123. *Journal of Discourses*, 26:65-66 (G. Q. Cannon/1884).

124. James E. Talmage 1892-93 diary, 182 (22 Feb. 1893), Lee Library; also see page 483, note 343.

125. James E. Talmage 1892-93 diary, 180 (22 Feb. 1893, for Woodruff's endorsement), 175, 178 (21 Feb. 1893, for meeting with Sophia Russell); Ancestral File for Sophia Jeanne Romriell (b. 1851); see below for her background.

126. Barber, "Mormon Women as 'Natural' Seers," 171-72; Ancestral File for Harriet Maria Carter (b. 1872).

127. Robinson, "The History of a Nephite Coin," 5.

128. Susa Young Gates, "Witchcraft," *Young Woman's Journal* 11 (Sept. 1900): 396, 401; John A. Widtsoe, "The Folly of Astrology," *Improvement Era* 4 (Feb. 1901): 290.

129. Joseph F. Smith, "Superstitious Practices," *Improvement Era* 5 (Sept. 1902): 897.

130. Andrew Jensen diary, 18 Aug. 1906, LDS archives.

131. Kingsbury, "Rushton Peep Stone," 133, as summary of statements by Edith Rushton Christensen.

132. Anthon H. Lund diary, 23 Apr. 1918, microfilm, LDS archives; also briefer reference in Barber, "Mormon Women as 'Natural' Seers," 174. Her listing in *Salt Lake City Directory* (Salt Lake City: R. L. Polk, 1918), 336, also since 1896.

133. Barber, "Mormon Women as 'Natural' Seers," 174; for another example, see Linda King Newell, "Gifts of the Spirit: Women's Share," in Maureen Ursenbach Beecher and Lavina Fielding Anderson, eds., *Sisters in Spirit: Mormon Women in Historical and Cultural Perspective* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 141.

134. Kingsbury, "Rushton Peep Stone," 133, for "Mrs. Genevieve Barnes" and her sister; Luella Linck (b. 1893) in Ancestral File, for her marriage to James Birrell in 1914; John C. Duncan (b. 1882) in Ancestral File, for death of wife Rowena; Jensen, *Latter-day Saints Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4:508, for Duncan's service as bishop of Salt Lake City's First Ward (1909-30); Ancestral File for Genevieve Leaver Barnes (b. 1881) who had only one sister alive in the 1920s, Leona Leaver Shurtleff (b. 1894).

135. "Reed C. Durham, Jr., Instructor, CHURCH EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM: SEER STONES," 2, item H, in "Education Week Outlines of Lectures," Mor M208, Ala#460, Special Collections, Lee Library.

136. Kingsbury, "Rushton Peep Stone," 133, which did not identify her.

137. Gary F. Novak, "The Most Convenient Form of Error: Dale Morgan on Joseph Smith and the Book of Mormon," *FARMS Review of Books: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 8 (1996), no. 1:163n91, seems to be stating this same view in Novak's double-negative: "This is not to say that the Saints as a whole, in 1945, had not lapsed into forgetfulness about things like seerstones."

138. Kraut, *Seers and Seer Stones*; Hand and Talley, *Popular Beliefs and Superstitions from Utah*, 328 (no. 10433, reported by male, age twenty-four, at Salt Lake City in 1964).

139. James Wirthlin McConkie II written statement, 19 Nov. 1986, original in my possession.

140. Barber, "Mormon Women as 'Natural' Seers," 179.

141. *Book of Commandments*, 19; Robert J. Woodford, "The Historical Development of the Doctrine and Covenants," 3 vols., Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1974, 1:185-91;

Cook, *Revelations of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, 16; Howard, *Restoration Scriptures* (1995), 156-58.

142. Charles A. Shook, *The True Origin of The Book of Mormon* (Cincinnati, OH: Standard Publishing, 1914), 16n1; also Walker, *Dale Morgan on Early Mormonism*, 392n22.

143. Lapham, "Interview with the Father of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet," 306; Kirkham, *New Witness for Christ in America*, 2:384; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:457.

144. James Colin Brewster, *Very Important! To the Mormon Money Diggers* (Springfield, IL: By the author, 1843), 5; Lyndon W. Cook and Milton V. Backman, Jr., eds., *Kirtland Elders' Quorum Record, 1836-1841* (Provo, UT: Grandin Book, 1985), 38.

145. Peter Ingersoll affidavit (2 Dec. 1833), in Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 233; reprinted in Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined*, 135; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

146. Dean C. Jessee, ed., "Joseph Knight's Recollection of Early Mormon History," *BYU Studies* 17 (Autumn 1976): 33.

147. Heber C. Kimball diary, 1 July 1837, in "SYNOPSIS OF THE HISTORY OF HEBER CHASE KIMBALL," *Deseret News* [weekly], 21 Apr. 1858, front page; *Latter-Day Saints' Millennial Star* 26 (17 Apr. 1864): 599; Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball*, 248. However, this was not in the original manuscript diary, as published by Stanley B. Kimball, ed., *On the Potter's Wheel: The Diaries of Heber C. Kimball* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books/Smith Research Associates, 1987), 6-7 (1 July 1837).

148. Sarah M. Kimball statement, 21 June 1892, in Solomon F. Kimball, "Sacred History," LDS archives.

149. "INTERESTING NEWS FROM ALEXANDRIA and JERUSALEM," *Latter-Day Saints' Millennial Star* 2 (Jan. 1842): 135, reprinted in *Times and Seasons* 3 (1 Apr. 1842): 741; also *History of the Church*, 4:459.

150. Heber C. Kimball diary, 6 June 1844, in Kimball, *On the Potter's Wheel*, 65. Stanley B. Kimball's biography of Heber C. Kimball suggests a connection between this rod and Oliver Cowdery's but concludes that it was not "a divining stick or 'water witch,' popular at that time." See Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball*, 249, 257n19. This modern historian may not have been aware that nineteenth-century divining rods were used for revelatory purposes on the basis of whether the pointer moved.

151. John Potter, *Archaeologia Graeca, or the Antiquities of Greece* (New York: Collins & Co., 1825), 301.

152. D. Michael Quinn, "Latter-day Saint Prayer Circles," *BYU Studies* 19 (Fall 1978): 79-105; George S. Tate, "Prayer Circle," in Ludlow, *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 3:1120-21; Sheri L. Dew, *Ezra Taft Benson: A Biography* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1987), 190.

153. Thomas Hartwell Horne, *An Introduction To the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures*, 1st Am. ed., 4 vols. (Philadelphia: E. Littell, 1825), 3:360 (with U.S. printings in 1826, 1827, 1831, 1833, 1836, 1840, 1841, 1844); J. Newton Brown, ed., *Fessenden & Co.'s Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge ...* (Brattleboro, VT: Fessenden and Co.; Boston: Shattuck & Co., 1835), 466, s.v. "Divination"; John Kitto, *A Cyclopaedia of Biblical Literature*, 2 vols. (New York: N.p., 1845), 1:568; John M'Clintock and James Strong, eds., *Cyclopaedia of Biblical Theology, and Ecclesiastical Literature*, 12 vols. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1894), 2:836.

154. Anderson, "The Mature Joseph Smith and Treasure Searching," 531.

155. Heber C. Kimball memorandum book, 21 Jan. 1862, LDS archives; Anderson, "The Mature Joseph Smith and Treasure Searching," 531-32, also accurately rendered Kimball's 1862 entry as "it was told me by the Lord—rod—that Congress ..." However, Kimball, *On the Potter's Wheel*, 175, mistranscribed this as "it was told me by the Lord God that Congress ..."

156. *Journal of Discourses*, 5:164 (H. C. Kimball/1857).

157. Henry Cornelius Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (London: Gregory Moule, 1651), 402-03.
158. "PALMYRA Book Store," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 12 May 1824, [3]; Robert Calef, *More Wonders of the Invisible World*... (London: Nath. Hillar and Joseph Collyer, 1700), 32; *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 754 vols. (London: Mansell, 1968-81), 89:613; with my discussion on page 494 (note 71) of Calef's retitled and otherwise unknown reprint at Salem in 1821.
159. Kimball, Heber C. Kimball, 10, 14.
160. *History of the Church*, 5:311-12.
161. Anderson, "The Mature Joseph Smith and Treasure Searching," 536.
162. Anthon H. Lund diary, 5 July 1901.
163. Robert L. Campbell diary, 21 Dec. 1849, LDS archives; also in Bitton, *Guide to Mormon Diaries & Autobiographies*, 55, which dropped capitalization of gold and silver, also in *Journal History*, 21 Dec. 1849, 1, which changed to past tense. *Journal History*, 25 Nov. 1849, 1, gave Hatch's middle initial in the "full list of the personnel," with full name of "Southern Exploring Company" in *Journal History*, 23 Nov. 1849, 1.
164. Hope A. Hilton, "Wild Bill" Hickman and the Mormon Frontier (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988), 32; Quinn, *Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power*, 750; also biography of Isaac Burrus Hatch, Jr. (for his father's 1853 death date), in Irvin L. Warnock and Lexia D. Warnock, comps. and eds., *Our Own Sevier: A Comprehensive, Centennial Volume: Sevier County, Utah, 1865-1965* (Richfield, UT: Sevier County Commissioners/Richfield Reaper, [1965]), 292.
165. Heber C. Kimball diary, 6 June 1844, in "SYNOPSIS OF THE HISTORY OF HEBER CHASE KIMBALL. (Concluded)," *Deseret News* [weekly], 28 Apr. 1858, front page; *Latter-Day Saints' Millennial Star* 26 (12 Nov. 1864): 728, reprinted Kimball's diary entries under the mistaken title of "History of Brigham Young," even though the entry for 24 June stated, "Left Boston in company with President Young..."
166. Fife and Fife, *Saints of Sage & Saddle*, 287-88.
167. Hand and Talley, *Popular Beliefs and Superstitions from Utah*, 223 (no. 7081, reported by male, age fifty-three, at Salt Lake City in 1963), also 328-29 (nos. 10444-58). For this and subsequent quotes in this chapter from the above source, its introduction (xvii) noted: "Unusual explanations often appear in toto, and are given in the exact words of the informant." The lesser-known village of St. John was in Tooele County, Utah, and later became part of Rush Valley City.
168. Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 7, 75-78; Anderson, "The Mature Joseph Smith and Treasure Searching," 533, 535, 539-40, 545-46; Bushman, "Treasure-seeking Then and Now," *Sunstone* 11 (Sept. 1987): 5-6.
169. Ezra Booth, "LETTER III," *Ohio Star* (Ravenna, OH), 27 Oct. 1831, [3]; also Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 187.
170. W. W. Phelps to Oliver Cowdery, "LETTER No. 4," *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* 1 (Feb. 1835): 66 (for first quote); Oliver Cowdery to W. W. Phelps, "LETTER VII," *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* 2 (July 1835): 156 (for second quote), 157 (for last quote).
171. Oliver Cowdery to W. W. Phelps, "LETTER VIII," *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* 2 (Oct. 1835): 197-98.
172. Reminiscent account in Oliver B. Huntington holograph diary 2 (1845-46), 7.
173. Noah Webster, *An American Dictionary of the English Language*, 2 vols. (New York: S. Converse, 1828), s.v. "cunning man." Daniel C. Peterson, "Chattanooga Cheapshot, or The Gall of Bitterness," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 5 (1993):8: "Webster's 1828 *American Dictionary of the English*

Language [is] perhaps our best source for the language of Joseph Smith and his contemporaries."

174. John Gaule, *The Mag-Astro-Mancer, or the Magicall-Astrological-Diviner Posed, and Puzzled* (London: Joshua Kirton, 1652), 25.

175. John Hale, *A Modest Enquiry Into the Nature of Witchcraft* (Boston: B. Green, 1702), 134.

176. Daniel Defoe, *A System of Magick; or, A History of the Black Art* (London: J. Roberts, 1727), 23.

177. *Journal of Discourses*, 5:16-17 (O. Hyde/1857).

178. *Journal of Discourses*, 19:36-37 (B. Young/1877).

179. Joseph Smith, "In obedience to our promise, we give the following answers to questions . . .," *Elders' Journal of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints* 1 (July 1838): 43; *History of the Church*, 3:29; Richard L. Anderson untitled review in *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 3 (1991): 66; Walker, *Dale Morgan on Early Mormonism*, 370n26.

180. Taylor, "Rediscovering the Context of Joseph Smith Jr.'s Treasure-Seeking," 26.

181. William W. Phelps diary (1835-43), 32-33, LDS archives; Fred C. Collier, comp. and ed., *Unpublished Revelations of the Prophets and Presidents of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Collier's Publishing, 1981-93), 1:74.

182. Anderson, "The Mature Joseph Smith and Treasure Searching," 516, 519.

183. Jacques Barzun and Henry F. Graff, *The Modern Researcher*, rev. ed. (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1970), 53; Paul K. Conkin and Roland N. Stromberg, *Heritage and Challenge: The History and Theory of History* (Wheeling, IL: Forum Press, 1989), 204.

184. "Minutes of the School of the Prophets Held In Parowan, 1868-1872," typescript, 72 (18 June 1870), Marriott Library; also for his biography, see Ila L. Bauer, "It Shall Be Your Shield," in Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 1:219-20; Luella Adams Dalton, comp., *History of Iron County Mission: Parowan, Utah* (N.p., n.d.), 205, 334, 357; Collier and Harwell, *Kirtland Council Minute Book*, 202. Compare to treasure-pot quotes on my pages 41, 139, 154.

185. S. A. Davis editorial in *Universalist Glad Tidings and Ohio Christian Telescope*, 14 Mar. 1837, reprinted in *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* 3 (Apr. 1837): 490.

186. Also Ian G. Barber, "The Seer, the Key, and the Treasure: A Persisting Mormon Tradition," paper presented at the Sunstone Theological Symposium, 24 Aug. 1985, Salt Lake City, Utah. As of 1987, Barber changed the main title of his expanded study to "Sacred Treasures in the Earth," which remains unpublished and unavailable in a manuscript library as of this current revision.

187. Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 1 (15 Apr. 1837): 143; Staker, *Waiting For World's End*, 18. In Mormon terms, "Zion" geographically refers to Independence, Jackson County, Missouri as a pre-millennial gathering place, as in McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine* (1966), 855. The term can also refer to the general settlement area surrounding the temporal headquarters of the LDS church, as in Davis Bitton, *Historical Dictionary of Mormonism* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1994), 273. Woodruff used it in the latter sense by applying "Zion" to the Mormon community centering on Salt Lake City. By contrast, A. D. Sorensen, "Zion," in Ludlow, *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 4:1624-26, did not make even one specific reference to Independence, or to Jackson County, or to Missouri, or to church headquarters, or to Salt Lake City, or to Utah.

188. William Harris, *Mormonism Portrayed ...* (Warsaw, IL: Sharp & Gamble, 1841), 20 (for the first quote, minus some unnecessary commas), 25 (for the second quote). Harris did not specify when he abandoned the LDS church, but he affiliated with it until after the Mormon expulsion from Missouri in 1838. See Cook and Backman, *Kirtland Elders' Quorum Record*, 18 (30 Apr. 1836), 87; Easton-Black, *Membership of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830-1848*, 21:165; Clark V. Johnson, ed., *Mormon Redress Petitions: Documents of the 1833-1838 Missouri Conflict* (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham

Young University, 1992), 563 (for a petition in fall of 1843 at Nauvoo, Illinois), 608 (for petition-signer William Harris).

189. John Cole (at Elizabeth, Illinois) to James J. Strang (at Beaver Island, Michigan), 10 Jan. 1850, Document 287, Strang Manuscripts, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut; Easton-Black, *Membership of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830-1848*, 10:925-26, which gives an "unknown" place of birth for Cole's child in 1850 (in between the 1846-48 births of his children at the LDS settlements of Winter Quarters and Council Bluffs, and prior to his move to Utah by 1852). However, Cole moved to Strang's colony on Beaver Island, where he witnessed his public coronation as king in 1850. See Doyle C. Fitzpatrick, *The King Strang Story: A Vindication of James J. Strang, the Beaver Island King* (Lansing, MI: National Heritage, 1970), 192 (for John Cole), 34 (for Strang's Urim and Thummim); also Milo Quaipe, *The Kingdom of Saint James: A Narrative of the Mormons* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1930), 18 (for Strang's Urim and Thummim), 75 (second note, for John Cole), 94-95 (for Strang's coronation); Roger Van Noord, *King of Beaver Island: The Life and Assassination of James Jesse Strang* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 34-35 (for Strang's Urim and Thummim), 105-107 (for Strang's coronation); Van Noord, *Assassination of a Michigan King: The Life of James Jesse Strang* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997), same pages.

190. Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 3 (12 Mar. 1850): 537.

191. Ebenezer Robinson, "Items of Personal History of the Editor," *The Return* 1 (July 1889): 105 (for quote), 106 (for details); Richard S. Van Wagoner, *Sidney Rigdon: A Portrait of Religious Excess* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994), 181, 189n23, for Burgess.

192. Roberts, *Comprehensive History of the Church*, 1:412; D&C (1982), introduction to section 111; *History of the Church*, 2:463-66, describes the trip but omits its goal of finding a treasure.

193. "History of Joseph Smith," *Latter-Day Saints Millennial Star* 15 (17 Dec. 1853): 821; *History of the Church* 2:463; Cannon, *Life of Joseph Smith*, 198; Backman, *Heavens Resound*, 116.

194. Assistant editor Warren A. Cowdery's introduction and editor Oliver Cowdery (aboard ship on the Long Island Sound) to "Dear Brother [Warren A. Cowdery]," 3 Aug. 1836, in *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* 3 (Sept. 1836): 372-75 (esp. 372, 373); Oliver Cowdery at Boston to Warren A. Cowdery at Kirtland, 24 Aug. 1836, in *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* 3 (Oct. 1836): 386-93 (esp. 386, 392).

195. Oliver Cowdery at Boston to Warren A. Cowdery at Kirtland, 24 Aug. 1836, in *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* 3 (Oct. 1836): 388-91 (esp. 388, 391).

196. *History of the Church* 2:466; Dean C. Jessee, "The Writing of Joseph Smith's History," *BYU Studies* 11 (Summer 1971): 439-73.

197. David R. Proper, "Joseph Smith and Salem," *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 100 (Apr. 1964): 96.

198. Joseph Smith to "My beloved Wife," from Salem, Massachusetts, 19 Aug. 1836, in "LETTERS OF JOSEPH SMITH, THE MARTYR," *Saints' Herald* 26 (1 Dec. 1879): 357.

199. Roberts, *Comprehensive History of The Church*, 1:412.

200. Oliver Cowdery at Boston to Warren A. Cowdery at Kirtland, 24 Aug. 1836, in *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* 3 (Oct. 1836): 388-91; compare the quote (389-91) with Cale's 1700 *More Wonders of the Invisible World*, 95-100. Cowdery probably made his verbatim copy from one of the recent reprints of Cale's book (1823 in Salem; 1828 in Boston) as listed in *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 89:613.

201. Anderson, "The Mature Joseph Smith and Treasure Searching," 499-506.

202. Donald Q. Cannon, "Joseph Smith in Salem (D&C 111)," in Robert L. Millet and Kent P. Jackson, eds., *Studies in Scripture, Volume One: The Doctrine and Covenants* (1985; Salt Lake City: Randall Book/Deseret Book, 1989), 435.

203. Joshua Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition: A Study in Folk Religion* (New York: Behrman's Jewish Book House, 1939), 226.
204. William Lilly, *Christian Astrology* (London: Thomas Brudenell, 1647), 216; Lilly, Mr. William Lilly's *History of His Life and Times* (1715), reprinted as Katharine M. Briggs, ed., *The Last of the Astrologers* (London: The Folklore Society, 1974), 32, 93; also Ashmole MS 421, folio 194, Manuscript Department, Bodleian Library, Oxford University, Oxford, England. Lilly's *History* also had editions in 1721, 1774, 1822, 1826, 1829.
205. Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, "Introduction" to Robert Law, *Memorials ...* (Edinburgh: A. Constable, 1818), lxiii-lxiv.
206. Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971), 236-37; *The Concise Dictionary of National Biography from Earliest Times to 1985*, 3 vols. (Oxford, Eng.: Oxford University Press, 1992), 3:3218.
207. "Members of the Mercurii: Raphael, the Metropolitan Astrologer" [Robert C. Smith], *The Astrologer of the Nineteenth Century: Or, The Master Key of Futurity, and Guide to Ancient Mysteries, Being a Complete System of Occult Philosophy*, 7th ed. (London: Knight and Lacey, 1825), 114, 115.
208. Proper, "Joseph Smith and Salem," 93.
209. Van Wagoner, Sidney Rigdon, 177 (for fellow Mormon Jedediah M. Grant's quote), 180-81 (for description of the Salem treasure-quest). However, Van Wagoner did not suggest Rigdon's response to its failure.
210. Cannon, "Joseph Smith in Salem (D&C 111)," 435; Joseph Smith to "My beloved Wife," 19 Aug. 1836.
211. E. L. Kelley and Clark Braden, *Public Discussion of the Issues Between The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints and The Church of Christ (Disciples) Held in Kirtland, Ohio, Beginning February 12, and Closing March 8, 1884 Between E. L. Kelley, of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints and Clark Braden, of the Church of Christ* (St. Louis, MO: Clark Braden, 1884), 389, also 388 (for his attendance at Mormon meetings), short-titled on all pages as "THE BRADEN AND KELLEY DEBATE."
212. Elwin C. Robinson, *The First Mormon Temple: Design, Construction, and Historic Context of the Kirtland Temple* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1997), 78.
213. "Artemus Millett's Record," 1-3, and "Journal of Artemus Millettsen, written by himself," 2, typescripts in "Millett Autobiographies," Lee Library.
214. Kelley and Braden, *Public Discussion* ("THE BRADEN AND KELLEY DEBATE"), 389 (for all quotes, arranged here in different order); also Barber, "Mormon Women as 'Natural' Seers," 174.
215. Easton-Black, *Membership of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830-1848*, 34:658 for Lydia Hawkins Pettingill (b. 1773) who received her patriarchal blessing alone in 1836, although listed as the wife of Jonah Pettingill (b. 1765, with unknown death date). Her daughter Abigail Pettingill (b. 1795, 34:654) married Jacob Bump and thus was not the woman whose married name was "Petingail." Sarah "Pettingill" (34:653) does not match the workman's description of a widow, since Sarah was listed with her husband Edmund in the same Kirtland document. Easton-Black also listed (34:656) Susannah Woolworth (actually Walworth) Pettingill (b. 1775), but her husband Elihu did not die until 1843. For the latter couple, see Violet Warren and Jeanette Grosvenor, *A Monumental Work: Inscriptions In Geauga County, Ohio Through 1983* (Evansville, IN: Whipporwill Publications, 1985), 4. Therefore, Lydia Hawkins Pettingill was the only Mormon woman at Kirtland in the 1830s who fits the treasure-digger's description of "old widow Pettingail."
216. Kelley and Braden, *Public Discussion* ("THE BRADEN AND KELLEY DEBATE"), 389.
217. Brewster, *Very Important! To the Mormon Money Diggers*, 2-3 (for quote), 4 (for names); Cook and Backman, *Kirtland Elders' Quorum Record*, 38 (17 Feb. 1837); Vogel, "James Colin Brewster," 126.

218. Ancestral File for Joshua S. Holman (b. 1794); George H. Harris, "Myths of Onanda, or Treasure Hunters of the Genesee," 2-6, manuscript (22 Mar. 1886), Harris papers, Rochester Public Library, Rochester, New York; also Dorothy Dengler, "Tales of Buried Treasure in Rochester," *New York Folklore Quarterly* 2 (Aug. 1946): 178-79.

219. Brewster, *Very Important! To the Mormon Money Diggers*, 4; Cook, *Revelations of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, 221, for 1852 as the revelation's first publication and 1876 as its addition as D&C 111.

220. Brewster, *Very Important! To the Mormon Money Diggers* [Mar. 1843], 3 (for first quotes), 5 (for father's statement); compare Anderson, "The Mature Joseph Smith and Treasure Searching," 497-98.

221. Lapham, "Interview with the Father of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet," 306; Kirkham, *New Witness for Christ in America*, 2:384; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:457.

222. *History of Geauga and Lake Counties, Ohio, With Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of Its Pioneers and Most Prominent Men* (Philadelphia: Williams Brothers, 1878), 201.

223. William Riley Hine affidavit (ca. 1884-5) in *Naked Truths About Mormonism* 1 (Jan. 1888): 2, reprinted in Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined*, 155-56, 158, in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

224. Robinson, *First Mormon Temple*, 28-29.

225. William Riley Hine affidavit (ca. 1884-5); *History of Geauga and Lake Counties, Ohio*, 201; *ATLAS OF LAKE AND GEAUGA COUNTIES, OHIO: From actual Surveys ...* (Philadelphia: Titus, Simmons & Titus, 1874), 4, 5, for Kirland as 11.1 miles from Fowler's Mills, the central town of Munson Township. Civil records listed Hine alternately by his first and middle name. The 1830 census listed him as Riley Hine in Windsor, Broome County, New York, which is how his name appeared five years later in the tax records of Geauga County, Ohio. However, he signed his name as William R. Hine in legal documents such as land deeds. See Ronald Vern Jackson and Gary Ronald Teeple, eds., *New York 1830 Census Index* (Bountiful, UT: Accelerated Indexing Systems, 1977), 326; Geauga County index book 2 for deeds (grantee), 234 (3 Mar. 1834), 235 (24 June 1837), Geauga County tax record books (unpaginated) for the town of Munson in 1835, 1836, 1837, microfilms, LDS Family History Library.

226. Reginald Scot, *The Discovery of Witchcraft ...* [this edition greatly expanded the details of magic rituals] (London: Andrew Clark, 1665), 220-21; also W. R. Jones, "Hill-Diggers and 'Hell-Raisers': Treasure Hunting and the Supernatural in Old and New England," in Peter Benes, ed., *Wonders of the Invisible World, 1600-1900: The Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife Annual Proceedings, 1992* (Boston: Boston University Press, 1995), 101, on "the occult preparations required to transform a hazel switch into a dowsing rod."

227. Johann Georg Hohman, *Der lange verborgene Freund ...* (Reading, PA: By the author, 1820), translated in Carleton F. Brown, "The Long Hidden Friend," *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 17 (Apr.-June 1904): 116, no. 62, also 91 (for date of composition); also discussion in ch. 4.

228. Kelley and Braden, *Public Discussion* ("THE BRADEN AND KELLEY DEBATE"), 389.

229. William E. Bertett and Alma P. Burton, eds., *Readings in L.D.S. Church History from Original Manuscripts*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1953), 1:63.

230. "ANCIENT RECORDS" (for first quote by editor) and "(From the Quincy Whig.) SINGULAR DISCOVERY—MATERIAL FOR ANOTHER MORMON BOOK" (for second quote), *Times and Seasons* 4 (1 May 1843): 186, with John Taylor as editor on 192; also Stanley B. Kimball, "Kinderhook Plates Brought to Joseph Smith Appear to be a Nineteenth-Century Hoax," *Ensign* 11 (Aug. 1981): 66-74; Kimball, "Kinderhook Plates," in Ludlow, *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 2:789-90.

231. Cannon, "Reverend George Moore Comments on Nauvoo," 8; previous citations about Brewster and Rushton.

232. Edwin Rushton's narrative in Kingsbury, "Rushton Peep Stone," 132; also Kraut, *Seers and Seer Stones*, 54, photo of this transparent stone.
233. Hosea Stout diary, 9 Sept. 1845, in Juanita Brooks, ed., *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diaries of Hosea Stout, 1844-1861*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1964), 1:61-62, also 3n1 (for their position as presidents of the eleventh quorum of the Seventy)
234. *Journal of Discourses*, 19:37-38 (B. Young/1877).
235. Cannon, *Life of Joseph Smith*, 47. For Cannon's church service in 1877, see Leonard J. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), 304; Quinn, *Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power*, 645-47.
236. Edwin Brown Firmage and Richard Collin Mangrum, *Zion in the Courts: A Legal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 347.
237. *Personal Journal of Christian Anderson*, Book IV, 56 (16 Dec. 1890); also Barber, "The Seer, the Key, and the Treasure." This and the previously-published Utah cases of stone-divination contradict Hand, "Magic and the Supernatural in Utah Folklore," 59: "The use of peepstones in Utah is reported, so far as I know, only in the Logan area ..."
238. Ancestral File for Sophia Jeanne Romriell (b. 1851) and her marriage to "Russell Milan" [sic]; Ancestral File for Jonathan Milan Russell (b. ca. 1856) and his marriage to Sophia J. Romriell; *Salt Lake City Directory*, 1905 (Salt Lake City: R. L. Polk & Co., 1905), 813 (for Sophia J. Russell, "wid Jonathan M." Russell); *Salt Lake City Directory For 1889* (Salt Lake City: Kelley & Co., 1889), 195, for "Russell, J. M., watchmaker."
239. James R. Clark, ed., *Messages of the First Presidency of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1833-1964*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965-75), 4:284 (for partial history of reprints), 286 (for quote), 6:243 (for 1945 reprint).
240. "Dream Mines," *Deseret Evening News*, 16 Aug. 1913, 4; reprinted in Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency*, 4:285, as the introduction to the presidency's statement.
241. James R. Christianson, "An Historical Study of the Koyle Relief Mine, 1894-1962," M. A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1962, 41-56; Ogden Kraut, *John H. Koyle's Relief Mine* (Dugway, UT: Kraut's Pioneer Press, 1978), 138-41; also Joe Stanley Graham, "The Dream Mine: A Study in Mormon Folklore," M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1970; Jay M. Hammond, "Dream Mine," and Arlene Despain Wilson, "Salem," in Allan Kent Powell, ed., *Utah History Encyclopedia* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 147, 478.
242. Hand and Talley, *Popular Beliefs and Superstitions from Utah*, 222 (no. 7067, reported by female at St. George in 1939).
243. Wayland D. Hand, "Folklore From Utah's Silver Mining Camps," *Journal of American Folklore* 54 (July-Dec. 1941): 136.
244. Hand and Talley, *Popular Beliefs and Superstitions from Utah*, 222 (no. 7066, reported by female, age fifty-five, at Monticello in 1946), 329 (no. 10461, reported by female at Ogden in 1960; no. 10462, reported by Utah male in 1961), 223 (no. 7081, reported by male, age fifty-three, at Salt Lake City in 1963).
245. United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Religious Bodies*: 1936, 3 vols. (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1941), 1:837 (for 336,184 Latter-day Saints out of 372,699 total in Utah = 90.2 percent); *Church and Church Membership in the United States: An Enumeration and Analysis By Counties, States and Regions* (New York: National Council of Churches, 1956), Ser. C, No. 54 (for 89.3 percent LDS in Utah). To claim percentage-parity would be the environmental fallacy.
246. "From Priest's American Antiquities," *Times and Seasons* 3 (1 June 1842): 814, quoting from Josiah Priest, *American Antiquities and Discoveries in the West*, 2d ed., rev. (Albany, NY: Hoffman and White, 1833), 66-67, which in turn quoted from an undated edition of Ethan Smith, *View of the Hebrews*, 223, 220. The latter is available with different pagination as Charles D. Tate, Jr., ed., *View of the Hebrews: 1825 2nd EDITION, Complete Text by Ethan Smith* (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1996).

247. Pearson H. Corbett, *Hyrum Smith, Patriarch* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1963), 453.
248. "From Priest's American Antiquities," *Times and Seasons* 3 (1 June 1842): 813-14; compare Priest, *American Antiquities* (1833), 65-67, for deleted passage in next-to-last paragraph of page 66 ("but it is not likely the raw-hide strap in which they were found enclosed, had been made a very great length of time. This would be unnatural, as a desire to look at the sacred characters, would be very great, although they could not read them. This, however, was done at last, as it appears, and buried with some Chief, on the place where it was found, called Indian Hill," emphasis in original). Tate, *View of the Hebrews: 1825 2nd EDITION, Complete Text by Ethan Smith*, 168-69, 170, 171, 169, did not have Priest's phrase (67): "It had been handed down from family to family, or from chief to chief as a most precious relic, if not as an amulet, charm, or talisman ..."
249. William J. Hamblin, Daniel C. Peterson, and George L. Mitton, "Mormon in the Fiery Furnace: Or, Loftes Tryk Goes to Cambridge," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 6 (1994), no. 2:16-19.
250. John Greenhow, "For the Times and Seasons," *Times and Seasons* 5 (1 Feb. 1844): 427; Hamblin, Peterson, and Mitton, "Mormon in the Fiery Furnace," 18-19, 19n39.
251. "Minutes," *Messenger and Advocate, of the Church of Christ* [Pittsburgh] 1 (15 Apr. 1845): 168; O. W. Riegel, *Crown of Glory: The Life of James J. Strang, Moses of the Mormons* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1935), 116 (for quote).
252. Anderson, "Mature Joseph Smith and Treasure Searching," 540-41; Stephen E. Robinson untitled review, *BYU Studies* 27 (Fall 1987): 91-92; Louis Midgley, "Playing with Half a Decker: The Countercult Religious Tradition Confronts the Book of Mormon," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 5 (1993): 117n1. For Anderson and Robinson as FARMS contributors, see table of contents for *Reviews of Books on the Book of Mormon* 3 (1991) and 6 (1994), no. 1.
253. For the FARMS-BYU relationship and Peterson's concern for the preservation of its "polemical edge," see my Preface.
254. Description of Artifact 1076, Donation Book 1 (emphasis in original), Daughters of Utah Pioneers Museum, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter DUP Museum).
255. Ephraim Chambers, *Cyclopaedia* ..., 2 vols. (London: Knapton, 1728), 1:80, s.v. "Amulet"; Aaron C. Willey, "Observations on Magical Practices," *Medical Repository* 15 (1812): 380; Webster, *American Dictionary of the English Language* (1828), s.v. "Bloodstone."
256. *History of the Church*, 2:203, 387; Jenson, *Latter-day Saints Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:190.
257. Richard Coltrin statement to D. Michael Quinn, 12 Apr. 1987.
258. Hand and Talley, *Popular Beliefs and Superstitions from Utah*, 317 (no. 10092, reported by male at Salt Lake City in 1925).
259. John Heydon, *Theomagia, or the Temple of Wisdom*, 3 vols. in 1 vol. (London: T. M., 1664), 1:118.
260. Thomas R. Forbes, "The Madstone," in Wayland D. Hand, ed., *American Folk Medicine: A Symposium* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 14-15; Thomas Wilson, "The Amulet Collection of Professor Belucci," *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 4 (Apr.-June 1891): 144.
261. "Curious History of a Remarkable Mad-Stone," *Deseret Evening News*, 14 Apr. 1869, [4].
262. Helen Bander, with attachments, to "Church Historical Society," no date (stamped as received, 19 Aug. 1974), LDS archives; Robert C. Fillerup memorandum of telephone conversation with Mrs. Helen Bander, 28 Aug. 1974; Bander to Robert C. Fillerup, 1 Apr. 1975; all photocopies in my possession; also Henry James Harrison diary, summarized in Bitton, *Guide to Mormon Diaries & Autobiographies*, 147; Eschhorn, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah*, 921.

263. Jacob Neusner and William Scott Green, eds., *Dictionary of Judaism in the Biblical Period, 450 B.C.E. to 600 C.E.*, 2 vols. (New York: Macmillan Library Reference USA/Simon & Schuster Macmillan, 1996), 2:401-402.

264. Theodore H. Gaster, "Amulets and Talismans," in Mircea Eliade, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, 16 vols. (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1987), 1:243.

265. Ralph Merrifield, *The Archaeology of Ritual and Magic* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1987), 150 (for quote), 152 (photo of paper charm's text with circular symbol), 153 (for Latin inscription on paper charm, dated by pre-1914 watermark), 180-81 (for photo of a Cornwall house's witch-bottle, dated about 1900); compare his 152 and 153 with my book's figs. 54, 64-66; also [Peter Buchan], *Witchcraft Detected & Prevented; or, the School of Black Art Newly Opened ... particularly from Scott's [sic] DISCOVERY OF WITCHCRAFT ... It will also contain a variety of the most approved CHARMS in MAGIC; RECEIPTS in MEDICINE, NATURAL PHILOSOPHY, and CHEMISTRY, &c. BY A MEMBER OF THE SCHOOL OF BLACK ART, ITALY* (Peterhead, Eng.: P. Buchan, 1823), 43; *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 669:638. Because Scot, Sibly, and Buchan were not among Merrifield's sources, he did not recognize this as a sign against witches and evil spirits. Instead Merrifield described it as an "emblem closely resembling a papal seal" (152). Also see Cyrus Adler and I. M. Casanowicz, "The Collection of Jewish Ceremonial Objects in the United States National Museum," *Proceedings of the United States National Museum* 34 (1908): 738-42, for parchment amulets.

266. M. J. Becker, "An American Witch Bottle," *Archaeology: An Official Publication of the Archaeological Institute of America* 33 (Mar./Apr. 1980): 19; John L. Cotter, Daniel G. Roberts, and Michael Parrington, *The Buried Past: An Archaeological History of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Barra Foundation/University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992), 408, 455.

267. Reginald Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584; Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1964), 395, 404, 419; Scot, *Discovery of Witchcraft* (1665 edition, which greatly expanded the details of magic rituals), 239, 245, 255; [Buchan], *Witchcraft Detected & Prevented*, 66.

268. For "A Charm to drive away Spirits that Haunt a house," [Buchan], *Witchcraft Detected & Prevented*, 43, gave instructions: "Hang on the four corners of the house, these sentences written upon virgin parchment," but did not repeat that instruction each time he described subsequent charms. The "Fiat, fiat, fiat" charm was on page 66.

269. W. D. Bellhouse, "A Complete System of Magic," manuscript (ca. 1852), 27, Magic Collection, Manuscript Division, New York Public Library, New York City, New York.

270. J. G. Owens, "Folk-Lore From Buffalo Valley, Central Pennsylvania," *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 4 (Apr.-June 1891): 126.

271. William Clayton to "Messrs A. S. Barnes & Burr," 20 Nov. 1863 (for parchment and Roback book) and 6 Jan. 1864 (for deeds), and Clayton to William Freeman, 28 Apr. 1864 (concerning talisman and self-protection), all in unpaginated letterbook (25 Feb. 1860-19 Apr. 1865), Mormon Collection, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, also as first letterbook in Microfilm A-192, Library, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City; also Charles W. Roback, *The Mysteries of Astrology, and the Wonders of Magic* (Boston: By the author, 1854); James B. Allen, *Trials of Discipleship: The Story of William Clayton, A Mormon* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 335, for Clayton's similar statement (without reference to talisman) in a different letter to Freeman.

272. John Steele paper charms, fd 10, box 3, Steele papers, Lee Library; Kerry William Bate, "John Steele: Medicine Man, Magician, Mormon Patriarch," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 62 (Winter 1994): 79-80, described the charm but did not specify that its source was Reginald Scot's *Discovery of Witchcraft*.

273. Rupert J. Fletcher and Daisy Whiting Fletcher, *Alpheus Cutler and the Church of Jesus Christ* (Independence, MO: The Church of Jesus Christ, 1974), 47; also Michael S. Riggs, "Nauvoo's Kingdom of God on Earth and Back-To-Back Half Moons in the Iowan

Firmament: New Insights Into Alpheus Cutler's Claims To Authority," typescript, RLDS library-archives; Danny L. Jorgensen, "The Fiery Darts of the Adversary: An Interpretation of Early Cutlerism," *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 10 (1990): 76.

274. *History of the Church*, 1: 343, 4:205; Quinn, *Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power*, 149, 152, 194, 196, 203-09, 496, 497, 522, 528; D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books/Smith Research Associates, 1997), 726.

275. Francis Barrett, *The Magus, or Celestial Intelligencer; Being A Complete System of Occult Philosophy*, 2 vols. in 1 (London: Lackington, Allen, 1801), third page of illustrations after 1:144. Although unnumbered, it followed numbered "Plate 3."

276. Art deHoyos to D. Michael Quinn, 12 Sept. 1997; also similar statement by Masonic researcher Kent Walgren to Quinn, 14 Sept. 1997. On the board of directors of the Scottish Rite Research Society, deHoyos is also current editor of *Collectanea*, 16+ vols. (Washington, D.C.: Grand College of Rites of the United States of America, 1932-97+).

277. Danny L. Jorgensen, "The Old Fox: Alpheus Cutler," in Launius and Thatcher, *Differing Visions*, 160.

278. Michael S. Riggs, "The Cutlerites: A Microcosm of Early Mormon Folk Magic Beliefs," typescript, RLDS library-archives; Jorgensen, "Old Fox: Alpheus Cutler," 160. Concerning the organization of Cutler's church in 1853, also see Fletcher and Fletcher, *Alpheus Cutler and the Church of Jesus Christ*, 47; Quinn, *Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power*, 208.

279. "CONFERENCE MINUTES," *Frontier Guardian* (Kanesville, IA), 1 (2 May 1849): [1].

280. Gates, "Witchcraft," 402.

281. Donation Book 1, 41, DUP Museum.

282. Hand and Talley, *Popular Beliefs and Superstitions from Utah*, 317 (nos. 10074-77, 10080), 318 (no. 10112), 319 (nos. 10133, 10149, 10150, 10153, 10155-57), 322 (no. 10234), 323 (nos. 10278, 10287), 324 (nos. 10293-96, 10310), 325 (no. 10339), 329-333 (nos. 10466-10521, 10549-86). Examples of wearing the religious symbol of the cross for the specific purpose of warding off evil spirits, werewolves, vampires, and ghosts on pages 322 (nos. 10233-34), 324 (no. 10307), 325 (nos. 10325, 10335), 327 (no. 10403).

283. John Joseph Stoudt, *Pennsylvania Folk-Art: An Interpretation* (Allentown: Schlechter's 1948), 368; Ruth Adams, *Pennsylvania Dutch Art* (Cleveland: World Publishing, 1950), 56-60; Henry Kauffman, *Pennsylvania Dutch American Folk Art* (New York: American Studio Books, 1946), 35; Hand and Talley, *Popular Beliefs and Superstitions from Utah*, 316 (no. 10065, reported by male, age twenty-one, at Salt Lake City in 1960), 324 (no. 10290, reported by male, age forty-one, at Provo in 1942), 318 (no. 10125, reported by male, age nineteen, at Salt Lake City in 1964).

284. Telephone interview with Utah architectural historian Allen Dale Roberts, 1 Sept. 1997; color slide 08.02.04 of "Barn, 2-story, red, with ornament of flower near gable," Fife Western Folklore Archive and Research Center, Milton R. Merrill Library, Utah State University, Logan, Utah; compare with photograph of a barn at New Smithville, Pennsylvania, in Eric Arthur and Dudley Witney, *The Barn: A Vanishing Landmark in North America* (New York: Arrowwood Press, 1988), 183; and also with six-pointed star, lower-right corner of illustrations in Eric Sloan, *An Age of Barns* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1967), 31.

285. Alfred L. Shoemaker, "Hex Signs," in Shoemaker, ed., *The Pennsylvania Barn* (Lancaster, PA: The Pennsylvania Dutch Folklore Center/Franklin and Marshall College, 1955), 55, 59-61, 67; Don Yoder and Thomas E. Graves, *Hex Signs: Pennsylvania Dutch Barn Symbols and Their Meaning* (New York: E. P. Dutton/Museum of American Folk Art, 1989), 2, 5, 7-9; also Simon J. Bronner, "Pennsylvania Germans ('Dutch')." in Jan Harold Brunvand, ed., *American Folklore: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1996), 549-54.

286. Newbern I. Butt, comp., *The Bushman Family: Originally of Pennsylvania and the Rocky Mountain States* (Provo, UT: Bushman Family History Committee, 1936), 3, 12.

287. Davis Bitton, "The Making of a Community: Blackfoot, Idaho, 1878-1910," *Idaho Yesterdays: The Quarterly Journal of the Idaho Historical Society* 19 (Spring 1975): 13.
288. "Family Histories," in *Bingham County History: Written and Compiled by the People of Bingham County, Commemorating the State's 100th Birthday, 1890-1990*, 2d ed., rev. (Blackfoot, ID: Bingham County Historical Society Book Committee, 1990), 197-229, 271-488.
289. Shoemaker, "Hex Signs," 59. Because "hex signs" have been part of Pennsylvania folklore only since the 1920s, this belief does not fall within the earlier influence described by Hand, "Magic and the Supernatural in Utah Folklore," 51: "The movement of the Mormons across the gateway states of Pennsylvania and Ohio [in the 1830s] brought ethnic reinforcement, principally German and Pennsylvania Dutch."
290. Hand and Talley, *Popular Beliefs and Superstitions from Utah*, 322 (no. 10236, reported by male, age seventy-nine, at Pleasant Grove in 1901), 323-24 (no. 10288, reported by male at Salt Lake City in 1959), 394 (no. 12598, reported by female at Logan in 1958), 394 (no. 12599, reported by female, age seventy-six, at St. George in 1894).
291. [Buchan], *Witchcraft Detected & Prevented*, 62.
292. Alma P. Burton, "Endowment" and Evelyn T. Marshall, "Garments," in Ludlow, *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 2:454-56, 534-35.
293. Richard Cavendish, ed., *Man, Myth & Magic: An Illustrated Encyclopedia of the Supernatural*, 24 vols. (New York: Marshall Cavendish, 1970), 20:2772-73.
294. Boyd K. Packer, *The Holy Temple* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980), 75.
295. Hand and Talley, *Popular Beliefs and Superstitions from Utah*, 97 (no. 3106, reported by female at Salt Lake City in 1946).
296. Fife and Fife, *Saints of Sage & Saddle*, 228.
297. Hand and Talley, *Popular Beliefs and Superstitions from Utah*, 315 (no. 10015).
298. Marion D. Hanks instructions to missionaries of the British Mission at the LDS church-owned manor-house next to the temple, Lingfield, Surrey, England, 1964, witnessed by D. Michael Quinn.
299. William E. Berrett statement, in Wilson K. Andersen, ed., *An Endowment for the Faithful: A Compilation of Statements Relative to the Holy Endowment* (Provo, UT: By the author, 1962), 24-25.
300. See page 337, note 54.
301. Hand and Talley, *Popular Beliefs and Superstitions from Utah*, 272-78 (nos. 8663-64, 8671-82, 8693, 8699, 8721, 8740-46, 8748-51, 8758, 8765-73, 8777, 8779, 8786-88, 8790-92, 8800, 8802, 8820-21, 8823, 8827, 8829, 8835-39, 8842, 8863, 8869-72, 8876-77, 8891), with quotes from nos. 8876, 8868-69, 8871.
302. *Church and Church Membership in the United States* (1956), Ser. C, No. 54 (for 89.3 percent LDS). To assert more would be the environmental (or ecological) fallacy.
303. Hans G. Buhrmann and Maxwell K. Zaugg, "Religion and Superstition in the Sport of Basketball," *Journal of Sport Behavior* 6 (Oct. 1983): 151-53.
304. Jenson, *Latter-day Saints Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:91; Quinn, *Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power*, 540-41; "OBITUARY" (beginning: "Dr. John Farnham Boynton died at his home, Highland Place," and ending: "Internment was made in Woodlawn Cemetery"), unidentified newspaper clipping, ca. 23 Oct. 1890 (for quote about "astrologer"), Biographical File, Onondaga Historical Association, Syracuse, New York; also forthcoming biography by David Sean Muttillio.
305. Parley P. Pratt, *A Voice of Warning and Instruction to All People, Containing a Declaration of the Faith and Doctrine of the Church of Latter Day Saints, Commonly Called Mormons* (New York: W. Sandford, 1837), 13; David J. Whittaker, "Almanacs in the New England Heritage of Mormonism," *BYU Studies* 29 (Fall 1989): 111n24.
306. Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *Saints Without Halos: The Human Side of*

Mormon History (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1981), 29; also Quinn, *Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power*, 602-04, for Wight.

307. Joseph Smith, "Try the Spirits," *Times and Seasons* 3 (1 Apr. 1842): 745. I have preserved all peculiarities in punctuation and spelling.

308. Joseph Smith diary ("Book of the Law of the Lord"), 3 Sept. 1842, in Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2:448; also Quinn, *Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power*, 540-41.

309. Joseph F. Smith, Jr., [Joseph Fielding Smith] and Richard C. Evans, *Blood Atonement and the Origin of Plural Marriage* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, [1905]), 28-29, 32-33, 54-55, 60-62, 67-68; Bachman, "Study of the Mormon Practice of Plural Marriage Before the Death of Joseph Smith," 189-203 (section, "Secrecy and Church Denials"); Hill, *Joseph Smith*, 188-89, 340-41; B. Carmon Hardy, *Solemn Covenant: The Mormon Polygamous Passage* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 8, 364-67; Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery, *Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith*, 2d ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 112-13, 128-29. For example, Joseph Smith manuscript diary, 5 Oct. 1843, in Faulring, *American Prophet's Record*, 417, "gave instructions to try those [in high council court] who were preaching, teaching or practicing the doctrine of plurality of wives on this Law. Joseph forbids it and the practice thereof. No man shall have but one wife. [rest of page blank]." *History of the Church*, 6:46, reversed the meaning of this entry by adding the following words "but one wife at a time, unless the Lord directs otherwise."

310. William Clayton diary, 19 Oct. 1843, in Smith, *Intimate Chronicle*, 122 (for quote), and 99, 99n12, 100 (for the performance of their polygamous marriages on 27 April and 1 May 1843).

311. W. Wyl, pseud. [Wilhelm Ritter von Wymetal], *Mormon Portraits, or the Truth About Mormon Leaders From 1830 to 1886* (Salt Lake City: Tribune Printing and Publishing, 1886), 19.

312. The ninth man was his brother Hyrum Smith, who did not actually receive the ordinances until 5 May, when Joseph Smith also received the LDS endowment. The first eight endowed men on 4 May 1842 were James Adams, Newel K. Whitney, William Marks, William Law, George Miller, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Willard Richards. See Joseph Smith diary ("Book of the Law of the Lord"), 4-5 May 1842, in Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2:380, 380nn1-2; Ehat, "Joseph Smith's Introduction of Temple Ordinances," 25, 27-29; Ehat, "Who Shall Ascend into the Hill of the Lord?: Sesquicentennial Reflections of a Sacred Day: 4 May 1842," in Donald W. Parry, ed., *Temples of the Ancient World: Ritual and Symbolism* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1994), 49-51, 60-61; Quinn, *Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power*, 350-51, 493; compare with the official *History of the Church*, 5:1-2, which deleted the names of William Law (because of his excommunication by Joseph Smith and alleged complicity in Smith's murder) and of William Marks (because of his support for Brigham Young's succession rivals Sidney Rigdon, James J. Strang, and Joseph Smith III).

313. Watson, *Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 1801-1844*, 116 (5 May 1842); Leland R. Nelson, comp., *The Journal of Brigham: Brigham Young's Own Story In His Own Words* (Provo, UT: Council Press, 1980), 50 (5 May 1842).

314. Erra Pater, *The Book of Knowledge: Treating the Wisdom of the Ancients*, trans. William Lilly (Albany, NY: E. & E. Hosford, 1809), [26].

315. H. Goudy, Jr., *Goudy's Illinois Farmer's Almanac ... 1842* (Springfield, IL: R. Goudy, [1841]), calendar for May; Christopher Heydon, *Astrology ...* (London: A. Hamilton, 1792), 16; Raphael, pseud. [Robert C. Smith], *A Manual of Astrology ...* (London: C. S. Arnold; Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd; Dublin: Westley and Tyrrell, 1828), 69; William Lilly, *Christian Astrology ...* (London: William Charlton Wright, 1839), 43; James R. Lewis, *The Astrology Encyclopedia* (Detroit, MI: Gale Research, 1994), 463.

316. Oliver B. Huntington holograph diary 1 (21 Jan. 1844): 39.

317. *History of the Church*, 6:183-84; Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook, comps.

and eds., *The Words of Joseph Smith: The Contemporary Accounts of the Nauvoo Discourses of the Prophet Joseph* (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1980), 317-18; for Smith's polyandrous marriages to the Huntington sisters, see Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness*, 71-72, 79-83, 114, 122-23.

318. Ancestral File for William Huntington (b. 1784).

319. *The Beverly Gipsy ...* (New York: J. Liddle, 1800), inconsistent pagination, but this discussion is on the first two pages of the text; William Frederick Pinchbeck, *Witchcraft: Or the Art of Fortune-Telling Unveiled* (Boston: By the author, 1805), 22; [Buchan], *Witchcraft Detected & Prevented*, 94-95.

320. William Clayton diary, 11 Apr. 1844, 1 Jan. 1845, in Smith, *Intimate Chronicle*, 129, 154; Quinn, *Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power*, 124.

321. *The American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge For the Year 1844* (Boston: David H. Williams, 1843), 16-17.

322. *The Whig Almanac, and Politicians' Register, For 1844* ([New York: Greeley & McElrath, 1843]), unnumbered page [6], for April 1844; William Ramesey, *Astrologia Restaurata; or, Astrologie Restored ...* (London: Robert White, 1653), 130.

323. Orson Pratt, *The Prophetic Almanac, For 1845* (New York: "The Prophet" Office, [1844]), verso of title page, bottom: "NAMES AND CHARACTERS OF THE TWELVE SIGNS IN THE ZODIAC" (without comment or criticism), also "MOON'S PLACE" column in each monthly calendar; Pratt, *The Prophetic Almanac, For 1846* (New York: The "New York Messenger" Office, [1845]), verso of title page, bottom: "NAMES AND CHARACTERS OF THE TWELVE SIGNS OF THE ZODIAC" (for the quote in my text).

324. Whittaker, "Almanacs in the New England Heritage of Mormonism," 97, 111n31, 111n33 (all concerning the unpublished almanac for 1849), 99 (for quote). Focusing on the 1846 almanac, Allen, *Trials of Discipleship*, 325, commented that Pratt "had no sympathy, however, for the use astrologers would make of the zodiak [sic]."

325. "Astrology and Magic," *Latter-Day Saints' Millennial Star* 10 (15 Feb. 1848): 51-52, with Orson Spencer listed as editor on 64.

326. *Deseret News* [weekly], 15 June 1850, 8.

327. *Deseret News* [weekly], 19 Oct. 1850, 143.

328. "FIFTH GENERAL EPISTLE Of the Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," *Deseret News* [weekly], 8 Apr. 1851, [233]; also in Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency*, 2:63 (for first part of quote), 64 (for second part of quote).

329. William W. Phelps, "The Zodiac and the Signs," *Deseret News* [weekly], 8 Feb. 1851, 202; Phelps, "Inuendoes," *Deseret News* [weekly], 8 Mar. 1851, 219-20; Phelps, *Deseret Almanac. For the Year of Our Lord, 1851* (Salt Lake City: W. Richards, [1850]), [2], for first set of quotes; Phelps, *Deseret Almanac, For the Year of Our Lord, 1852* (Salt Lake City: W. Richards, [1851]), [3] (for chart of Zodiac), monthly calendars (for lack of a column on moon's position in Zodiac), 37 (for "omitted" quote); Phelps, *Deseret Almanac. For the Year of Our Lord, 1853* (Salt Lake City: W. Richards, [1852]), [2] (for "considered useless" quote), monthly calendars (for lack of a column on moon's position in Zodiac); Phelps, *Deseret Almanac, For the Year of Our Lord, 1854* (Salt Lake City: W. Richards, [1853]), 16 (for quote of laws, "nearly two hundred years old"); also Phelps, *Deseret Almanac, For the Year of Our Lord, 1855* (Salt Lake City: Ariel C. Brower, 1855), monthly calendars (for lack of a column on moon's position in Zodiac); Whittaker, "Almanacs in the New England Heritage of Mormonism," 99-100.

Although I overlooked this evidence in 1994, William W. Phelps gave significant support for an interpretation in my *Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power*, 22-26 (which others have disputed). *Deseret Almanac ... 1852*, 38, stated: "JOSEPH SMITH [was] ordained to the Melchisedek [sic] priesthood by Peter, James and John, (for John is not yet dead) [in] 1830."

330. Bliss J. Brimley, *The Book of Thomas Job* (N.p., 1988), 24 (for his college training), 28, also 29 (for quoted phrase about Job's astrology mentor), 63-64, 113, 116, also 117 (for

authors of his books), 119 (for his spoken languages), copy in LDS Church Library; *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints* and WorldCat (a computer-catalog of 38 million different titles) for identity of "Placidus" and "Raphael"; WorldCat for Thomas Job, *To the Fellows of the Royal Society, London: The Fabric of the World Examined* (Carmarthen, Wales: J. Thomas, 1847). Despite Brimley's repeated statements that astrology and "conjuring" (spirit incantation) were the only occult sciences that Job studied, Rebecca Bartholomew cited Brimley for her claim that Job "became interested in alchemy" and in "alchemy, astrology, and conjuring." See Bartholomew, *Audacious Women*, 233 (for her statements), 266 (for Brimley as source). I found no reference to alchemy in Brimley's biography of Thomas Job.

331. *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 60:43, 115:172, for Blagrave and Coley; WorldCat for William Salmon, *Clavis Alchymiae; or Hermes Trismegistes ...* (London: Harris, 1692) and Salmon, *Medicina Practica: or, The Practical Physician ... To Which Is Added the Chymical Works of Hermes Trismegistus ...* (London: Edmund Curll, 1707).

332. Thomas Job, "Almanac Reading," *Deseret News* [weekly], 25 Jan. 1855, [3]; Brimley, *Book of Thomas Job*, 117.

333. Brimley, *Book of Thomas Job*, 117, 120.

334. George A. Smith to John C. L. Smith, 28 Feb. 1855, Church Historian's Office letterbook 1:107, LDS archives. I found no reference to this Astrological Society's organization, meetings, or discontinuation in *Deseret News* [weekly], from 5 Oct. 1854 through 28 Mar. 1855.

335. *Journal of Discourses*, 3:156 (B. Young/1855).

336. Whittaker, "Almanacs in the New England Heritage of Mormonism," 113n50.

337. "Unseen Influences," *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* 17 (29 Sept. 1855): 609, with Franklin D. Richards listed as editor on 624.

338. "Notes and Diary of Moses Clawson ... Diary Dated: September 1, 1855-December 6, 1856," typescript, 6 (1 Sept. 1855, for Ogden-Willow Creek location), 14 (14 May 1856, for quote), microfilm 401#1, LDS Family History Library. He made several visits for this astrological advice, because Clawson was unable to find his horses as instructed by the astrologer. He eventually found them in a different location than specified by astrologer Allen. There was no other reference to seeking astrological help in the remaining six months of Clawson's diary.

339. Quinn, *Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power*, 481, 483; *History of the Church*, 3:209, 4:233, 5:427, 7:306; "High Priests of Nauvoo and Early Salt Lake City: Compiled By Nauvoo Restoration from Early Salt Lake Records," s.v. Moses Clawson, typescript, Reference Area, LDS archives; Eschom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah*, 811.

340. Bryan Lee Dilts, comp., *1856 UTAH CENSUS INDEX: An Every-Name Index* (Salt Lake City: Index Publishing, 1983), 3-5.

341. "ASTROLOGICAL INFORMATION," *Deseret Evening News*, 3 Sept. 1880, [2].

342. C. Mark Hamilton and Nina Cuttrubus, *The Salt Lake Temple: A Monument to a People* (Salt Lake City: University Services, 1983), 54 (for first set of quotes), 142 (for Brigham Young's role in requiring that the architectural designs contain these symbols), 158 (for illustration of Saturn-stones); Matthew B. Brown and Paul Thomas Smith, *Symbols In Stone: Symbolism on the Early Temples of the Restoration* (American Fork, UT: Covenant Communications, 1997), 153 (for final quotes and 1853 dating of these architectural designs); also illustration of the Salt Lake temple's proposed tower with the descending stones of Saturn, Sun, Moon, and Earth in Hugh Nibley, *Temple and Cosmos: Beyond This Ignorant Present* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1992), 17, with Nibley's comment: "The curious Saturn stones may refer to the unlimited glories awaiting worthy Saints."

343. Calculated according to instructions in Paul Christian, pseud. [Christian Pitois], *The History and Practice of Magic*, trans. James Kirkup and Julian Shaw, 2 vols. (1870; New York: Citadel Press, 1963), 2:463-64, also 482 for "ruler of the year"; compare with "Table

of the Planets," in M. C. Poinso, *The Encyclopedia of Occult Sciences* (New York: Robert M. McBride, 1939), 54.

344. Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 5 (28 June 1857):65; Staker, *Waiting For World's End*, 195.

345. William W. Phelps to Brigham Young, 29 June 1859 [1857], Young Papers, LDS archives; summarized in Allen, *Trials of Discipleship*, 325; Whittaker, "Almanacs in the New England Heritage of Mormonism," 112-13.

346. William W. Phelps, *Almanac For the Year 1859* (Salt Lake City: J. McKnight, 1859), verso of title page (for "SIGNS OF THE ZODIAC" and the body parts they governed, without negative comment), monthly calendars (with column on moon's position in Zodiac); Phelps, *Almanac For the Year 1860* (Salt Lake City: J. McKnight, 1860), 2 (for "SIGNS OF THE ZODIAC" and the body parts they governed, without negative comment), monthly calendars (with column on moon's position in Zodiac), 32 (for "compass" quote); Phelps, *Almanac For the Year 1861* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Office, 1861), verso of title page (for "general reader" quote), monthly calendars (with column on moon's position in Zodiac); Phelps, *Almanac For the Year 1862* (Salt Lake City: "Deseret News" Office, 1861), verso of title page (for "general reader" quote), monthly calendars (with column on moon's position in Zodiac); Phelps, *Almanac For the Year 1863* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Office, 1862), verso of title page (for "general reader" quote and predictions about 1866, 1875), monthly calendars (with column on moon's position in Zodiac); Phelps, *Almanac For the Year 1864* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Office, 1864), verso of title page (for "general reader" quote), monthly calendars (with column on moon's position in Zodiac); Phelps, *Deseret Almanac For the Year 1865* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Office, 1865), verso of title page (for "SIGNS OF THE ZODIAC" and the body parts they governed, without negative comment), monthly calendars (with column on moon's position in Zodiac); also Whittaker, "Almanacs in the New England Heritage of Mormonism," 99-104.

347. Brigham Young office journal, 30 Dec. 1861, LDS archives, with typescript in fd 10, box 11, Donald R. Moorman papers, Archives and Special Collections, Donnell and Elizabeth Stewart Library, Weber State University, Ogden, Utah; William Clayton to Brigham Young, 30 Oct. 1865, Young papers; Allen, *Trials of Discipleship*, 326. This 1861 document could be read as referring to a new request or as a reminiscent reference to the 1855 effort to turn Sanderson's informal meetings into a permanent school. Because of that ambiguity, my text does not specify any time-period other than the date of Young's statement. However, in 1865 (see below) Young assumed that Clayton had been studying and promoting astrology for seven years (i.e., since about 1858). This indicates that Young's 1861 comment referred to a recent request by Job and Clayton to offer public instruction in astrology.

348. Allen, *Trials of Discipleship*, 326-30.

349. John Sanderson in Patriarchal Blessing Index (1833-1963), microfilm, LDS Family History Library; "Extracts From the Journal of John Steele," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 6 (Jan. 1933): 25.

350. J. R. Kearl, Clayne Pope, and Larry T. Wimmer, comps., *INDEX TO THE 1850, 1860 & 1870 CENSUS OF UTAH: Heads of Households* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1981), 315.

351. "Memoirs of Henry Clark Jackson, Edited By His Son Frederic Walter Jackson," 24, 35, typescript, item 59, Joel E. Ricks Collection, microfilm, Utah State Historical Society.

352. Brimley, *Book of Thomas Job*, 145 (for quoted phrase from rent-contract), 148, 152, 160, 162, 195-96, 212-14; also Joseph Smith III and Heman C. Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1844-1872* (Lamoni, IA: Board of Publication of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1900), 374, 418, 434, 466, 698.

353. William Clayton to John Sanderson, 26 Apr. 1862, in unpaginated letterbook (14 Apr. 1860-14 July 1863), Clayton to Sanderson, 8 Aug. 1863 and 24 Feb. 1865, in unpaginated letterbook (25 Feb. 1860-19 Apr. 1865), all in Bancroft Library. For researchers

at Utah State Historical Society, the 1862 letter is in the first letterbook of Microfilm A-193, the 1863 and 1865 letters are in the first letterbook of Microfilm A-192; with summaries and quotes of some of the above in Allen, *Trials of Discipleship*, 326-28.

354. Christopher McIntosh, *The Astrologers and Their Creed: an Historical Outline* (London: Hutchinson, 1969), 93, 95.

355. "HOME ITEMS: SABBATH MEETINGS," *Deseret News* [weekly], 2 Aug. 1865, 349.

356. William Clayton to Brigham Young, 30 Oct. 1865, LDS archives, quoted in Allen, *Trials of Discipleship*, 329.

357. "Influences," *Deseret Evening News*, 13 Apr. 1869, [2]; Ancestral File for John Sanderson (b. 31 Jan. 1806; d. 17 Mar. 1869). For "trine," see my fig. 16c; for "quadrature," see my fig. 20b.

358. William Clayton to John Royle, 28 Nov. 1869, in letterbook (4 Sept. 1868-15 June 1872), 350, and Clayton to [Samuel] W. Riter, 26 Nov. 1874, in letterbook (23 May 1870-11 Mar. 1876), 562, Bancroft Library. For researchers at Utah State Historical Society, the 1869 letter is in the third letterbook of Microfilm A-193, and the 1874 letter is in the second letterbook of Microfilm A-194. The 1869 letter was quoted in Allen, *Trials of Discipleship*, 330.

359. Previous note; C. C. Goodwin, *History of the Bench and Bar of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Interstate Press Association, 1913), 104-05; Journal History, 10 May 1857, 4; "Funeral of Sam'l W. Riter," *Deseret Evening News*, 14 Feb. 1908, 3; Ancestral File for Samuel Harvey Wollerton Riter (b. 1835).

360. Bate, "John Steele," 73-74.

361. Kerry William Bate, "Steele Family Papers, 1816-1931," bound typescript (4 Feb. 1989), 8, 15, 21-22, 67, 70, 71, 79, 81-82, 143, 165-66, 172, 182-83, 410, Lee Library; David J. Whittaker, Paul C. Russell, Chris McClellan, and Bryan D. Dixon, comps., *John Steele Collection* (Provo, UT: Special Collections and Manuscripts, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, 1995), 1-3, 5, 23; Manuscript History of Parowan Ward (12 May 1852), LDS archives; horoscopes for "AP Spilsbury on mission April 24. 1880," for "6³ pm April 19[,] 1881 time at Toquer[ville,] pension," for "June 30/80 Census Returns 15 past 8 am," and for "15 to 11 am April 30[,] 1883 traded with Bob McGarrin," all in fd 12, box 3, Steele papers; Steele to "Mr. Azrael," 27 July 1900, fd 10, box 3, Steele papers, also quoted in Bate, "John Steele," 78; Wesley P. Larsen, *A History of Toquerville* (Cedar City, UT: Quick Copy, 1986), 121, 139-40; Larsen statement to D. Michael Quinn, 15 May 1987.

362. Whittaker, "Almanacs in the New England Heritage of Mormonism," 103, stated: "There is also evidence he [Phelps] sent to press another volume for 1866 and 1867, but no copies have been located." These were undoubtedly the astrological calendars that Albert Carrington published for each month in the *Deseret News*, without any criticisms of astrology. However, these 1866-67 calendars provided more astrological information than those previously published by Phelps, and Carrington was apparently responsible for this added information. (See my narrative.)

363. "Calendar for May: 1866," *Deseret News* [weekly], 17 May 1866, front page; for example, *Deseret News Semi-Weekly*, 16 July-5 Oct. 1867, the astrological calendar was on front page of all but one issue; *Deseret News* [weekly], 17 July-25 Sept. 1867, on front page of all but one issue.

364. Quinn, *Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power*, 631, 650-51, 726, 766.

365. *Deseret News* [weekly], 27 Nov. 1867-1 Jan. 1868 (with exception of calendar's publication on 11 Dec. 1867, 351); *Deseret Evening News*, 30 Nov. 1867-4 Jan. 1868; compared with "CALENDAR FOR DECEMBER, 1867," *Deseret News Semi-Weekly*, 3 Dec.-31 Dec. 1867, on last page [8] (with exception of 7 Dec. 1867, [7]). There was no publication of *Deseret News* [weekly] between 9 October and 20 November 1867, nor of

Deseret News Semi-Weekly between 12 October and 16 November 1867 in the microfilms I examined at Marriott Library. The newspaper began its daily edition on 21 November 1867.

366. "CALENDAR FOR JANUARY, 1868," *Deseret Evening News*, 6 Jan. 1868, [2], 16 Jan. 1868, [3], 25 Jan. 1868, [4].

367. "ASTROLOGY AND ITS EVILS," *Deseret Evening News*, 28 Jan. 1868, [2].

368. Kenney, Wilford Woodruff's *Journal*, 6 (3 Feb. 1868): 393-94; Staker, *Waiting For World's End*, 195; also Samuel W. Richards to Franklin D. Richards, 3 Feb. 1868 (as continuation of letter of 2 Feb.) in "Correspondence," *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* 30 (7 Mar. 1868): 157. For the history of this organization, see John R. Patrick, "The School of the Prophets: Its Development and Influence in Utah Territory," M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1970; for its economic significance, see Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958), 245-51, 268, 296, 320, 338, 353, 494n15; for its political significance, see Quinn, *Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power*, 279-81, 282, 313, 314.

369. "CALENDAR FOR FEBRUARY, 1868," *Deseret Evening News*, 11 Feb. 1868, [4], 12 Feb. 1868, [4]; "CALENDAR FOR FEBRUARY, 1868," *Deseret News Semi-Weekly*, 15 Feb. 1868, [8].

370. "A VISION: Three Days' History of an Astrologer, While in Gunnison," *Deseret Evening News*, 12 Mar. 1868, [3]; "Oracles," *Deseret Evening News*, 17 Apr. 1869, [2].

371. James E. Talmage, "My Study of Astrology," *Contributor* 14 (Nov. 1892): 33, also fully reprinted in James Harris, ed., *The Essential James E. Talmage* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997), 30, 32.

372. "SHINING LIGHTS: How They Acquired Brightness, Dr. James Edward Talmage," *Contributor* 16 (Feb. 1895): 228-29 (for quotes); also Dennis Rowley, "Inner Dialogue: James Talmage's Choice of Science as a Career," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 17 (Summer 1984): 112 (for "herbal doctor"), reprinted in Gene A. Sessions and Craig J. Oberg, eds., *The Search for Harmony: Essays on Science and Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1993), 43; "Editor's Introduction," in Harris, *Essential James E. Talmage*, xiv.

373. Talmage, "My Study of Astrology" (1892), 34.

374. John R. Talmage, *The Talmage Story: Life of James E. Talmage—Educator, Scientist, Apostle* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1972), 2, 3 (for quote on baptism), 3n. 8; "Editor's Introduction," in Harris, *Essential James E. Talmage*, xiv; James E. Talmage label ("Private Library of James E. Talmage, Salt Lake City, Utah, Class B, No. 732"), in copy of Ebenezer Sibly, *A Complete Illustration of the Celestial Science of Astrology* (London: Green, 1788), inscribed on inside front cover: "Jas. J. Talmage," Lee Library; *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 129:202-03, 545:135-37; also Herbert Leventhal, *In the Shadow of the Enlightenment: Occultism and Renaissance Science in Eighteenth-Century America* (New York: New York University Press, 1976), 28-29, for Culpeper's popularity in early America.

375. Allen G. Debus, "Scientific Truth and Occult Tradition: The Medical World of Ebenezer Sibly (1751-1799)," *Medical History* 26 (July 1982): 261-62. *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 129:202-203 shows fewer editions of Sibly's version of Culpeper because "later impressions [imprints] of this herbal [handbook] no longer have Sibly's name on the title-page" (Debus, 261).

376. For example, pages 174, 1092-94 in Talmage's inscribed copy of *Complete Illustration of the Celestial Science of Astrology*, which has same pagination as Sibly's *New and Complete Illustration of the Occult Sciences* and verbatim content.

377. *Deseret Evening News*, 1 Aug. 1877, [2]; "Zadkiel," *Deseret Evening News*, 14 Nov. 1877, [3]; McIntosh, *Astrologers and Their Creed*, 93-95.

378. "Divination," *Deseret Evening News*, 6 May 1869, [3].

379. "Astrology and the 'Great Tribulation,'" *Deseret Evening News*, 24 May 1879, [2].

380. "GENERAL CONFERENCE," *Deseret Evening News*, 8 Apr. 1879, [2].

381. "ASTROLOGICAL INFORMATION," *Deseret Evening News*, 3 Sept. 1880, [2];

also Wendell J. Ashton, *Voice in the West: Biography of a Pioneer Newspaper* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1950), 183, for Penrose as editor in September 1880.

382. Bishop Edward W. Wade to John Taylor, 3 May 1883, LDS archives, with typescript (which misspells name as "Turniss") in fd 7, box 3-B, John Taylor Family papers, Marriott Library; David J. Evans to John Taylor, 21 May 1883, typescript, fd 29, box 3-B, Taylor Family papers; published as letter from unidentified "bishop's counselor" in North Ogden to John Taylor, 21 May 1883, regarding being "accused of going to an astrologer," in Samuel W. Taylor and Raymond W. Taylor, *The John Taylor Papers: Records of the Last Utah Pioneer*, 2 vols. (Redwood City, California: Taylor Trust, 1984-85), 2:278-79; North Ogden Ward Elders' Quorum Genealogical Record (1869-86), microfilm, LDS Family History Library, for David J. Evans (b. 1829); North Ogden Ward Record of Members (Early to 1907), 85, for David "W." Evans (b. 1829), but indexed at front of book as David J. Evans, microfilm, LDS Family History Library. Early Mormons sometimes used "Mr." for another Mormon.

383. Ancestral File for Ephraim John Furniss (b. 1852, with children born in Ogden from 1880 to 1883) and Tobias Furniss (b. 1855, with children born in Ogden from 1878 to 1896).

384. *Journal of Discourses*, 24:170 (J. Taylor/1883).

385. Roberts, *Life of John Taylor*, 28, 29-30; Gibbons, *John Taylor*, 11.

386. "The Troubles of the Times," *Deseret Evening News*, 15 June 1889, [2].

387. "POINTS ON ASTROLOGY," *Deseret Weekly*, 1 Mar. 1890, 334, as a reprint from *Golden Days*; *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 204:405, shows that this was *Golden Days for Boys and Girls*, published at Philadelphia. *Deseret Weekly* reprinted articles from the daily and semi-weekly *Deseret News*, and this article's first Utah reprint was undoubtedly in the *Deseret Evening News* for 22 February 1890, which issue was missing in the microfilm I examined at the Marriott Library.

388. James F. Talmage diary, 31 Jan. 1893, Lee Library; Talmage, *Talmage Story*, 125; D. Michael Quinn, "The Brief Career of Young University at Salt Lake City," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 41 (Winter 1973): 82; Quinn, J. Reuben Clark: *The Church Years* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1983), 10-11.

389. Talmage, "My Study of Astrology" (1892), 35.

390. "Ancient History: Art, Science and Religion in Chaldea," *Contributor* 14 (Mar. 1893): 224.

391. Widtsoe, "The Folly of Astrology," 290.

392. Joseph F. Smith, "Superstitious Practices," *Improvement Era* 5 (Sept. 1902): 896-97.

393. Joseph F. Smith, "Witchcraft," *Juvenile Instructor* 37 (15 Sept. 1902): 561 (for quote), also 560 (for a full quote of the stake president's letter of 9 August 1902, with names and places deleted).

394. For the following as the only two references to astrology during this period, do a key-word search on "astrologer," "astrological," "astrology," and "zodiac," in conference reports of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in *New Mormon Studies CD-ROM: A Comprehensive Resource Library* (San Francisco: Smith Research Associates, 1998).

395. *October 1933 Conference Report* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1933), 68.

Aside from its title, Eidlitz's book had no specific reference to astrology. However, it did have an eerie predictiveness. The novel took its name from a luxurious "Russian propaganda aeroplane" that was completely destroyed by mysterious internal explosions as it was landing near New York City on a direct flight from Europe. Six years after this novel's publication in the United States, that same kind of disaster occurred to the luxurious passenger-blimp *Hindenburg* which Nazi Germany was using for propaganda purposes. See Walther Eidlitz, *Zodiak*, trans. Eric Sutton (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1931), 240, 309,

310 (for quote); Michael Macdonald Mooney, *The Hindenburg* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1972), 77, 219, 223.

396. Milton R. Hunter, "Indian Traditions of The Book of Mormon," *Improvement Era* 58 (June 1955): 431.

397. John A. Widisoë, "Evidences and Reconciliations: Is Astrology a Science?" *Improvement Era* 47 (Nov. 1944): 689, 735.

398. Hand and Talley, *Popular Beliefs and Superstitions from Utah*, 367 (no. 11727, summary of reports by a twenty-year old male in 1959, a sixty-two-year-old female in 1920, and a forty-six-year-old female in 1931), 327 (no. 10414, reported by male, age twenty-six, at Salt Lake City in 1948).

399. Bruce R. McConkie, "Of the First Council of the Seventy, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," *Mormon Doctrine* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1958), 54.

400. Hand and Talley, *Popular Beliefs and Superstitions from Utah*, 327 (no. 10413, reported by male, age nineteen, at Price in 1960), 367 (no. 11730, reported by female, age 94, at Salt Lake City in 1964).

401. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine* (1966), 56-57.

402. "Your Horoscope," *Deseret News "Church News,"* 16 May 1970, 16.

403. "A Newsman's Newspaperman," *Deseret News "Church News,"* 15 Jan. 1984, 3.

404. Nat Freedland, *The Occult Explosion* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1972), 11; for interpretations of the causes underlying this occult outburst, see Nachman Ben-Yehuda, "Witchcraft and the Occult as Boundary Maintenance Devices," in Jacob Neusner, Ernest S. Frerichs, and Paul Virgil McCracken Flesher, eds., *Religion, Science, and Magic: In Concert and In Conflict* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 245-54; Adrian Ivakhiv, "The Resurgence of Magical Religion as a Response to the Crisis of Modernity: A Postmodern Depth Psychological Perspective," in James R. Lewis, ed., *Magical Religion and Modern Witchcraft* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996), 237-65.

405. A. Burt Horsley, "What Should Our Attitude Be Regarding Zodiac Signs, Astrology, and Horoscopes?" *New Era* 2 (Apr. 1972): 8-9; "You And The Stars," *Deseret News "Church News,"* 14 Oct. 1972, 16.

406. Robert J. Matthews, "What the Scriptures Say About Astrology, Divination, Spirit Mediums, Magic, Wizardry, and Necromancy," *Ensign* 4 (Mar. 1974): 26-28.

407. Jerreld L. Newquist, ed., *Gospel Truth: Discourses and Writings of President George Q. Cannon, First Counselor to Presidents John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, and Lorenzo Snow*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1974), 2:296.

408. Terry J. Moyer, "Questions Astrologers Avoid Like Cancer: (File with Palm-reading, Phrenology, Tea-leaf Reading, Numerology, and Dr. Mugwump's Miracle Snake Oil Medicine)," "What Do the Scriptures Say About Astrology?," and James E. Talmage, "My Study of Astrology," *New Era* 9 (Mar. 1979): 14-17, 17, 18.

409. Michael Hicks, *Mormonism and Music: A History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 202-03.

410. David B. Haight, "Live the Commandments," *Ensign* 28 (May 1998): 6-7.

411. Oliver Loud, *The Farmer's Diary, or Ontario Almanac, For the Year of Our Lord, 1830...* (Canandaigua, NY: Bemis & Ward, [1829]), cover-title (for quote), calendar for April 1830.

For nine miles as the distance, see Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet and His Progenitors for Many Generations* (Liverpool: S. W. Richards, 1853), 96; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:318. Horatio G. Spafford, *A Gazetteer of the State of New-York* (Albany: E. D. Packard, 1824), 302, gave the distance as ten miles between Canandaigua and the town of Manchester itself, rather than to the Smith's farm on the outskirts of Manchester. In preparing the first edition, I forgot about Lucy Mack Smith's statement and conservatively estimated the distance as twelve miles, so as not to overstate their closeness.

412. Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, 279; Barrett, *The Magus*, 1:148; also Patrick Curry, *Prophecy and Power: Astrology in Early Modern England* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), 11.
413. John Putnam Demos, *Entertaining Satan: Witchcraft and the Culture of Early New England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 387-91.
414. *Illinois Advocate and State Register* (Vandalia, IL), 15 Apr. 1835, reprinted from *Zanesville Gazette*, in box 1, Dale Lowell Morgan, "THE MORMONS AND THE FAR WEST: a collection of transcripts of newspaper articles on the Mormons, also containing material on the following subjects: the opening of the West; the fur trade; Indians of the middle and south-western states; the Santa Fe trade, etc. 1809-c. 1857," Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.
415. Joseph Smith, "Try the Spirits," *Times and Seasons* 3 (1 Apr. 1842): 743.
416. "SPLENDID MUSEUM, Open for one week," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 22 Dec. 1824, [3], "consisting of 32 WAX Figures, as large as life, at S. St. John's Hotel"; also S. St. John's "Eagle Hotel of Palmyra," [1], for its location.
417. Joseph Smith, "Try the Spirits," *Times and Seasons* 3 (1 Apr. 1842): 743.
418. James R. Newhall, *A Lecture on the Occult Sciences ...* (Salem, MA: G. W. & E. Crafts, 1845), 7.
419. *History of the Church*, 5:311-12; "High Priests of Nauvoo."
420. Brigham Young office journal, 28 Apr. 1850; also *Journal of Discourses*, 2:45 (P.P. Pratt/1853); Erika Bourguignon, "Necromancy," in Eliade, *Encyclopedia of Religion*, 10:344-47; J. Gordon Melton, ed., *Encyclopedia of Occultism & Parapsychology*, 4th ed., 2 vols. (Detroit, MI: Gale Research/International Thompson Publishing, 1996), 2:914-16.
421. *Journal of Discourses*, 2:188 (B. Young/1855), also 3:193-94 (B. Young/1856), 4:141 (H.C. Kimball/1856), 5:178 (H.C. Kimball/1857), 7:144 (B. Young/1859).
422. Historian's Office Journal 1868-69 book, 322 (3 Feb. 1868), LDS archives.
423. Frederick Kesler diary, 11 Dec. 1869.
424. Clark Jillson, *Green Leaves From Whittingham, Vermont: A History of the Town* (Worcester, MA: By the author, 1894), 112; Brooke, *Refiner's Fire*, 71.
425. "Modern Witchcraft," *Athenum; or Spirit of the English Magazines* 10 (1 Nov. 1821): 161; Demos, *Entertaining Satan*, 387-91; Peter Rushton, "A Note on the Survival of Popular Christian Magic," *Folklore* 91 (1980), no. 1:117; Judith Devlin, *The Superstitious Mind: French Peasants and the Supernatural in the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 166-76; Willem de Blecourt, "On the Continuation of Witchcraft," in Jonathan Barry, Marianne Hester, and Gareth Roberts, eds., *Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe: Studies in Culture and Belief* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 343.
426. Handwritten instructions in fd 10, box 3, Steele papers; Bate, "John Steele," 78 (for quote from granddaughter JoAnn Sylvester Bate), 79 ("To Destroy Witchcraft" and "To make two persons Enemys and hate one another"); also Bate, "Steele Family Papers," 309-10, 338.
427. Merrifield, *Archaeology of Ritual and Magic*, 155.
428. Eric Maple, "Cunning Murrell: A Study of a Nineteenth-Century Cunning Man in Hadleigh, Essex," *Folklore* 71 (Mar. 1960): 42 (first quote), 38 (second quote).
429. *Journal of Discourses*, 26:65-66 (G. Q. Cannon/1884).
430. Whittaker, Russell, McClellan, and Dixon, *John Steele Collection*, 1-5; Bate, "John Steele," 78-82.
431. Rushton, "Note on the Survival of Popular Christian Magic," 117.
432. Joseph F. Smith, "Witchcraft," *Juvenile Instructor* 37 (Sept. 1902): 561 (for "pernicious"), 563 (for "outrageous"); also Smith, "Superstitious Practices," *Improvement Era* 5 (Sept. 1902): 896-99.
433. Rodney Turner, "The Position of Adam In Latter-day Saint Scripture and Theol-

ogy," M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1953, 69-71, 77-89; Thomas G. Alexander, "The Reconstruction of Mormon Doctrine: From Joseph Smith to Progressive Theology," *Sunstone* 5 (July-Aug. 1980): 28-32; Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 3-5, 14-15, 272-306.

434. Bate, "John Steele," 88, 90; Bate, "Steele Family Papers," 227.

435. Hand and Talley, *Popular Beliefs and Superstitions from Utah*, 317 (no. 10099 for statement by female at Salt Lake City in 1920), also 317-18 (nos. 10100-01, 10105-08, for similar statements by males and females in Salt Lake City and Provo from 1928 to 1964).

436. Hand and Talley, *Popular Beliefs and Superstitions from Utah*, 334 (no. 10629, reported by female, age 89, at Midvale in 1964).

437. Mrs. Horace Eaton, "The Origin of Mormonism" (1881), in E. Cecil McGavin and Willard Bean, "Leaves From An Old Scrapbook," *Deseret News "Church Section,"* 25 May 1940, 5; Orrin Porter Rockwell's statement in Norman R. Bowen, ed., *A Gentile Account of Life in Utah's Dixie, 1872-73: Elizabeth Kane's St. George Journal* (Salt Lake City: Tanner Trust Fund/University of Utah Library, 1995), 74.

438. Christopher M. Stafford statement (23 Mar. 1885), in *Naked Truths About Mormonism* 1 (Apr. 1888): 1, reprinted in Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined*, 166, and in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming).

439. "Popular Superstitions," *North American Review* 34 (Jan. 1832): 215.

440. Donna Toland Smart, ed., *Mormon Midwife: The 1846-1888 Diaries of Patty Bartlett Sessions* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1997), 154 (loose sheet entry, 5 Mar. 1850, for quote), also 144 (regular diary entry, 6 Mar. 1850, for Permelia Snyder Hatch being "here [in Salt Lake City] on a visit"), 68n132 (for biographical notation on Hatch).

441. Ancestral File for Isaac B. Hatch, Meltair Hatch, Franklin D. Richards, Jane Snyder, Laura A. Snyder, and Permelia Snyder.

442. "Fortune Telling," *Woman's Exponent* 12 (1 Nov. 1883): front page.

443. Carol Cornwall Madsen, "A Mormon Woman in Victorian America," Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1985, 52-73; Quinn, *Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power*, 710-12, for Daniel H. Wells; also Madsen, "Remember the Women of Zion: A Study of the Editorial Content of the *Woman's Exponent*, a Mormon Woman's Journal," M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1977, 93-94, listed the journalistic pseudonyms of Emmeline B. Wells, but "Ruth" was not among them.

444. Abraham H. Cannon diary, 14 Mar. 1887, copies at Lee Library, Marriott Library, and Utah State Historical Society. "Abram" was the affectionate nickname his contemporaries gave to this LDS apostle, whose diaries are the best single description of the social and religious world of Mormonism in Salt Lake City from 1882 to 1895.

445. Emmeline B. Wells diary, 1 Jan. 1894, 4 Feb. 1901, 17 Sept. 1902, Lee Library.

446. *Salt Lake City Directory, 1902* (Salt Lake City: R. L. Polk, 1902), 403, 849; "Prominent S.L. Woman Passes," *Deseret News*, 11 Mar. 1936, 8.

447. Anthon H. Lund diary, 23 Apr. 1918; Barber, "Mormon Women as 'Natural' Seers," 174.

448. John A. Widtsoe, "Evidences and Reconciliations: Is Astrology a Science?" *Improvement Era* 47 (Nov. 1944): 735, as continuation from 689.

449. Mary E. Hales, "Stories I Remember," in Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West*, 10:139, plus reference to this as lesson material in the volume's introduction.

450. Hand and Talley, *Popular Beliefs and Superstitions from Utah*, 328 (no. 10426, reported by female, no age given, at Salt Lake City in 1960; no. 10440, reported by female, age sixty-seven, at Salt Lake City in 1963); Moyer, "Questions Astrologers Avoid Like Cancer: (File with Palm-reading, Phrenology, Tea-leaf Reading, Numerology, and Dr. Mugwump's Miracle Snake Oil Medicine)," 14-17.

451. Barber, "Mormon Women as 'Natural' Seers," 179.

452. James E. Faust, "First Presidency Message: Serving the Lord and Resisting the Devil," *Ensign* 25 (Sept. 1995): 2.
453. See page 336, note 52, to explain my choice of Cabala and cabalistic from among the various English transliterations of the Hebrew.
454. "History of Free Masonry," *Anti-Masonic Review* 1 (1828): 340-41.
455. Benjamin Franklin, "Busy-Body, No. 8," *American Weekly Mercury*, 27 Mar. 1729, in Leonard W. Larabee, William B. Willcox, and Barbara B. Oberg, eds., *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, 32+ vols. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1959-96+), 1:136; Alfred Wallis, "Some Notes on Charms and Exorcisms," *Reliquary* 17 (July 1876): 141.
456. "(No. XVIII, FOR JUNE) MUSEUM OF FOREIGN LITERATURE AND SCIENCE ... Henry Cornelius Agrippa," *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 15 June 1827, [3]; "Henry Cornelius Agrippa," *Museum of Foreign Literature and Science* 10 (June 1827): 521-23 (for his biography), 527 (for one of his publication's views concerning the Cabala); also page 491, note 30, for the availability and sale of *Museum of Foreign Literature* in the Palmyra area during Joseph Smith's youth.
457. "The Magician's Visitor," [sic] *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY), 7 Mar. 1828, [4]; also discussion in ch. 4.
458. Bernard Picart, *The Ceremonies and Religious Customs of the Various Nations of the Known World* ..., 7 vols. (London: William Jackson/Claude Du Bosc, 1733-39), 1:110 (for first quote), 137 (for second quote).
459. *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 157:356; John Peter Stehelin [and Johann A. Eisenmenger, as the unacknowledged author], *The Traditions of the Jews ... To which is added A Preliminary Preface ... By the Reverend Mr. JOHN PETER STEHELIN, F.R.S.*, 2 vols. (London: G. Smith, 1742), 1:142-66 (main text, for primary discussion of the Cabala), 1:137 (main text, for quote), with same pagination in the 1748 edition titled *Rabbinical [sic] Literature*; Eisenmenger's original German publication was *Entdecktes Judenthum*.
460. William Enfield, *The History of Philosophy From the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the Present Century*, 2d ed., 2 vols. (London: Dove, Baynes, and Priestly, [1819]), 2:211-12, with same pagination as 1791 edition.
461. "BOOK-STORE, In Canandaigua," *Western Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 20 Mar. 1804, [3]; "FALL Supply," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 9 Jan. 1828, [4]; *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 160:18.
462. John Allen, *Modern Judaism: or, A Brief Account of the Opinions, Traditions, Rites, and Ceremonies of the Jews in Modern Times*, 2d ed., rev. (1816; London: R. B. Seeley and W. Burnside, 1830), 70 (for quote, emphasis in original), with references to Stehelin's edition in the notes of 37, 74, 133, 150, 152, 158-61, 164-71, 174-90, 195, 200, 202-11, 220-21, 223, 226, 228, 230, 234, 238, 239, and to Eisenmenger specifically on 412n2; also similar statements about the speculative and practical Cabala in Stehelin [and Eisenmenger], *Traditions of the Jews*, 1:145-46 (main text, emphasis in original), with same pagination in the 1748 edition titled *Rabbinical [sic] Literature*; R. J. Zwi Werblowsky and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Jewish Religion* (New York: Adama Books, 1986), 221.
463. William J. Hamblin, "Everything Is Everything: Was Joseph Smith Influenced by Kabbalah?," *FARMS Review of Books: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 8 (1996), no. 2:295. Even if Hamblin's statement had been true for England, Europe, and America generally, applying it to individuals is an example of the environmental (or ecological) fallacy. Lack of influence of cabalistic ideas in a national population is not proof that they lacked influence on an individual within that population.
464. Joseph Smith manuscript diary, 10 Nov. 1835, in Faulring, *American Prophet's Record*, 54-55; also Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2:74; *History of the Church*, 2:307; Steven Epperson, *Mormons and Jews: Early Mormon Theologies of Israel* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), 77-79; for Robert Matthews, see Paul E. Johnson, *The Kingdom of Matthias* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

465. Isaac Broyde, "TRANSMIGRATION OF SOULS (termed also Metempsychosis)," in Isadore Singer, ed., *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 12 vols. (New York: KTAV Publishing, 1901), 12:232; also Gershom Scholem, *Kabbalah* (New York: Quadrangle/New York Times Book, 1974), 344-47; Scholem, *On the MYSTICAL SHAPE of the GODHEAD: Basic Concepts in the KABBALAH*, trans. Joachim Neugroschel (New York: Schocken Books, 1991), 197-250.

466. Stehelin [and Eisenmenger], *Traditions of the Jews*, 1:41 (Preface), 1:277-329 (main text), with same pagination in the 1748 edition titled *Rabbinical [sic] Literature*; Allen, *Modern Judaism*, 191, 204-17 (esp. 210, 217).

467. John Lawrence [Johann Lorenz von] Mosheim, *An Ecclesiastical History ...*, 6 vols. (Charlestown, MA: Samuel Etheridge, 1810-11), 1:47, 90, 6:467 [with sixteen more editions to 1836]; Hannah Adams, *History of the Jews From the Destruction of Jerusalem To the Nineteenth Century*, 2 vols. (Boston: John Eliot, Jr., 1812), 1:119-25; Augustine Calmet, *Calmet's Great Dictionary of the Holy Bible ...*, 5 vols. (Charlestown, MA: Samuel Etheridge, Jr., 1812-17), 1:s.v. "Cabbala," 2:s.v. "Trans..." [with seven more editions to 1837]; Hannah Adams, *Dictionary of All Religions and Religious Denominations*, 4th ed. (New York: James Eastburn & Co., 1817), 49-50, 290; Charles Buck, *A Theological Dictionary, Containing Definitions of All Religious Terms ...* (Philadelphia: W. W. Woodward, 1818), 60, 507 [with eighteen more U.S. printings to 1838, and two British imprints 1833-41]; Enfield, *History of Philosophy* (1819), 2:200-20; Brown, *Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, 291, 1127-28; Johann Jahn, *Jahn's Biblical Archaeology*, trans. Thomas C. Upham (Andover, MA: Flagg and Gould, 1823), concerning Jewish teachings 234-36, sect. 203 ("On Death"), and 396-98, sect. 314 ("On the Condition of Man after Death") [with five more American printings to 1839]. Published in English after Smith's diary entry in 1835 (see below), the *Conciliation of R. Manasseh Ben Israel* also had no discussion of transmigration of souls.

468. Francis Lieber, ed., *Encyclopaedia Americana*, 13 vols. (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Cary, 1829-33), 12:318-19, with the only reference to Judaism as (12:318) "which is also taught in the Talmud," and with no reference to transmigration in its entry on the Cabala (2:368-69).

469. "TRANSMIGRATION OF SOULS—HINDOOISM," *The Evening and the Morning Star* [Independence, MO] 1 (Oct. 1832): [36], quoting from *Edinburgh Cabinet Library*; "TRANSMIGRATION OF SOULS. HINDOOISM," *Evening and Morning Star* [Kirtland, OH] 1 (Oct. 1832): 76, also 80 ("The Evening and the Morning Star, IS RE-PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY F. G. Williams & Co. ... Kirtland, Ohio, June, 1835").

470. *Chardon Spectator and Geagua Gazette* (Chardon, OH), 13 Nov. 1835, typescript, box 2, Morgan, "THE MORMONS AND THE FAR WEST," Huntington Library.

471. "THE JEWS," *Times and Seasons* 3 (2 May 1842): 780-81, with Joseph Smith as editor on page 782.

472. E. H. Lindo, trans., *The Conciliation of R. Manasseh Ben Israel ...*, 2 vols. (London: Duncan and Malcolm, 1842), 1:208-13 (only section on the Cabala), 1:42 (for first quote), 1:108 (for second quote), with citations to cabalistic writings as exceptions to each "Reconciliation" in 1:4, 13-14, 31-32, 36, 42, 48, 91, 108, 200, 219, 221, 257, and 2:118; *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*, 358:250, omits the imprint date but shows only one edition.

473. Alexander Neibaur, "THE JEWS," *Times and Seasons* 4 (1 June 1843): 220-23, 4 (15 June 1843): 233-34.

474. Hamblin, "Everything Is Everything," 290.

475. Hamblin, "Everything Is Everything," 251-325, as "book review" of Lance S. Owens, "Joseph Smith and Kabbalah: The Occult Connection," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 27 (Fall 1994): 117-94 (esp. 160-91).

476. Hamblin, "Everything Is Everything," 258n22: "It is clear from his work that Owens does not read Latin, Aramaic, or Hebrew, *sine non qua* for the study of Kabbalah and the Western esoteric traditions." However, Hamblin listed only the languages he knows,

while not acknowledging the fact that Hamblin is unable to read Greek, Egyptian Demotic, Gaelic, Anglo-Saxon, or Romany—also important in “the Western esoteric traditions.” Hamblin’s condescending *ad hominem* attack ignores four facts: (1) the English-language publications available to Joseph Smith’s generation; (2) the twentieth-century translation into English of a vast collection of original sources of the occult and esoteric extending to the earliest written records; (3) the translation into English of major interpreters of the Cabala and occult who have written in various languages; (4) the fact that the democratization of doctoral programs in the United States has made English the original language for the majority of studies on the Western tradition of esotericism and the occult.

477. Hamblin, “Everything Is Everything,” 311.

478. Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 141; Moshe Idel, *Kabbalah: New Perspectives* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 107, also 112, 121-22, 127, 135; Elliot R. Wolfson, *Through a Speculum That Shines: Vision and Imagination in Medieval Jewish Mysticism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), 71; also Scholem, *On the MYSTICAL SHAPE of the GODHEAD: Basic Concepts in the KABBALAH*, 21, 50.

For this FARMS polemicist’s citations to Idel’s *Kabbalah*, to Scholem’s *Kabbalah* and *On the MYSTICAL SHAPE of the GODHEAD*, and to Wolfson, see Hamblin, “Everything Is Everything,” 258n23, 259n24, 262nn32-34, 264n40, 274nn71-72, 275n73, 280n87, 291nn16-17, 293n122, 294n127, 312n165.

479. Gershom Scholem, *Origins of the Kabbalah*, trans. Allan Arkush, ed. R. J. Zwi Werblowsky (Princeton, NJ: Jewish Publication Society/Princeton University Press, 1987), 211. For the fact that he had read Scholem’s *Origins*, see Hamblin, “Everything Is Everything,” 260n28.

480. Allen, *Modern Judaism*, 143.

481. Allen, *Modern Judaism*, 91; Stehelin [and Eisenmenger], *Traditions of the Jews*, 1:10 (Preface).

482. Hamblin, “Everything Is Everything,” 311.

483. *Ibid.*, 316.

484. *History of the Church*, 6:306, 474; Smith, *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, 346 (which capitalized the April sermon as “Gods”), 370; Galbraith, *Scriptural Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, 391 (which capitalized the April sermon as “Gods”), 417.

485. *History of the Church*, 6:307, 308; Smith, *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, 348, 349; Galbraith, *Scriptural Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, 393, 394.

486. Hamblin, “Everything Is Everything,” 303, 304, 309, and 320 (for quote).

487. Stehelin [and Eisenmenger], *Traditions of the Jews*, 1:177-78 (main text), with same pagination in the 1748 edition titled *Rabbinical [sic] Literature*.

488. Lindo, *Conciliation of R. Manasseh Ben Israel*, 1:46-48.

489. John A. Widtsoe, *Evidences and Reconciliations: Aids To Faith In a Modern Day* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1943), 192: “The names Elijah and Elias are but variations of one original name. Therefore, in many languages these names are translated alike, as Elias. This has tended to confuse many gospel students who do not use English Bibles as to the personality of Elias. Indeed, Elias and Elijah have been made to appear as one person”; Joseph Fielding Smith, *Church History and Modern Revelation*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: The Council of the Twelve Apostles of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1953), 2:48n3: “What prophet this Elias is that was sent to restore these keys is not definitely known. The title ‘Elias’ has been given to several prophets who have been appointed to important work in different dispensations”; Smith, *Doctrines of Salvation*, 2:107, “The references to Elijah in the New Testament, where it is interpreted Elias, should be Elijah. There is a big difference between Elias and Elijah, but I shall not refer to that right now”; Joseph Fielding Smith, *Answers To Gospel Questions*, 5 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1957-66), 4:193, “So many questions have been received from those who seem to be in a quandary concerning the identity of Elijah and Elias spoken of in the Doctrine and Covenants, Section 110, and

also in the Bible, that the following explanation has been prepared"; McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine* (1958), 203-04: "Elias is the greek [sic] form of Elijah. This leads to some confusion and the necessity of determining whether Elijah or someone else is meant in each passage where the name Elias appears." McConkie's second edition (1966), 220, reprinted this statement verbatim, including the misspelling.

490. "Topical Guide," 120, in *THE HOLY BIBLE ... AUTHORIZED KING JAMES VERSION WITH EXPLANATORY NOTES AND CROSS REFERENCES TO THE STANDARD WORKS OF THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1989); also George Arthur Buttrick, ed., *The Interpreter's Bible*, 12 vols. (New York: Abingdon Press, 1951-57), 2:87.

491. John Butterworth, *A New Concordance and Dictionary to the Holy Scriptures ...* (Philadelphia: William W. Woodward, 1811), 100, advertised in "BOOKS IN DIVINITY, For Sale at the Canandaigua Bookstore," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 20 June 1820, [4], and in "BOOKS," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 7 Oct. 1823, [4]; John Brown, *A Dictionary of the Holy Bible ...* (Philadelphia: Benjamin Warner, 1818), 227 (with editions to 1836), advertised in "Brown's Dictionary of the Bible," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 22 Oct. 1816, [4]; "BOOKS, AMONG the STANDARD WORKS Kept for Sale by J.D. Bemis & Co.," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 11 Nov. 1823, [4]; also "The Joseph Smith [book] donation list by courtesy of the Church Librarian," in Kenneth W. Godfrey, "A Note On the Nauvoo Library and Literary Institute," *BYU Studies* 14 (Spring 1974): 387, which listed Brown's book only by its title. WorldCat shows that Brown's book was the only pre-1845 book by that title.

492. Alexander Cruden, *A Complete Concordance to the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments ...*, 1st Am. ed. (Philadelphia: Kimber, Conrad & Co., 1806), 859; "Canandaigua Bookstore," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 17 Sept. 1816, [1]; "BOOKS, AMONG the STANDARD WORKS Kept for Sale by J.D. Bemis & Co.," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 11 Nov. 1823, [4]; also Calmet, *Calmet's Great Dictionary of the Holy Bible*, 1:s.v. "Elias"; Brown, *Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, 497.

493. "AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE OF THE PROPER NAMES IN THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS," s.v. "Elias," in [Hyrum Smith's personal Bible], *THE HOLY BIBLE ... with Canne's Marginal Notes and References Together with THE APOCRYPHA* (1819; Boston: Langdon Coffin, 1834), in box 2, Joseph Smith, Sr., Family Collection (which was donated by Eldred G. Smith), Lee Library; Lavina Fielding Anderson, "139-Year-Old Portraits of Joseph and Emma Smith," *Ensign* 11 (Mar. 1981): 64; "Elder Eldred G. Smith, patriarch emeritus of the Church, has Hyrum Smith's family bible—the same edition as Joseph and Emma Smith's Bible."

494. For example, James Creighton, *A Dictionary of the Scripture Proper Names*, 1st Am. ed. (Philadelphia: Jonathan Ponder, 1814), 117.

495. Jacques Basnage, *The History of the Jews ...*, trans. Thomas Taylor (London: Bever et al., 1708), 185.

496. Stehelin [and Eisenmenger], *Traditions of the Jews*, 2:97 (for first quotes), 98 (for last quote), with same pagination in the 1748 edition titled *Rabinical [sic] Literature*.

497. "CONFERENCE MINUTES," *Times and Seasons* 5 (15 Aug. 1844): 614, spelled it "Beroseit" (emphasis in original), which is repeated in *History of the Church*, 6:307, in Smith, *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, 348, and in Galbraith, *Scriptural Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, 393. This spelling was from William Clayton's minutes and was close to the "Beroseat" spelling in Thomas Bullock's minutes and the "Beroseet" in Wilford Woodruff's minutes. See Ehat and Cook, *Words of Joseph Smith*, 345 (for Woodruff), 350 (for Bullock), 358 (for Clayton); Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 2 (7 Apr. 1844): 384. The spelling was "Bereshith" in Alexander Neibaur, "THE JEWS," *Times and Seasons* 4 (1 June 1843): 222.

498. G. Mallary Masters, "Renaissance Kabbalah," in Antoine Faivre and Jacob Needleman, eds., *Modern Esoteric Spirituality* (New York: Crossroad Publishing, 1992), 146.

499. Gershom Scholem, "Kabbalah," in Cecil Roth, ed., *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 16 vols. (Jerusalem: Macmillan/Keter Publishing, 1971-72), 10:494; also verbatim in Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 6.

500. Basnage, *History of the Jews*, 191.

501. Lindo, *Conciliation of R. Manasseh Ben Israel*, 1:208 (for quote), 1:4 (for his commentary on Gen. 1:1, and quote).

502. Allen, *Modern Judaism*, 94n.

503. Hamblin, "Everything Is Everything," 304 (emphasis in original).

504. Allen, *Modern Judaism*, 80.

505. *History of the Church*, 6:308 (for the quote in my text); Smith, *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, 350-51; Galbraith, *Scriptural Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, 395 (which italicized one create).

506. Barzun and Graff, *Modern Researcher*, 53; David Hackett Fischer, *Historians' Fallacies: Toward a Logic of Historical Thought* (New York: Harper Torchbook/Harper & Row, 1970), 135-40; Conkin and Stromberg, *Heritage and Challenge*, 204; also my Introduction.

507. Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 94 (for first quote, emphasis in original), also verbatim in Scholem, "Kabbalah," in Roth, *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 10:562; Scholem, *Origins of the Kabbalah*, 426 (for second quote). For Hamblin's reading of Roth's *Encyclopedia* and of both these books by Scholem, see Hamblin, "Everything Is Everything," 258n23, 259n24, 260n28, 269n52, 280n87, 291nn16-17, 293n122, 294nn123-25, 294n127, 297n134.

508. Allen, *Modern Judaism*, 80-81, 82.

509. Strong, *Exhaustive Concordance of the Bible*, 512. Also "immensity" was not in the English-language Bible of Roman Catholicism, even though "immense" and "immensely" were. See Newton Thompson and Raymond Stock, *Complete Concordance to the Bible (Douay Version)* (St. Louis: B. Herder, 1945), 819. However, as an other option, Edward T. Jones, "The Theology of Thomas Dick and Its Possible Relationship To That of Joseph Smith," M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1969, 30, 7, noted that "The Divine Being fills the immensity of space with his presence" was a statement in Thomas Dick's *The Philosophy of Religion* (1826) and Dick's *Philosophy of a Future State* (1828), and that ten years later an LDS publication quoted from both books. This BYU graduate thesis was willing to consider (78) that more than one LDS teaching "may have come from Smith's having read it in Dick's books."

510. Allen, *Modern Judaism*, 90.

511. "The Mormons," *Times and Seasons* 3 (15 Oct. 1842): 948, with Smith as editor on 958.

512. Louis C. Zucker, "Joseph Smith As a Student of Hebrew," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 3 (Summer 1968): 52; compare to the use of "coequal" in *History of the Church*, 6:310.

513. Hamblin, "Everything Is Everything," 318.

514. *Ibid.*, 296. Based on a *Times and Seasons* reprint of a non-Mormon article which quoted Joseph Smith, Hamblin stated (292): "This citation is from Daniel 2:28, which is in Aramaic, an indication that some basic study of Chaldean/Aramaic might have occurred at Kirtland or Nauvoo in relation to these Aramaic biblical passages." For example, John Parkhurst, *An Hebrew and English Lexicon, Without Points: In Which THE HEBREW and CHALDEE WORDS of the OLD TESTAMENT are explained in their Leading and derived Senses* ..., 7th ed. (London: T. Davison, 1813), 44-45, translated passages of Aramaic (Chaldee) from the second chapter of Daniel (also in Parkhurst's 1823 enlarged edition, 51-54). Hamblin, "Everything Is Everything," 292, also stated: "Assuming this is an authentic quotation from Joseph—and it is not at all clear that it is ..." Remarkably, Hamblin made that comment without consulting Smith's publication which was the subject of the non-Mormon article and the source of the quote Hamblin emphasized. To anyone who consults *General Smith's Views of the Powers and Policy of the Government of the United States* (Nauvoo,

IL: John Taylor, 1844), 7, it would be very "clear" that the non-Mormon article gave "an authentic quotation" from Joseph Smith; compare with reprint of an article from the "Globe" in *Times and Seasons* 5 (15 Apr. 1844): 511.

515. For example, see any of Hamblin's articles and reviews as published by the Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies. Arguments for the Mormon faith are undermined by unequal application of the standards of evidence. Aside from instances of dishonesty or distortion, this is the next greatest weakness in the writings of the FARMS polemicists I discuss throughout this book. Neither God nor faith is well-served by polemical tricks.

516. Lorenzo Snow statement, 8 June 1889, and statement of "Aunt Prescindia Kimball," 30 Sept. 1883, both in Orson F. Whitney diary, LDS archives, with photocopy at Lee Library and at Marriott Library.

517. Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness*, 4, 122-23, 312-16; Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, ed., *The Personal Writings of Eliza Roxcy Snow* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1995), xvii, 16-17, 49-50.

518. Neibaur, "THE JEWS," *Times and Seasons* 4 (1 June 1843): 220 (for first quote of introduction by editor-apostle John Taylor), 222 (for "Gilgool").

519. Geoffrey Wigoder, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Judaica* (New York: Leon Amiel; Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, 1974), 212.

520. Joseph Smith manuscript diary, 14 Feb. 1843, 18 Mar., 23 May, 3 June 1844, in Faulring, *American Prophet's Record*, 305, 460, 481, 487.

521. Stehelin [and Eisenmenger], *Traditions of the Jews*, 1:41 (Preface), 1:277-329 (main text), with same pagination in the 1748 edition titled *Rabinical [sic] Literature*; Allen, *Modern Judaism*, 191, 204-17 (esp. 210, 217).

522. *Journal of Discourses*, 1:92-93 (B. Young/1852).

523. "THE PRE-EXISTENCE OF MAN," *The Seer* 1 (July 1853): 102-03; reprinted in *The Essential Orson Pratt* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1991), 284.

524. Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency*, 2:235.

525. Owens, "Joseph Smith and Kabbalah," [148]; compare masthead of *The Seer* 1 (Jan. 1853): 1.

526. George Wither, *A Collection of Emblemes [sic], Ancient and Moderne ...* (London: Robert Allot, 1635), 43, fig. xliii, with verse beginning: "A Heart, which bore the figure of an Eye" (emphasis in original). Hamblin's review of Owens made no comment about his emphasis on Pratt's use of this emblem.

527. Owens, "Joseph Smith and Kabbalah," 184.

528. Turner [later a BYU professor of religion], "Position of Adam in Latter-day Saint Scripture and Theology," 58 ("A careful, detached study of his available statements, as found in the official publications of the Church, will admit of no other conclusion than that the identification of Adam with God the Father by Brigham Young is an irrefutable fact"); Elden J. Watson, comp., *Brigham Young Addresses: A Chronological Compilation of Known Addresses of the Prophet Brigham Young*, 6 vols. (N.p.: By the author, 1979-84), 9 Apr. 1852 (p. 11), 11 Dec. 1853 (p. 1), 8 Oct. 1854 (p. 7, 10), 19 Dec. 1854 (p. 4), 25 Mar. 1855, 25 Apr. 1855 (pp. 3-4), 6 May 1855, 11 Mar. 1856, 8 Oct. 1861 (p. 1), 25 Aug. 1867 (p. 2), 16 Dec. 1867, 11 Dec. 1869 (p. 1), 8 June 1873 (pp. 4-6); David John Buerger, "The Adam-God Doctrine," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 15 (Spring 1982): 14-58; Buerger, *The Mysteries of Godliness: A History of Mormon Temple Worship* (San Francisco: Smith Research Associates, 1994), 110-13.

529. Owens, "Joseph Smith and Kabbalah," 127.

530. Hamblin, "Everything Is Everything," 317-18.

531. Basnage, *History of the Jews*, 190, for "He," "Vau," and "Jod"; Allen, *Modern Judaism*, 76, in chart showing letters "He," "Vau," and "Yod." Allen demonstrates the

transition in transliteration from the older JHVH to the YHWH of more recent scholars (ch. 1).

532. Lindo, *Conciliation of R. Manasseh Ben Israel*, 1:107 (for first quote), 1:110 (for second quote).

533. Hamblin, "Everything Is Everything," 317-18.

534. Barrett, *Magus*, 1:146; [Buchan], *Witchcraft Detected & Prevented*, 15; compare with Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, 243.

535. Hamblin, "Everything Is Everything," 318.

536. Allen, *Modern Judaism*, 86.

537. Enfield, *History of Philosophy*, 2:218.

538. Basnage, *History of the Jews*, 300; also for similar view of modern scholarship, see Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 162; Scholem, "ADAM KADMON (Primordial Man)," in Roth, *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2:248.

539. Lindo, *Conciliation of R. Manasseh Ben Israel*, 1:4-16 (for Genesis 1:1-26), 1:208-13 (for section on Cabala).

540. "BOOK-STORE, In Canandaigua," *Western Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 20 Mar. 1804, [3]; "FALL Supply," *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, NY), 9 Jan. 1828, [4].

541. *History of the Church*, 3:385; Smith, *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, 157; Galbraith, *Scriptural Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, 178.

542. Hamblin, "Everything Is Everything," 319-20.

543. Turner, "Position of Adam In Latter-day Saint Scripture and Theology," 49-50; also ch. 6.

544. Owens, "Joseph Smith and Kabbalah," 173, 175, 176, 191-94, emphasized Neibaur's possession in Nauvoo of "an impressive library of Kabbalistic writings" which included twenty-seven works cited in Neibaur's published articles in 1843. However, in "Everything Is Everything," 297-98, 320-25, Hamblin argued that those citations actually came from one book, Manasseh ben Israel's *Sefer Nishmat Hayyim* (reprinted in 1841) which also cited those works. Owens (176n127) had acknowledged the possibility that Neibaur "relied on a single secondary source which provided all of the citations," which "has not yet been brought to my attention." The English-language books by Eisenmenger and Allen cited Manasseh ben Israel's book and the other Hebrew-language works in Neibaur's articles. In addition, "BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF AUTHORS QUOTED IN THE WORK," in Lindo, *Conciliation of R. Manasseh Ben Israel*, 1:xvii-xxxii, had some (but not all) of Neibaur's sources.

545. Hamblin, "Everything Is Everything," 296-97.

546. Owens, "Joseph Smith and Kabbalah," 176n127.

547. Hamblin, "Everything Is Everything," 298.

548. William J. Hamblin, "An Apologist for the Critics: Brent Lee Metcalfe's Assumptions and Methodologies," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 6 (1994), no. 1:440.

549. Mary L. S. Putnam and Lila Cahoon, comps., *Reynolds Cahoon: His Roots and Branches* (Bountiful, UT: Family History Publishers, 1993), 5; Quinn, *Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power*, 40, 95, 102, 206, 480, 496, 497, 522.

550. Ronald Sterne Wilkinson, "New England's Last Alchemists," *Ambix: The Journal of the Society for the Study of Alchemy and Early Chemistry* 10 (Feb. 1962): 136, 136n38; Putnam and Cahoon, *Reynolds Cahoon*, 52-53, for the uncle-nephew relationship; also Brooke, *Refiner's Fire*, 72-73.

551. Brooke, *Refiner's Fire*, 108-09; Ancestral File for Lydia Mack (b. 1764).

552. Glen F. Harding, *A Record of the Ancestry and Descendants of John Jacob Zundel, Known as Jacob Zundel* (Ogden, UT: By the author, 1973), 398.

553. Defoe, *System of Magick; or, A History of the Black Art*, 142 (for quote, with five printings from 1727 to 1840); also Richard Boulton, *A Compleat History of Magick, Sorcery,*

and *Witchcraft* ..., 2 vols. in 1 vol. (London: E. Curll, 1715), 197; Thomas Taylor, *A Dissertation on the Eleusinian and Bacchic Mysteries* (Amsterdam: J. Weustein, [1790]), 24; William Smellie, ed., *Encyclopaedia* ..., 1st Am. ed., 18 vols. (Philadelphia: Thomas Dobson, 1798), 18:940; George Stanley Faber, *A Dissertation on the Mysteries of the Cabiri* ..., 2 vols. (Oxford, Eng.: Oxford University Press, 1803), 2:154; Abraham Rees, *The Cyclopaedia* ..., 1st Am. ed., 41 vols. (Philadelphia: Samuel F. Bradford et al., 1805-24), s.v. "Zoroaster"; William Godwin, *Lives of the Necromancers* ... (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1835), 59.

554. Karl J. R. Arndt, *George Rapp's Harmony Society, 1785-1847*, rev. ed. (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press; Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1972), 531 (for Zundel's signature on 1833 document supporting Count Leon), 532 (for works of Paracelsus and quote about Leon's failure), 541 (for quote on Zundel's Mormon conversion), 628 (for his family's affiliation since 1806 and Zundel's formal membership in 1827); Arndt, *Economy on the Ohio, 1826-1834: The Harmony Society During the Period of Its Greatest Power and Influence and Its Messianic Crisis* [English-German text] (Worcester, MA: Harmony Society Press, 1984), 85, 105, 116, 392, 405 (for alchemy), 132, 916-17 (for Zundel); Harding, *Record of the Ancestry and Descendants of John Jacob Zundel*, 24, 38, 41-42, 54-58; also Arndt, "The Harmonists and the Mormons," *American-German Review* 10 (June 1944): 6-9; Hilda Adam Kring, *The Harmonists: A Folk-Cultural Approach* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press/American Theological Library Association, 1973), 21, 198-99; Robert S. Fogarty, *Dictionary of American Communal and Utopian History* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980), 78. Muller changed his name to Maximilian Ludwig Proli before he adopted the title "Count Leon."

555. See previous note 330 for Rebecca Bartholomew's inaccurate claim that Thomas Job studied alchemy before his LDS conversion.

556. The first quote is my translation of the phrase "ein Bildsehen von dem Sonnenweib," in Jacob Zundel to R. L. Baker, 3 Apr. 1846, Zundel's holograph letters, microfilm 1,321,368#3, LDS Family History Library; Arndt, *George Rapp's Harmony Society*, 95, for second quote. In the microfilm, an accompanying translation rendered the phrase as "an image of the suns and the woman." Zundel's modern LDS translator (apparently in the LDS Genealogical Society) was unaware of Rappite alchemy and terminology. This translation error was later published in Harding, *Record of the Ancestry and Descendants of John Jacob Zundel*, 387.

557. Brooke, *Refiner's Fire*, 107-112, with chart of towns on [308].

558. Quinn, *Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power*, 89, 127-28, 544, 553, 558, 562, 567, 570, 572, 576, 582, 598, 610, 627-28, 650, 651, 654, 659; Quinn, *Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power*, 229, 746-47.

559. *Journal of Discourses*, 3:295 (O. Pratt/1856).

560. Eliza Cook, "The Philosopher's Stone," *Deseret News* [weekly], 20 May 1857, 86.

561. Allen, *Trials of Discipleship*, 332-37, which named only Clayton, John Sanderson, Nicholas H. Groesbeck, Charles Davis, and metal-worker William Walker as members of this secret organization. Allen made no reference to their roles in the community or church.

562. Utah's pioneer alchemical society included Allan Adamsun, Joseph Allan, James M. Barlow, Henry Bow, John G. Chambers, George Chaffield, William Clayton, Edwin Curtis, Mr. Daft, Charles A. Davis, David Evans, Edward Faul, Edward Freel, John Gerber, Sr., Nicholas H. Groesbeck, Thomas Hawkins, Jacob F. Hutchinson, Henry C. Jackson, George Lawrence, John B. Meredith, William K. Parker, John Sanderson, Charles J. Thomas, Daniel M. Thomas, Elijah Thomas, William Walker, George Waring, Jesse West, and Thomas Winter. See William Clayton to William Freeman, 2 Mar., 21 May, 22 July, 28 July 1864, Clayton to D[aniel]. M. Thomas, 28 July 1864, Clayton to John Sanderson, 5 Aug. 1864, Clayton to John Gerber, Sr., 5 Nov. 1864, and [copied after letter of 11 Feb. 1865:] Clayton to Freeman, 25 May, 6 June, 13 June 1864, all in unpaginated letterbook (25 Feb. 1860-19

Apr. 1865), Bancroft Library; also first letterbook in Microfilm A-192, Utah State Historical Society.

563. "Seventies Quorum Record of Members," unpaginated entries for presidencies of 7th, 8th, 10th, 15th, and 57th quorums, microfilm, LDS Family History Library; Jenson, *Latter-day Saints Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:565, 606, 3:627; Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon and Sons, 1892-1904), 4:349-50; Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah*, 44, 837, 862-63, 887, 902, 951-52, 1239; Nicholas H. Groesbeck autobiography (1916), 9, 12, manuscript, Utah State Historical Society; Elisha Warner, *The History of Spanish Fork* (Spanish Fork: Press Publishing, 1930), 94, 234; "Memoirs of Henry Clark Jackson," 32; Andrew Jenson, *Encyclopedic History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Publishing, 1941), 308, 424, 636, 743-44, 763, 858; "They Came in 1854," in Kate B. Carter, comp., *Treasures of Pioneer History*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1952-57), 4:48-49; Moroni Gerber, "Dr. John Gerber and His 4th Wife, Anna Maria Ackeret," in *Memory Book of Moroni Gerber and Emily Jane Jacob* (N.p., n.d.), 7, 11, copy in Utah State Historical Society; Gordon Irving, "Roster of Members of the Legislative Assembly, Utah Territory, 1851/52 to 1894," *Task Papers in LDS History* (Salt Lake City: History Division, Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1975), 42; Allen, *Trials of Discipleship*, 43-44, 78-79, 125-26, 256; Richard S. Van Wagoner, *Lehi: Portraits of a Utah Town* (Lehi, UT: City Corporation, 1990), 400; Quinn, *Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power*, 527-28; Evelyn Hawkins Hughes, *Thomas Sunderland Hawkins: Biography of a Mormon Pioneer* (Provo, UT: Thomas Sunderland Hawkins Family Organization, 1994), 287; Quinn, *Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power*, 278.

564. John V. Hood, "The Nature and Design of the Gospel," *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* 26 (8 Oct. 1864): 642.

565. James E. Talmage, "The Elixir of Life," *Contributor* 10 (Oct. 1889): 460.

566. Joseph F. Merrill, "Alchemy," *Deseret Evening News*, 19 Jan. 1895, 9-10.

567. Marriner W. Merrill diary, 5 Jan. 1895, in Melvin Clarence Merrill, ed., *Utah Pioneer and Apostle: Marriner Wood Merrill and His Family* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1937), 184.

568. John A. Widtsoe, "Joseph Smith As Scientist: III.—Natural Law," *Improvement Era* 7 (Jan. 1904): 162.

569. John A. Widtsoe, *Joseph Smith as a Scientist: A Contribution to "Mormon" Philosophy*, 2d ed. (1905; Salt Lake City: The General Board of Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association, 1920), 27 (for the "abominations" quote), 10 (for the "absurdities" quote).

570. Polk's *Salt Lake City Suburban* (Salt Lake County, Utah) Directory, 1967 (Salt Lake City: R. L. Polk, 1967), 593; Freedland, *Occult Explosion*, 11; LDS Church Censuses (1950-60), microfilm, LDS Family History Library; Albert R. Riedel, *Die Geschichte der deutschsprachigen Missionen der Kirche Jesu Christi der Heiligen der Letzten Tage* (Salt Lake City: Service Press, 1971); 1988-89 *Salt Lake City Suburban Utah Directory* (Salt Lake City: R. L. Polk, 1988), 644.

571. Balthazar Bekker, *The World Bewitched* ..., 4 vols. (London: R. Baldwin, 1695), 1:30; George Combe, *A System of Phrenology*, 2d Am. ed. (Boston: Marsh, Capen, and Lyon, 1834), 1; Sidney Smith, *The Principles of Phrenology* (Edinburgh: Simpkin, Marshall, 1838).

572. Raphael, pseud., *The Fortune-Teller's Own Book: A Manual of the Occult Sciences; Embracing Physiognomy, Oneirology, Naeviology, Celestial Palmistry, Astrology, Phrenology, Animal Magnetism, Talismans, Charms, Spells and Incantations, Legerdemain* (Philadelphia: Fisher & Brother, 1841); Charles W. Roback, *The Mysteries of Astrology, and the Wonders of Magic* (Boston: By the author, 1854), 107, 113 (for "Ancient Phrenology"). Raphael's 1841 book is listed in WorldCat, but is not in *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints*. "Raphael" was the pseudonym for English astrologer Robert C. Smith, but WorldCat does not show him as the author of this 1841 book.

573. Notebook 5, first words on first page and last words on last page, fd 5, John Ischy papers, LDS archives.
574. Poinsett, *Encyclopedia of Occult Sciences*, 121-31; Cavendish, *Man, Myth & Magic*, 16:2188-90; Fred Gettings, *Encyclopedia of the Occult* (London: Rider, 1986), 167; Tom Ogden, *Wizards and Sorcerers: From Abracadabra To Zoroaster* (New York: Facts On File, 1997), 52.
575. Evan M. Zuesse, "Divination," in Eliade, *Encyclopedia of Religion*, 4:380; Joscelyn Godwin, *The Theosophical Enlightenment* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994), 119, 159: "Lavater's Physiognomy, the founding document of another occult science which was attracting much attention at that time [early 1800s] ... branching out from Lavater's physiognomy, phrenology had been invented around 1800 by two German doctors ..."
576. Robinson untitled review (1987), 94.
577. Daniel C. Peterson, "Editor's Introduction," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 4 (1992): ix, note 6, uses "polemical" to describe Robinson's review in a previous issue.
578. Ehat and Cook, *Words of Joseph Smith*, 61.
579. William Clayton diary, 14 Oct. 1843, in Smith, *Intimate Chronicle*, 121.
580. *THE WASP* (Nauvoo, IL), 2 July 1842, [2], 16 July 1842, [1]; *History of the Church*, 5:52-55, 58-60; compare Davis Bitton and Gary L. Bunker, "Phrenology Among the Mormons," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 9 (Spring 1974): 58n1.
581. *History of the Church*, 5:53-55, 58-60.
582. *The Prophet* 1 (29 June 1844): [4] for ad-layout, with William Smith as editor on front page; (4 Jan. 1845): [1] for Samuel Brannan as editor and [2] for Parley P. Pratt's "Proclamation" and position (quoted in my text); (22 Mar. 1845): [3] for Pratt's editorials; (29 Mar. 1845): [1] for Brannan as editor, [3] for Pratt's editorials, and [4] for same ad-layout as previous June; Parley P. Pratt, Jr., *The Autobiography of Parley Parker Pratt* ... (New York: Russell Brothers, 1874), 374, 376, for Apostle Pratt's presidency of "the churches in the Atlantic states" and his editorial role (same pages in 1888 Chicago edition).
583. *Catalogue of the Utah Territorial Library, October, 1852* (Salt Lake City: Brigham H. Young, 1852), 12, 13, 14, 41, 60.
584. Bitton and Bunker, "Phrenology Among the Mormons," 50.
585. "PHRENOLOGICAL CHART OF ELDER HEBER C. KIMBALL," *Deseret News* [weekly], 31 Oct. 1855, 265-66.
586. *Journal of Discourses*, 11:170 (G. Q. Cannon/1865); also see my Preface for Cannon's linkage of spiritualism with the occult.
587. Bruce Van Orden, "George Reynolds: Secretary, Sacrificial Lamb, and Seventy," Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1986, 14, 174. This topic is not in the published version.
588. Abraham Owen Woodruff diary, 9 Oct. 1898, LDS archives. The reference to phrenology was deleted from the official publication of Clawson's talk in *Conference Report* ... October 1898 (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Publishing, 1898), 53-54. Apostle Woodruff had been a member of the Quorum of the Twelve for a year at this time.
589. Bitton and Bunker, "Phrenology Among the Mormons," 55-57.
- LDS Church Library has 61 numbered volumes of this periodical which was titled *Zion's Young People* (1900-02), *Character Builder* (1902-42), and *Human Culture Digest* (1942-53); the University of Utah's Marriott Library has *Character Builder* for the period 1902-25.
590. Bitton and Bunker, "Phrenology Among the Mormons," 57.
591. Hand and Talley, *Popular Beliefs and Superstitions from Utah*, 328 (no. 10431, reported by male, age twenty, at Salt Lake City in the 1950s), also 328 (no. 10430, reported by male at Salt Lake City in 1964; no. 10440 by males at Salt Lake City in 1959 and 1964).
592. Moyer, "Questions Astrologers Avoid Like Cancer: (File with Palm-reading,

Phrenology, Tea-leaf Reading, Numerology, and Dr. Mugwump's Miracle Snake Oil Medicine)."

593. Charles Lagrange, *The Great Pyramid ...* (London: Charles Burnet, 1894); David Davidson and H. Aldersmith, *The Great Pyramid, Its Divine Message ...* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1924); Morton Edgar, *The Great Pyramid: Its Spiritual Symbolism* (Glasgow: Bone and Hulley, 1924); George R. Riffert, *Great Pyramid, Proof of God* (Haverhill, MA: Anglo-Saxon Federation of America, 1932).

594. Cavendish, *Man, Myth & Magic*, 17:2313-14; Leslie Shepard, ed. *Encyclopedia of Occultism and Parapsychology*, 2 vols. (Detroit: Gale Research, 1978), 2:759-60.

595. John Nicholson, "The Pyramid Symbolism," *Latter-Day Saints' Millennial Star* 40 (2 Dec. 1878): 757.

596. Editorial, "REVELATION AND THE GREAT PYRAMID," and Thomas W. Greenwell, "The Prophecy In the Great Pyramid About the Coming Years, 1881-82," *Deseret Evening News*, 28 Dec. 1878, [2], [4].

597. George Reynolds, *The Book of Abraham: Its Authenticity Established as a Divine and Ancient Record* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1879), 44; also Reynolds, "The Book of Abraham: Its Genuineness Established," *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* 41 (17 Mar. 1879): 161-63, (24 Mar. 1879): 177-79; Van Orden, "George Reynolds," 174, which is not in the published version of his biography.

598. "OUR INTEREST IN THE GREAT PYRAMID," *Deseret Evening News*, 5 Apr. 1879, [2]; "THE GREAT PYRAMID AND THE LAST DISPENSATION," *Deseret Evening News*, 26 May 1879, [2].

599. "The Pyramid of Gizeh," *Juvenile Instructor* 14 (15 Apr. 1879): 91; "The Land of the Pyramids," *Juvenile Instructor* 14 (15 May 1879): 111, (1 June 1879): 127.

600. William Budge, "The Great Prophetic Pyramid: An Important Discovery by Prof. O. Pratt, Sen.," *Latter-Day Saints' Millennial Star* 41 (5 May 1879): 280-83; Budge, "The Prophetic Pyramid Further Considered," *Latter-Day Saints' Millennial Star* 41 (12 May 1879): 296-98.

601. "YEAR OF JUBILEE. FIFTIETH ANNUAL CONFERENCE," *Deseret Evening News*, 8 Apr. 1880, [2].

602. Dan Erickson, "Joseph Smith's 1891 Millennial Prophecy: The Quest for Apocalyptic Deliverance," *Journal of Mormon History* 22 (Fall 1996): 1-34; Erickson, "As a Thief in the Night": *The Mormon Quest for Millennial Deliverance* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1998).

603. Joseph F. Smith to William E. McLellin, 18 Apr. 1880, in Smith private letterbook (1879-83), 71, LDS archives.

604. "MORE ABOUT THE GREAT PYRAMID," *Deseret Evening News*, 8 Nov. 1881, [2].

605. Ruby Lamont, "The Great Pyramid," *Contributor* 7 (Sept. 1886): 463-66.

606. James E. Talmage diary, 27 June 1907.

607. Anthony W. Ivins, "Church and State, British-Israel Movement, Significance of the Construction of the Pyramid of Gizeh," *Improvement Era* 30 (Dec. 1926): 93-101; also *Conference Report ... October, 1926* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1926), 18-29.

608. Francis M. Darter, *Our Bible in Stone: Its Divine Purpose and Present Day Message, The Mysteries of the Ages Revealed* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Publishing, 1931).

609. John A. Widtsoe, "Evidences and Reconciliations: Is the Great Pyramid a Prophetic Structure?" *Improvement Era* 48 (Nov. 1945): 727, as continuation from 673.

610. John A. Widtsoe, "Evidences and Reconciliations: Is Astrology a Science?" *Improvement Era* 47 (Nov. 1944): 735.

611. Hand and Talley, *Popular Beliefs and Superstitions from Utah*, 48 (no. 1442), 119 (no. 3858), 147 (no. 4677), 154 (no. 4866), 207 (no. 6640), 243 (no. 7757), 247 (no. 7867).

270 (no. 8606), 272 (nos. 8663-64), 277 (no. 8831), 292 (no. 9335), 361-63 (nos. 11531-89).

612. Joseph Fielding Smith, Jr., and John L. Stewart, *The Life of Joseph Fielding Smith, Tenth President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1972), 386.

613. Moyer, "Questions Astrologers Avoid Like Cancer: (File with Palm-reading, Phrenology, Tea-leaf Reading, Numerology, and Dr. Mugwump's Miracle Snake Oil Medicine)."

614. Max Toth, *Pyramid Prophecies* (Rochester, VT: Destiny Books, 1988), 39-40.

615. Orson F. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball, An Apostle* (Salt Lake City: Kimball Family/Juvenile Instructor Office, 1888), 179.

616. Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 1 (19 Jan. 1840): 409.

617. Wilford Woodruff, *Leaves From My Journal, Third Book of the Faith-Promoting Series* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1881), 65; also Robert T. Divett, *Medicine and the Mormons: An Introduction to the History of Latter-day Saint Health Care* (Bountiful, UT: Horizon Publishers, 1981), 43; Thomas G. Alexander, *Things in Heaven and Earth: The Life and Times of Wilford Woodruff, a Mormon Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1991), 85. Woodruff's 1881 *Leaves From My Journal* was actually an expansion of his original journal, which made no reference to a handkerchief in its description of the widespread sickness among the Mormons at Commerce (later Nauvoo), Illinois, and of Joseph Smith's performing healing ordinances there during the weeks before Woodruff's departure for his mission in Britain. See Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 1 (12 July-8 Aug. 1839): 346-48. However, Woodruff's diary soon referred to the modern Twelve's practice of using handkerchiefs to heal in 1 (19 Jan. 1840): 409.

618. Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 5 (25 May 1857): 53; Staker, *Waiting For World's End*, 193; Gregory A. Prince, *Power From On High: The Development of Mormon Priesthood* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1995), 107.

619. Lester E. Bush, Jr., *Health and Medicine among the Latter-day Saints: Science, Sense, and Scripture* (New York: Crossroad, 1993), 74.

620. Donation Book I, 99, DUP Museum.

621. "Wilford Woodruff Handkerchief. Received from Emily Smith Stewart via Dr. T. Edgar Lyon, February 11, 1964," Acc. No. G-1965-10-47, files of Nauvoo Restoration, Inc., Salt Lake City, Utah.

622. Thomas C. Romney, *The Life of Lorenzo Snow, Fifth President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: S.U.P. Memorial Foundation/Sugarhouse Press, 1955), 1; Prince, *Power From On High*, 179; also Lorenzo Snow statement, in Heber J. Grant journal-sheets, 4 Aug. 1897, LDS archives.

623. William G. Hartley, "They Are My Friends": *A History of the Joseph Knight Family, 1825-1850* (Provo, UT: Grandin Book, 1986), 139; Paralee Eckman, "Incidents in the Life of John Lowe Butler and his wife Caroline Ferozine Skeen, My Great Grandparents," n.d., photocopy in my possession.

624. *Journal of Discourses*, 4:294 (H. C. Kimball/1857).

625. Jenson, *Latter-day Saints Biographical Encyclopedia*, 3:390; also third-person accounts of this incident in Fife and Fife, *Saints of Sage & Saddle*, 187-88; *Early Scenes In Church History, Eighth Book of the Faith-Promoting Series* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1882), 32.

626. Eliza R. Snow Smith, *Biography and Family Record of Lorenzo Snow, One of the Twelve Apostles of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1884), 264-65; also briefer account in Romney, *Life of Lorenzo Snow*, 206.

627. LeRoi C. Snow, "Spiritual Gifts Through Signs and Tokens," *Deseret News "Church Section,"* 8 Aug. 1942, 5, 8.

628. *Journal of Discourses*, 4:294, emphasis added (H. C. Kimball/1857); Bush, *Health and Medicine among the Latter-day Saints*, 74.
629. Artifact 407, "Willard Richards Cane," DUP Museum.
630. See discussion and sources for medieval "church magic" in ch. 1.
631. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball*, 477; also ownership notation in Abraham A. Kimball diary, 18 Mar. 1882, quoted in Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball*, 256-57.
632. Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 2 (23 Aug. 1844): 450.
633. Statement by his brother Oliver B. Huntington, 8 Mar. 1897, in Steven G. Barnett, "The Canes of the Martyrdom," *BYU Studies* 21 (Spring 1981): 206n3.
634. Raymond Woolley Taylor, "The Legend of the Friends to the Martyrs," typescript, 12, with attached photographs of Dimick Huntington's cane, fd 6, box 48, John Taylor Family papers; George Gary Huntington donation certificate to the Corporation of the President, 15 Feb. 1977, witnessed by Dale Beecher, LDS archives; Barnett, "Canes of the Martyrdom," 206 (for Perrigrine Sessions's cane), 207 (for Wilford Woodruff's cane), 208 (for photographs of Dimick B. Huntington's cane), 209 (for Brigham Young's cane), 209-10 (for James Bird's cane), 210 (for Heber C. Kimball's three martyrdom-canes); Sylvia Scovil Roylance Blair, "Pioneer Personal History," 14 July 1939, Federal Writers Project, Works Progress Administration, copy in Utah State Historical Society, typescript, 3 (for Kimball, Scovil, Dibble, and "Brother Wadsworth of Springville" as recipients of martyrdom-canes), and: "I don't know how many others there were." Kearl, Pope, and Wimmer, *INDEX TO THE 1850, 1860 & 1870 CENSUS OF UTAH*, 369, showed William Wadsworth as the only head-of-household by that surname during those census years in Utah County (where Springville is located); Springville Ward membership records (1850s-80s), LDS Family History Library, showed William S. Wadsworth as the only male named Wadsworth who was old enough to have been an adult at Nauvoo in 1844; also "DEATHS ... WADSWORTH," *Deseret Evening News*, 27 Jan. 1888, [4]; Easton-Black, *Membership of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830-1848*, 47:731-33 as for William S. "Wordsworth" (b. 1810).
635. *Catalogue of the Relics*, 11, which listed its original owner as Willard Snow ("contributed by his son"). At the 1897 exhibit the other cane's current owner was Carlos L. Sessions, son of Perrigrine and grandson of Patty Bartlett Sessions. For her marriage to Joseph Smith, see Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness*, 4, 171, 179-80; for her son Perrigrine Sessions and for Willard Snow, see Eschom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah*, 1153, 1174.
636. John Wickliffe Rigdon, "I Never Knew A Time When I Did Not Know Joseph Smith: A Son's Record of the Life and Testimony of Sidney Rigdon," ed. Karl Keller, *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 1 (Winter 1966): 42 (for quotes); "The Only Surviving Son of Sidney Rigdon," *Improvement Era* 3 (July 1900): 696 (for description of the martyrdom-cane he brought to Utah). For Rigdon's opposition to Brigham Young and the Twelve, see Quinn, *Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power*, 154-55, 164-73; Van Wagoner, *Sidney Rigdon*, 335-72.
637. Sylvia Scovil Roylance Blair, "Pioneer Personal History," 3; also Barnett, "Canes of the Martyrdom," 206n3, quoted Oliver B. Huntington statement: "In the top of the cain [sic] was a lock of his hair which was taken from his he[a]d after he had been buried 7 months ... The glass over his face was broken and they saved some of that glass [—] And a piece of that glass covered the hair in the top of the cain, and then a piece of metal with a round hole in the center was over the glass and hair."
638. Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball*, 257n14.
639. John Albiston to Orson Spencer, 30 Apr. 1848, in *Latter-Day Saints' Millennial Star* 10 (15 May 1848): 158, reminiscing about events in 1843; mentioned in Bush, *Health and Medicine among the Latter-day Saints*, 74; also *History of the Church*, 4:150, 333, for Albiston (sometimes misspelled as Albertson). For clarity, my quote reverses the order of the original's "had each wounds."
640. William G. Hartley, *My Best for the Kingdom: History and Autobiography of John Lowe Butler, a Mormon Frontiersman* (Salt Lake City: Aspen Books, 1993), 114, 452n49.

641. Helen Thurber Dalton, comp., *The Life and Times of John Lowe Butler II* (Boise, ID: Sacajawea Camp, Ada County Company, Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1976), 82-83, in my possession; also copy without publication information in Lee Library and LDS archives.

642. Kenney, Wilford Woodruff's *Journal*, 5 (4 Nov. 1858): 232.

643. Wayland D. Hand, "Folk Medical Magic and Symbolism in the West," in Austin Fife, Alta Fife, and Henry H. Glassie, eds., *Forms upon the Frontier: Folklife and Folk Arts in the United States* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1969), 106, with a non-detailed citation to the example below; Hand and Talley, *Popular Beliefs and Superstitions from Utah*, 120 (no. 3866): "If you step on a rusty nail, grease the nail or you will have infection," stated by a male in Farmington, Utah, 1930.

644. Paul Y. Hoskisson, "Oil, Consecrated," in Ludlow, *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 3:1027.

645. Benjamin Brown, "Testimonies for the Truth," in *Gems for the Young Folks: Fourth Book of the Faith-Promoting Series* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1881), 71; Salt Lake Stake historical minute book (1880-90), 302 (30 Jan. 1884), LDS archives, quoted in Quinn, "Mormon Women Have Had the Priesthood Since 1843," in Hanks, *Women and Authority*, 379; "Suffering and Service of Thos. Briggs," in *Precious Memories: Sixteenth Book of the Faith Promoting Series* (Salt Lake City: George C. Lambert, 1914), 13; Bush, *Health and Medicine among the Latter-day Saints*, 78-79.

646. Abraham H. Cannon diary, 17 Sept. 1889.

647. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine* (1958), 21-22, reprinted verbatim in second edition (1966), 22; also John A. Widtsoe, *Priesthood and Church Government ... Compiled Under the Direction of the Council of the Twelve* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1939), 374; Bush, *Health and Medicine among the Latter-day Saints*, 80.

648. Richard Godbeer, *The Devil's Dominion: Magic and Religion in Early New England* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 16.

649. Merrifield, *Archaeology of Ritual and Magic*, 155.

650. John D. Pulliam, *History of Education in America*, 5th ed. (New York: Merrill/Macmillan Publishing, 1991), 117-18 (on first effort in 1893 "to standardize the curriculum of elementary schools throughout the nation"); Newton Edwards and Herman G. Richey, *The School in the American Social Order*, 2d ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1963), 547, 550-51 (on post-1892 beginning of standardization in curriculum for high schools nationally); Joel Spring, *The American School, 1642-1996*, 4th ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1997), 1 ("ideological management"), 156 ("deculturalization").

William A. Wilson untitled review, *BYU Studies* 27 (Fall 1987): 102, seized upon my reference to education among modern Mormons as yet another example that I was allegedly claiming that folk magic existed only among "unlettered," ill-educated people. Despite reading the book twice (96), Wilson managed to overlook its repeated statements (then and now) that folk magic and occult belief have always existed among people of all educational levels. However, the homogenizing impact of twentieth-century education is another matter. For the polemics of Wilson's approach, see page 334, note 31.

651. Daniel Katz and Floyd Henry Allport, *Students' Attitudes: A Report of the Syracuse University Reaction Study* (Syracuse, NY: Craftsman Press, 1931), 298-316; Joseph Haven, "The Changing Climate of Research on the College Student and His Religion," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 3 (Oct. 1963): 52-69 (esp. 57-58); Joseph Zelan, "Religious Apostasy, Higher Education and Occupational Choice," *Sociology of Education* 41 (Fall 1968): 376-79; Michael Argyle and Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi, *The Social Psychology of Religion* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975), 33-37; David Caplovitz and Fred Sherrow, *The Religious Drop-Outs: Apostasy Among College Graduates* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1977), 108-27; David Martin, *A General Theory of Secularization* (Oxford, Eng.: Basil Blackwell, 1978), 33, 86-87, 212-16, 217, 220, 228, 236; Stan L. Albrecht and Tim Heaton, "Secularization, Higher Education, and Religiosity," *Review of Religious Research*

26 (Sept. 1984): 43-58; Robert Wuthnow, "Science and the Sacred," in Phillip E. Hammond, ed., *The Sacred in a Secular Age: Toward Revision in the Scientific Study of Religion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 188; also comparative perspective in William K. Kay and Leslie J. Francis, *Drift from the Churches: Attitude toward Christianity during Childhood and Adolescence* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1996), 50-58.

652. Erich Robert Paul, *Science, Religion, and Mormon Cosmology* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 25, also 146-64, 184-86, 231.

653. Joseph Fielding Smith, *Man, His Origin, and Destiny* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1954); McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine* (1958), 229-38, (1966), 247-56; Duane E. Jeffery, "Seers, Savants and Evolution: The Uncomfortable Interface," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 8 (Autumn-Winter 1974): 41-75; Richard Sherlock, "A Turbulent Spectrum: Mormon Reactions to the Darwinist Legacy," *Journal of Mormon History* 5 (1978): 33-59; Sherlock, "We Can See No Advantage to a Continuation of the Discussion: The Roberts/Smith/Talmage Affair," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 13 (Fall 1980): 63-78; Jeffrey E. Keller, "Discussion Continued: The Sequel to the Roberts/Smith/Talmage Affair," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 15 (Spring 1982): 79-98; Steven H. Heath, "The Reconciliation of Faith and Science: Henry Eyring's Achievement," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 15 (Autumn 1982): 87-99; Richard Pearson Smith, "Science: A Part or Apart from Mormonism?" *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 19 (Spring 1986): 106-22; the above academic studies were reprinted in Sessions and Oberg, *Search for Harmony*, with their overview in "EDITORS' INTRODUCTION: The Mormon Retreat from Science" (v-xxii), Sherlock-Keller's essays combined into one (93-115), Heath's significantly retitled essay, "Agreeing to Disagree: Henry Eyring and Joseph Fielding Smith" (137-54), and the editor's "Science and Mormonism: A Review Essay" (283-89); also Paul, *Science, Religion, and Mormon Cosmology*, 26, 31-32, 48, 174.

654. Walker, *Dale Morgan on Early Mormonism*, 369n16.

655. Murray Boren, "Worship through Music, Nigerian Style," *Sunstone* 5 (Nov.-Dec. 1980): 41-43; Dennis L. Lythgoe, "Batling the Bureaucracy: Building a Mormon Chapel," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 15 (Winter 1982): 69-78; Richard D. Poll, "Liahona and Iron Rod Revisited," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 16 (Summer 1983): 76; Hugh Nibley, "Leaders to Managers: The Fatal Shift," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 16 (Winter 1983): 12-21; D. Michael Quinn, "From Sacred Grove to Sacral Power Structure," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 17 (Summer 1984): 15-16, 29; Gordon Shepherd and Gary Shepherd, *A Kingdom Transformed: Themes in the Development of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1984), 99-100, 145-46; Scott D. Miller, "Thought Reform and Totalism: The Psychology of the LDS Church Missionary Training Program," *Sunstone* 10 (1985), no. 8:24-29; Marvin Rytting, "A Small But Standard Deviation," *Sunstone* 10 (1985), no. 9:33-34; L. Jackson Newell, "An Echo from the Foothills: To Marshal the Forces of Reason," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 19 (Spring 1986): 26-34; Warner P. Woodworth, "Brave New Bureaucracy," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 20 (Fall 1987): 25-36; Quinn, "A Marketplace of Ideas, a House of Faith, and a Prison of Conformity," *Sunstone* 12 (Mar. 1988): 6-7; Hicks, *Mormonism and Music*, 219-22; Fred Voros, Jr., "Freedom of Speech in the Household of Faith," *Sunstone* 15 (1991), no. 4:16-22; Marjorie Newton, "Almost Like Us: The American Socialization of Australian Converts," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 24 (Fall 1991): 9-20; Eduardo Pagan, "Cultural Hegemony," *Sunstone* 15 (Dec. 1991): 9-11; Lavina Fielding Anderson, "The LDS Intellectual Community and Church Leadership: A Contemporary Chronology," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 26 (Spring 1993): 7-64; Paul James Toscano, "Dealing with Spiritual Abuse: The Role of the Mormon Alliance," *Sunstone* 16 (July 1993): 32-39; Omar M. Kader, "Free Expression: The LDS Church and Brigham Young University," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 26 (Fall 1993): 33-55; Newell, "Scapegoats and Scarecrows in Our Town: When the Interests of Church and Community Collide," *Sunstone* 16 (Dec.

1993): 22-28; Armand L. Mauss, "The Mormon Struggle With Assimilation and Identity: Trends and Developments Since Midcentury," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 27 (Spring 1994): 134-39; Mauss, "Refuge and Retrenchment: The Mormon Quest for Identity," in Rebecca Cornwall, Tim Heaton, and Lawrence A. Young, eds., *Contemporary Mormonism: Social Science Perspectives* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 31-38; Mauss, *The Angel and the Beehive: The Mormon Struggle with Assimilation* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 85-86, 127, 164-67, 181-84, 206; Mauss, "Authority, Agency, and Ambiguity: The Elusive Boundaries of Required Obedience To Priesthood Leaders," *Sunstone* 19 (Mar. 1996): 20-31; Thomas W. Murphy, "Reinventing Mormonism: Guatemala as a Harbinger of the Future?", *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 29 (Spring 1996): 183-87; J. Michael Cleverley, "Mormonism On the Big Mac Standard," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 29 (Summer 1996): 69-75; Newton, "From Tolerance to 'House Cleaning': LDS Leadership Response to Maori Marriage Customs," *Journal of Mormon History* 22 (Fall 1996): 72-91; Devery S. Anderson, "The Kind of Experience That Changes You Forever," Vivian D. Ellsworth, "One Day You Finally Knew," and Janice M. Allred, "White Bird Flying: My Struggle For a More Loving, Tolerant, and Egalitarian Church," in Lavina Fielding Anderson and Allred, comps. and eds., *Case Reports of the Mormon Alliance: Volume 2, 1996* (Salt Lake City: Mormon Alliance, 1997), 17-38, 42-69, [117]-323; Bryan Waterman and Brian Kagei, *The Lord's University: Freedom and Authority at BYU* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1998).

656. Whittle untitled review (1987), 119. I was astonished in 1987 that *BYU Studies* printed Benson Whittle's review. Its first words were: "Magic is real, it works," and its last words expressed hope that accepting the magic and occult dimensions of early Mormonism might "help religion not to be the opiate of the people" (105, 121). Its publication counter-balanced the same issue's polemical reviews by religion professor Stephen E. Robinson and LDS folklorist William A. Wilson (the former being vicious and distorting, while the latter spent pages ignoring how the book explicitly and repeatedly defined "the folk" and "folklore" in the exact manner Wilson insisted I had failed to do).

I wasn't acquainted with Whittle but knew many of the conservative LDS scholars who served *BYU's* academic journal at high levels in 1987. Some had already expressed private (and sometimes public) criticism of my book and of me. In particular, Richard L. Anderson (associate editor), Bruce C. Hafen, and Robert J. Matthews (on the advisory committee) deserve special praise for allowing the publication of Whittle's review (edited by Maxine Hanks "and excerpted from a longer essay," 105).

Ironically, this was a swan-song of academic independence for the in-house journal. *BYU's* trustees soon imposed stringent requirements for pre-publication approval of "sensitive" topics and "controversial" views. Gary F. Novak, in *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 5 (1993): 240, described how his own "controversial" article required clearance in 1990 by "the *BYU* board of trustees (the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles)," in order to be published in *BYU Studies*. A lawyer (John W. Welch) became its editor in fall 1991. All this was another manifestation of the continuing control over open expression on the *BYU* campus and of academic freedom's decline at the LDS church's educational flag-ship.

657. Sterling M. McMurrin untitled review, *Utah Historical Quarterly* 56 (Spring 1988): 199.

658. Wilson untitled review (1987), 104; also previous note 656 about the academic courage of *BYU Studies* as constituted in 1987.

659. Robin M. Williams, Jr., "The Concept of Norms," in David L. Sills, ed., *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 17 vols. (New York: Macmillan/Free Press, 1968), 11:204-08.

660. Alan Taylor, "Mormon Magic," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 21 (Summer 1988): 159.

661. Thomas F. O'Dea, *The Mormons* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957).

160, following his section "The Containment of Charisma" (156-60). O'Dea was applying the theory of sociologist Max Weber to Mormonism.

Notes to Afterword

1. Richard L. Bushman, "Faithful History," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 4 (Winter 1969): 15-16, 18; reprinted in George D. Smith, ed., *Faithful History: Essays on Writing Mormon History* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), 5-6, 9.
2. For difference between apologists and polemicists, see Preface.
3. Richard S. Westfall, "The Career of Isaac Newton: A Scientific Life in the Seventeenth Century," *American Scholar* 50 (Summer 1981): 349.
4. Marvin S. Hill, "The Shaping of the Mormon Mind in New England and New York," *BYU Studies* 9 (Spring 1969): 351-72; Malcolm R. Thorp, "The Religious Backgrounds of Mormon Converts in Britain, 1837-52," *Journal of Mormon History* 4 (1977): 53-60; Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), 28-29; Dan Vogel, *Religious Seekers and the Advent of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988); Grant Underwood, "The Religious Milieu of English Mormonism," in Richard L. Jensen and Malcolm R. Thorp, eds., *Mormons in Early Victorian Britain* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989), 39-40.
5. Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 73.
6. Jan Shipps, *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985).
7. S. David Lewis [undergraduate photographer with BYU Photographic Services] statement to D. Michael Quinn, 15 Dec. 1986.
8. Paul M. Edwards untitled review, *Saints Herald* 135 (Apr. 1988): 14.
9. Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), 229, 244 (on Quinn), 241-47 (on Mormonism); Harold Bloom, *The American Religion: The Emergence of the Post-Christian Nation* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1992), 96-111, 119-28 (on Smith), 102 (on Quinn); John L. Brooke, *The Refiner's Fire: The Making of Mormon Cosmology, 1644-1844* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1994), xvii, 103, 205, 230, 266, 288, 301, 302, 305, 363n12.
10. Michael W. Homer, "Similarity of Priesthood in Masonry: The Relationship between Freemasonry and Mormonism," Lance S. Owens, "Joseph Smith and Kabbalah: The Occult Connection," Dan Vogel, "The Locations of Joseph Smith's Early Treasure Quests," Edgar C. Snow, Jr., "One Face of the Hero: In Search of the Mythological Joseph Smith," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 27 (Fall 1994): 1-113, 117-94, 197-231, 234-47; compare Robert A. Segal, *Joseph Campbell: An Introduction* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1987); also Davis Bitton, *Images of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Aspen Books, 1996), 36-37: "But by ranging back and forth across the centuries and geographically from culture to culture, which some would see as his great strength, Campbell is unhelpful in setting a framework for heroism in the nineteenth century."
11. Gary F. Novak, "The Most Convenient Form of Error: Dale Morgan on Joseph Smith and the Book of Mormon," *FARMS Review of Books: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 8 (1996), no. 1:166-67. In this instance Novak was writing as an "honest apologist," a term I discussed in an explanatory note which Novak (127n14) recommended that his readers consult. See "Editor's Introduction," in D. Michael Quinn, ed., *The New Mormon History: Revisionist Essays On the Past* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), xiii, note 5. For the FARMS-BYU relationship, see my Preface.
12. See page 336, note 52, to explain my choice of Cabala and cabalistic from among the various English transliterations of the Hebrew; also discussion in ch. 7.
13. J. Gordon Melton sees it as both. See, for example, Melton, Jerome Clark, and Aiden

A. Kelly, *New Age Encyclopedia*, 5th ed. (Detroit: Gale Research, 1990); Melton and Isotta Poggi, *Magic, Witchcraft and Paganism in America: A Bibliography*, 2d ed. (New York: Garland Publishing, 1992); also Anthony Aveni, *Behind the Crystal Ball: Magic, Science, and the Occult from Antiquity Through the New Age* (New York: Times Books/Random House, 1996); Adnan Ivakhiv, "The Resurgence of Magical Religion as a Response to the Crisis of Modernity: A Postmodern Depth Psychological Perspective," in James R. Lewis, ed., *Magical Religion and Modern Witchcraft* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996), 237-65.

14. William J. Hamblin, "Everything Is Everything: Was Joseph Smith Influenced by Kabbalah?," *FARMS Review of Books: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* 8 (1996), no. 2:321 (emphasis in original), with 252 as specific reference to the first edition of this book as the object of his ridicule. Hamblin made this comment at the end of his seventy-five-page review of an article by Lance S. Owens.

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This index uses bracketed numbers in two instances: [1] when an individual was referred to on that page but not identified by name; and [2] when individual persons or joint-authors were not cited by name for their quote on that page but are identified in the quote's source note. However, I do not index co-authored quotes by more than two persons.

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About the Author

D. Michael Quinn was born in 1944 in Pasadena, California. He studied English and philosophy at Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah—interrupted by a two-year LDS proselytizing mission to England (1963-65)—and graduated in 1968. Then followed three years of military service in Germany as a counter-intelligence agent.

When he returned from Europe in 1971, Quinn began a master's program in history at the University of Utah and half-time employment at the LDS Church Historian's Office. He received his M.A. in 1973, then moved to New Haven, Connecticut, to continue his studies in history at Yale University. While a graduate student Quinn published in *Brigham Young University Studies*, the *Journal of Mormon History*, *New York History*, the *Pacific Historical Review*, and *Utah Historical Quarterly*. When he received his Ph.D. from Yale in 1976, his dissertation on the Mormon hierarchy as an elite power structure won the Frederick W. Beinecke and George W. Egleston awards.

That same year Quinn began twelve years of employment as a member of BYU's history faculty. He received post-doctoral training in quantitative history at the Newberry Library in Chicago in 1982, and the next year served as associate director of BYU's Vienna study-abroad program. In 1984 he received full professorship; two years later he became director of the graduate program in history. In 1986 Quinn received his most cherished award: Outstanding Teacher by vote of BYU's graduating history majors.

While at BYU Quinn served on the board of editors for three scholarly journals and on the program committee for the Western History Association. He gave formal papers at annual meetings of the American Historical Association (AHA), the Mormon History Association (MHA), the Organization of American Historians, Sunstone Theological Symposium, Western History Association, the World Conference on Records, and by invitation to a conference jointly sponsored by the Fondation de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme and the Laboratoire de Recherche sur l'Imaginaire Américain (University of Paris). He received best article awards from the Dialogue Foundation, the John Whitmer Historical Association (JWHA), and MHA. His last article as a BYU faculty member appeared in *New Views of Mormon History: A Collection of Essays in Honor of Leonard J. Arrington* (University of Utah Press, 1987).

His first book, *J. Reuben Clark: The Church Years* (Brigham Young University Press, 1983), received the best book award from MHA. *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View* (Signature Books, 1987) received best book awards from MHA and JWHA, as well as the Grace Arrington Award for Historical Excellence. How-

ever, due to disputes with BYU administrators over academic freedom, Quinn resigned his tenured position at BYU in 1988. Since then he has worked as an independent scholar.

After resigning from BYU he received long-term fellowships from the Huntington Library in southern California (twice), the National Endowment for the Humanities (twice), and Indiana University-Purdue University, as well as a major honorarium from the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He has edited *The New Mormon History: Revisionist Essays on the Past* (Signature Books, 1992) and published essays in *Under an Open Sky: Rethinking America's Western Past* (Norton, 1992), *Faithful History: Essays on Writing Mormon History* (Signature Books, 1992), *Women and Authority: Re-emerging Mormon Feminism* (Signature Books, 1992), *Fundamentalisms and Society: Reclaiming the Sciences, the Family, and Education* (University of Chicago Press, 1993), the *New Encyclopedia of the American West* (Yale University Press, 1998), and *American National Biography* (Oxford University Press, forthcoming).

In May 1994 he received the T. Edgar Lyon Award for Excellence from MHA. He has subsequently completed four books: *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (Signature Books, 1994); *Same-Sex Dynamics among Nineteenth-Century Americans: A Mormon Example* (University of Illinois Press, 1996), which received the 1997 AHA award for best book by an independent scholar; *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power* (Signature Books, 1997); and the revised *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View* (Signature Books, 1998), which is twice the size of the original edition. He has begun preliminary work on a social history of late-twentieth-century sexuality.

Quinn has served in the 1990s as a historical consultant for four Public Broadcasting Service documentaries: *Joe Hill, A Matter of Principle*, *The Mormon Rebellion*, and *Utah: The Struggle for Statehood*, and for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's *L'Etat Mormon (The Mormon State)*. He has been a guest lecturer at the Graduate School of Claremont Colleges and at four Utah universities. In addition, he has been the keynote speaker at meetings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Center for the Study of Religion and American Culture, the Chicago Humanities Symposium, the Utah chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union, and the Washington State Historical Society. In 1998 he served on an NEH panel for selecting recipients of year-long fellowships.

Quinn has been featured in *Christianity Today*, the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, *Lingua Franca*, the *Los Angeles Times*, *New York Times*, *Newsweek*, *Publishers Weekly*, *Time*, and the *Washington Post*. In 1997 a biographical sketch and discussion of his writing techniques appeared in *Contemporary Authors*.